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The Century Historical Series

A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

from the Earliest Times to the Year 70 A.D.

Largely in the Language of Bible

PREPARED BY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, AND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
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THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA

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To

THE REVEREND PROFESSOR

JAMES ALAN MONTGOMERY, PH.D., S.T.D.,

Scholar, Colleague, Friend, Comrade

PREFACE

This book has been written at the request of Professor Dana C. Munro of Princeton, the editor of the series in which it appears. It was his idea to have as much of the history as possible told by quotations from the Bible. It is hoped that, when these Biblical excerpts are read in their historical connections and with such historical illustration as modern knowledge affords, they will be so well understood as to awaken in the reader a new interest.

In such a book as this it has been necessary to insert as few footnotes and references to other books as possible. On many points, however, it seemed desirable to point the student to volumes where fuller information might be found. Perhaps it will seem to some that there are too many references to a book entitled *Archæology and the Bible*, but it has seemed better to refer to one compendious volume which the student could afford to possess, if he desired, rather than to scatter the references among many books which a young student would never think of consulting.

The Biblical text quoted from the canonical books of the Old Testament is that of the Revised Version of 1885: the text of *1 Maccabees* is that of the Revised Version of 1894.

The writer's experience in preparing the book leads him to think that many readers will be surprised to discover how much more life-like is the historical picture presented by many Biblical writers than any which are found in modern descriptions of the same events. He only regrets that there are some gaps in the Biblical story, which compelled him to draw material from other sources and to reproduce it in his own words.

GEORGE A. BARTON

July, 1930.

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A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

A HISTORY OF THE HEBREW PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE ASIATIC BACKGROUND

OF all the peoples of antiquity, the Israelites or Hebrews are best known, for the Jews were their descendants, and the Jews wrote the Bible, and the Bible is the best known book in the world. Modern historical research has thrown so much light both on the Bible and on the history of the Hebrew people as to put that people in an entirely new perspective, and make the Bible a literature which throbs with human interest. In order to understand this new point of view, it is necessary to know a little of the history of western Asia before the emergence of the Hebrews, for though they were destined to play such a part in the world's religious history, many centuries of civilized life had passed over Asia before they were born.

As everybody knows, the Hebrews lived in Palestine, a small country about the size of Vermont or New Hampshire, which, together with Syria which lies just to the north of it, forms a bridge of fertility between the Arabian Desert and the Mediterranean Sea, connecting the two rich river valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. Although the Nile is in Africa, in the early times of which we must speak, North Africa was so closely associated with western Asia that the two must be considered together.

In late geologic time, during what is called the glacial epoch, when much of the northern hemisphere was covered with ice, men of rude culture lived in Palestine and Egypt. The only implements they had were rude stones. These stones were scarcely shaped by them at all. Generally they took stones that already resembled a hammer, an ax, or whatever they might wish to use the tool for and shaped them a little. The men of this time are called the men of the Old Stone Age, or paleolithic men, to distinguish them from later men who could make better stone tools. At the end of the glacial epoch there were great floods, and the population of the earth was greatly reduced. What is now the Delta of the Nile (or Lower Egypt) was at that time covered by water. The same was

true of what was afterward Babylonia and the coastal plain of Palestine, afterward called Philistia. The Jordan Valley was also at that time a great lake or an arm of the Red Sea. After the lapse of many centuries, these waters subsided, the climate changed and parts of the land became exceedingly dry. The Sahara Desert, in which there had been great lakes, and through which at least two or three rivers besides the Nile had run, became entirely arid except for a few oases where there were springs; the same thing occurred in the great peninsula of Arabia. Gradually the descendants of men who had survived during the great floods at the end of the glacial epoch by taking refuge in high mountains, multiplied and spread again over these countries. This apparently occurred only after the lapse of many, many centuries. By this time these men had learned to chip knives from cones of flint and to make of stone much better tools; they are therefore called men of the New Stone Age, or neolithic men. These neolithic men seem to have spread from different centers. One group of them spread from North Africa. Their ancestors had probably taken refuge, during the great post-glacial floods, in the Atlas Mountains. They appear to have lived in what is now the Sahara Desert and the region north of it when that desert was well watered, and, as it dried up, they pushed eastward and southward from it. They became the Hamites of history. The ancient Egyptians were largely composed of Hamites; the Berbers of North Africa, and many of the tribes of Abyssinia and Somaliland—countries into which they were then driven—are Hamites to this day. They speak languages akin to that of ancient Egypt.

At a very early time, long before the beginning of written history, some of these Hamites pushed across the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb into Arabia, over which their descendants gradually spread. Separated from their kinsmen in Africa they underwent, through thousands of years, an independent development and became the Semites of history—the ancestors of Babylonians, Assyrians, Amorites, Canaanites, Phenicians, Arameans, Israelites, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, etc.

Meantime another wave of people, whose ancestors had survived the post-glacial floods elsewhere, perhaps in the Caucasus Mountains, had spread along the mountain ranges southward as far as Elam, and westward into Asia Minor. This people differed in shape of head, in language, and in craftsmanship from the Hamites and Semites. One of the earliest civilizations we can trace in western Asia was established by them at Susa on a stream at the foot of the mountains of Bakthiyaris and Luristan in ancient Elam. Excavations there have brought to light some of their skeletons and specimens of their pottery. Pottery—cups, jars, and pitchers—is for the archæologist an important source of information for the history of culture. We do not think of broken teacups, saucers, and pitchers as historical documents, but they really are. They are also very

trustworthy documents, for they are too worthless for any one to forge or tamper with. This earliest civilization at Susa appears to belong entirely to the paleolithic period. For some reason it died out, and another settlement was made there by men who used neolithic implements and made a different type of pottery. They also invented a script which has not yet been deciphered. Men of this race—at least men who had the same culture—settled in southern Babylonia, at Eridu, Ur, and El Obeid, about five miles from Ur; possibly also at other points. Gradually settlements were also made at points along the Euphrates at Erech, Surippak, and Nippur; also at Adab, and along the Shatt-el-Hai, the great canal which joins the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Settlements were also made on the Tigris at Opis (Ctesiphon) and at Kish. These two towns were situated well to the north, where the Tigris and Euphrates approach most nearly to one another. At that period the southern Tigris seems to have been too marshy to be a site for cities.

This settlement in Babylonia was gradual. Canals had to be dug and the marshlands drained. It began, perhaps, as early as 5000 B.C.; at all events it must have been well advanced by 4000 B.C. The tribes from Elam and the east were not long left in peaceful possession of the fertile Babylonian plain. Another race, the Sumerians, invaded it, coming perhaps from the south, up the shores of the Persian Gulf, and by 3500 B.C. established themselves in the southern part of the country. Eridu, Ur, Erech, Nippur, Adab, Lagash, and Umma all fell under their sway. The Sumerians made a different kind of pottery from that made by the earlier population, and soon developed a system of picture writing, independent of that of ancient Elam, which soon degenerated into the wedge-shaped or cuneiform writing, because they wrote on clay and it was not easy to make good pictures.

Meantime Babylonia had been invaded by a third people—Semites from Arabia, whom we call Akkadians. Geographically Mesopotamia is a part of Arabia. It is the fertile eastern border of the great Arabian desert. Where tempting date-palms grow, thither the half-starved inhabitants of Arabia have always wandered. Perhaps they were in the Babylonian marshes before either of the peoples from the eastern mountains or the Sumerians entered the country. They knew no arts of civilization, however, and it was not until about 3000 B.C. that they became a political and cultural influence in the country. By that time they had seized the city of Kish in the north, and about two hundred years later built the city of Agade. Out of the mixture of these three races the great Babylonian civilization was developed—one of the civilizations which were destined profoundly to influence the Hebrews.

From the dawn of history to about 2100 B.C. Babylonia contained a number of city-states which were often at war with one another. Sometimes one would for a time gain the upper hand and establish an empire,

sometimes another; but usually these empires disintegrated after a few decades and the country broke up again into its original units. During this period the Sumerians held the cities of the south up to and including Nippur, while the Semites dominated the northern portion. After the building of Agade the north came to be called, from its capital-city, Akkad; the south was called Sumer. Here Babylonian religion, myths, literature, laws, and all which made up its civilization, were developed.

About 2100 B.C. the great king Hammurabi of the city of Babylon gained control of all the country. Babylon had played no part in the early history of the country, but from this time onward it was the leading city. The dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged was Semitic. A new wave of Arabs called Amorites had swept into the country. Gradually, before different layers of these Amorites, the Sumerian civilization of the south went down and Semites dominated the country.

Meantime a new nation was springing up on the Tigris farther to the north. Into this region, long inhabited by the Hurri, a branch of the race which had established the second civilization of Susa and the first of southern Babylonia, Akkadian Semites had penetrated. They captured the site of Ashur, where some Sumerians had in ancient times established themselves, and intermarrying with the Hurri, became the Assyrian people. They spoke a Semitic language, but the Hurri strain in their ancestry gave them aquiline noses, which were not characteristic of the Akkadians. Gradually the city of Ashur extended its sway and built up the Assyrian empire, which consisted of the extension of the rule of the city of Ashur just as the Roman empire later was the extension of the rule of the city of Rome. Assyria had a long history, extending from about 2100 B.C. down to the destruction of Nineveh, its later capital, in the year 610 B.C. The Assyrians were more warlike and brutal than the Babylonians: their civilization was, on the whole, more crude. Babylonia and Assyria were often at war. Babylonia, always attractive on account of its fertility to the inhabitants of less fertile lands, was invaded by Kossæans, a people from the east, about 1800 B.C., and by Chaldeans, another tribe from Arabia, about 1000 B.C., but kept its Semitic character to the end. It was finally merged into the Persian empire, when Cyrus the Great conquered Babylon in 538 B.C.

During the long centuries that Babylonia and Assyria were enacting their histories another great civilization was running its course in the valley of the Nile. Into that valley a negroid race from central Africa had, perhaps, made its way as the floods, which swept the world at the end of the glacial epoch, subsided. As early, probably, as 5000 B.C. Hamites from the eastern Sahara also settled in the valley, gradually absorbing what weaker negroids may have been there. After these Hamites had developed there for several centuries, they were in turn invaded by Semites from southern Arabia, who appear to have entered upper Egypt

through one of the valleys which extend from the Nile to the Red Sea. The result of this fusion was the Egyptians of history. At first Egypt was inhabited by forty-two different tribes, whose habitats were, down to the Mohammedan conquest of the country in 640 A.D., called "nomes," and were as distinct as the different counties of England. By about 4200 B.C. these had, by conquest, been merged into two kingdoms, Upper Egypt—which extended from the first cataract at Assuan to a point a few miles south of modern Cairo—and Lower Egypt, which consisted mainly of the land watered by the Nile Delta.

These kingdoms existed side by side for about eight hundred years, when they were united under Mena (the Greek Menes), the first king of the first dynasty. The civilization of Egypt gradually developed through the next four hundred years, and shortly after the year 3000 B.C., it blossomed into the brilliant era of the "Old Kingdom." This was the period when the great pyramids were built, and some of Egypt's finest art was produced. After flourishing about five hundred years, the Old Kingdom broke up into petty states, which constantly fought with one another; and, in the midst of arms, civilization languished. About 2100 B.C. a strong dynasty arose which united Egypt again and another period of high civilization began which endured for three hundred years. This is known as the "Middle Kingdom." Once more the strong government failed, and soon after 1800 B.C. Egypt broke up into petty states and was devastated by the contentions of petty princelings, each of whom ruled a fraction of the country. Another period of confusion and darkness followed which lasted about two hundred years. To add to the confusion of this period the Delta, as Lower Egypt is called, was invaded by hordes from Asia, who established a dynasty known as the "Hyksos."

About 1580 B.C. a strong monarch arose at Thebes in Upper Egypt, who expelled the invaders and followed them into Asia. Egypt was once more united, and under the successors of Ahmose I (whom the Greeks called Amosis) conquered Palestine and Syria as far as the Euphrates River. Thus began the "Empire" period of Egypt's history, which lasted for some six hundred years, although during the last two hundred years of the period it was an empire only in name. About 945 B.C. there began a period of three hundred years during which Egypt was subject to foreign dynasties: first Libyans from the west; then Nubians from the south. Finally, about 650 B.C. a native dynasty once more arose, which ruled Egypt for a hundred and twenty-five years. Under its sway Egypt's ancient past was venerated and her ancient arts revived. Then in 525 B.C. came the Persian conquest, and Egypt's history merged into that of the Persian empire. Egypt, like Babylon, was a great mother of the arts, and at various periods influenced Israel.

Meantime on the island of Crete, which is nearer to Egypt than any of the other islands of the Mediterranean, there had grown up before

3000 B.C. an advanced stone-age civilization independent of that in Egypt. Between 3000 and 2800 B.C. the use of bronze was introduced into Crete, and from that time until about 1200 B.C., her civilization ran a brilliant course. Arts of all sorts were brought to a high degree of perfection; three-story houses were built, and women wore fitted dresses of the style that was made in Paris a generation ago. When the Philistines came into Palestine, they brought this Cretan civilization with them.

If, now, we turn to the north still other peoples come into view, who, in their turn, exerted a profound influence upon the Hebrews. In the dim past, perhaps as early as 4000 B.C., there moved from northern Asia, probably from the Caucasus Mountains or the region east of the Caspian Sea, a mass of people that overran what was later Armenia, and Asia Minor. They traveled along the mountains east of the Tigris and reached ancient Elam. They made settlements in what was afterward Assyria, and spread over the region between the Tigris and Euphrates River, which was afterward called Mesopotamia. These tribes may have been related to the Elamites, but they were not related either to the Semites (as scholars call the nations whom the Bible calls the descendants of Shem), or to the Egyptians. One of these tribes which pushed into northern Asia Minor, called itself the "Silver tribe," or, in its own language, "Hittites." Some centuries later a branch of the Indo-European race (the great race to which we belong), came into Asia Minor from Europe, entering around the west end of the Black Sea, conquered these Hittites, imposed on them its language, and, taking their name, became the Hittites of history. About 1400 B.C. they established an empire which controlled a large part of Asia Minor, extended its sway to the lands east of the Euphrates, and pushed its conquests down through Syria into the northern parts of Palestine. Its capital was Hittite-city, the modern Boghaz Koi in Asia Minor.

One of these peoples, which had in the earlier time settled on both sides of the Tigris River and had extended themselves across Mesopotamia, was the Hurri. They occupied the country around Haran, where Abraham was said to have lived for a time. Among the Hurri there had come some Indo-Europeans of the Aryan branch of that race (the ancient Persians and Sanskrit-speaking peoples of India were Aryans). These Aryans had brought with them some of their gods (Indra, Mitra, and Varuna), but did not succeed in imposing their language on the Hurri among whom they settled. Out of this combination, however, arose a kingdom called Mitanni, which held sway for a time on both sides of the Euphrates. This kingdom was established about a hundred years earlier than that at Hittite-city, *i.e.*, about 1500 B.C. or earlier. With the kings of Mitanni Egyptian monarchs had fought and formed leagues of friendship, when, about 1375 B.C., Mitanni was subjugated by the Hittite kings, and its monarchy gradually fades from our view.

Biblical writers called all these peoples—the Hurri, Mitanni, and Hittites—Hittites. When the Hyksos went into Egypt groups of these peoples had surged southward as far as Hebron in Palestine (they are mentioned in the book of *Genesis*, chapter 23), and perhaps they went into Egypt also.

Meantime out of the great Arabian desert, the original home of all the Semites—a land that could support only a limited population—there had come some five different waves of Semites. The first, emerging from Arabia's wastes on the eastern border of the desert, had settled in northern Babylonia before 3000 B.C. and became the Akkadians, already mentioned. The next wave—the Amorites—emerged from the desert both on its eastern and on its western border. Establishing themselves at Babylon about 2300–2200 B.C., they founded its first dynasty of kings, of whom the great Hammurabi, famous for his code of laws, was one. For two or three centuries more, however, uncivilized hordes of Amorites continued to come from Arabia and struggle with the settled population of that country for its possession. Meantime they had wandered into the region of Upper Mesopotamia and penetrated the land of the Hurri. At the same time other Amorites were finding their way directly from Arabia into the peninsula of Sinai, and probably also into Palestine. Some centuries later (1800–1700 B.C.), a people called Kassites, from the mountains east of the Tigris, pushed into Babylonia and conquered it. This influx into that already heavily populated country caused a movement of peoples westward through all the lands as far as the Mediterranean. It was this general movement that took the Hyksos into Egypt. With it there came into Palestine some tribes closely related to the Amorites, who called themselves Canaanites. A part of them settled between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean, and became the Phenicians of history.

Again, about 1400 B.C., another wave of Semites came from the Arabian desert by way of Mesopotamia and the land of the Hurri. These were the Arameans. Doubtless they had intermarried to a considerable extent with the Hurri. They tried, as others had done, to gain a foothold in Palestine, and thus contributed their share to its mixed population.

About 1000 B.C., still another group of Semites emerged from the desert and settled in the marshes of southern Babylonia. They were the Kaldû. Gradually they extended their power northward, and a king of theirs sat on the throne of Babylon itself about 700 B.C. The Kaldû never extended their wanderings to Palestine, but they did give to Babylonia its name Chaldea.

In the latter half of the eighth century before Christ a new power arose in the great table-land of Iran, the elevated plain which extends from the valley of the Tigris to the valley of the Indus, and forms modern Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. This was the kingdom of Media,

which began to exercise considerable power about 740 B.C., under a dynasty which lasted until 553 B.C. The dominant element in the population was now Aryan, the people that we call Persians having penetrated the country 1000 B.C. or earlier. Iran was at the time divided into a number of countries. With Elam we are already acquainted: but there was also besides Media, Persia, Anshan, Bactria, Parthia, Hyrcania, Sogdiana, the land of the Massagetæ, and others. How much of this table-land Media conquered, we do not know; we do know that its king was strong enough in 610 B.C. to join in the overthrow of Assyria.

In 553 B.C. the Median empire was overthrown by Cyrus of Anshan, king of Persia, who founded the Achæmenian dynasty that built up the great Persian empire. Cyrus set the example for his successors, conquering much of Iran, overthrowing the kingdom of Lydia in Asia Minor in 546 and extending his sway to the Ægean Sea. In 538 he overthrew the last Babylonian king and gained control of Palestine also. His son Cambyses conquered Egypt, while the next great king, Darius I, conquered part of India and two provinces, Thrace and Macedonia, in Europe. This empire, the greatest the world had known up to that time, tended to break down national barriers and to bring widely diverse peoples into more or less friendly relations.

This Persian empire was overthrown in 331 B.C. by Alexander the Great, who had succeeded to the throne of Macedonia in the year 336 B.C. During his career Alexander subdued all lands between Greece and the Punjab in India, as well as Egypt in Africa. He was planning to make Babylon his capital-city, and then to extend his conquests to the Atlantic on both sides of the Mediterranean, when he suddenly died in 323 B.C. Into the details of the confused years immediately following Alexander's death, we cannot go here. It is sufficient to say that by 301 B.C. two monarchies had emerged, each ruled by one of Alexander's generals, with each of which the student of Jewish history should be acquainted. These were Egypt, over which Ptolemy son of Lagus ruled, and Syria, the king of which was Seleucus son of Antiochus. Ptolemy secured Palestine in addition to Egypt, but, after a hundred years, his successors lost it to the Seleucidæ. Seleucus obtained an empire which extended from Asia Minor and the Mediterranean to India. He built the city of Antioch on the Orontes as its capital.

Under the successors of Seleucus his empire gradually dwindled. Parthia became independent in 256 B.C. and Bactria in 253. Each for a time maintained a vigorous monarchy, but in the second century before Christ Parthia absorbed Bactria and became mistress of all of Iran. She also conquered all of Babylonia. By the year 70 B.C. the successors of Seleucus ruled only a small region in Syria, and in 65 B.C. the Romans deposed the last of them and made Syria a Roman province. Egypt did not maintain its independence much longer, for in 31 B.C., Cleopatra VII,

the last scion of the Ptolemies, was overthrown, and Egypt too became a province of Rome. It thus happened that, during the time of Christ and the Apostles, that part of the East in which this book is interested was divided between Rome and Parthia.

CHAPTER II

HOW TO UNDERSTAND THE EARLY TRADITIONS OF THE BIBLE

IT is easy to trace the beginnings of a nation like the United States of America. The discovery of the country, its settlement by various European peoples, the growth of the colonies, its war of independence, and its remarkable expansion since, all occurred after people had learned to write and become accustomed to it. Documents can accordingly be found that make it possible to trace every step. Quite other conditions face the student of Israelitish history, or the history of any other ancient nation, whether the Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Japanese, or any other. Although in time all these nations learned to write, and composed chronicles, they did this only after their national life was organized and advanced to a considerable degree; and all were ignorant of their real beginnings or had but the vaguest notions of them. Some kernels of tribal knowledge are treasured in the traditions of every nation, and, in its account of its own origin, these kernels are imaginatively expanded and overlaid with suppositions until they become works of the imagination that cannot be regarded as real history. The same is true of the ancient Hebrews.

The application of modern historical methods of investigation to the books of the Bible has convinced scholars that ancient Hebrew literature, of which the Bible has preserved all that survived, developed in the same way that the literatures of other ancient nations did. It did not begin until they were conquering Palestine, and then it consisted of poems that were sung and handed on for a long time from mouth to mouth. In the time of King David, after the establishment of the monarchy, chronicles began to be written, but few, if any, of these have survived.

The Hebrew method of writing history was the same as that of other ancient nations. After a story had been written that gained some circulation, those who came after would, if they did not agree with its religious point of view, write another covering the same ground, but giving a different religious coloring; if they had no objection to its narrative, they would copy its account verbatim. If one wished to write of things long passed, and found three or four varying narratives of them, he would weave them all together. All the so-called historical and legal books of the Old Testament were composed in this way. The oldest document woven into the Pentateuch and early historical books was written between 900

and 800 B.C., in the kingdom of Judah, probably in the reign of King Jehoshaphat. We do not know the name of the author. Scholars call it the J Document, because it preferred the name "Jehovah" (Hebrew, *Yahweh*) for God. Another, written about 750 B.C. in the kingdom of Israel, probably in the reign of Jeroboam II, is called the E Document, because it employs the word "God" (Hebrew *Elohim*), for the deity. Another writer, who rewrote and expanded the laws of the E Document, and the major part of whose work is found in the book of *Deuteronomy*, is called D, after the first letter of *Deuteronomy*. This document was written about 650 B.C., in the reign of King Manasseh. Still another body of material in the Pentateuch and the book of *Joshua* is designated by the symbol P, the first letter of the word "priestly," because its writers' interest was in ritual and in priestly institutions. There are three strata to the priestly material, one written about 500, another about 450, and still another about 400 B.C. These dates refer only to the writing; many of the ritual customs described are much older.

It is clear from what has been said that the Pentateuch was not fully compiled until about 400 B.C. The same is true of the book of *Joshua*, which tells of the conquest of Palestine. In other words, in these books which tell of the beginnings of the Israelitish nation, we have only traditions which were written down from five hundred to a thousand years after the events which they describe. How, then, are we to understand these documents? Can we take any of their statements as real history?

An analysis of the traditions, by means of the background reflected in each one and the application of such other tests as ancient literature now makes available, reveals the fact that the traditions are of four kinds: those developed in the desert and brought into Palestine; those borrowed from Babylonia and Egypt; those borrowed from the Canaanites, and those developed by the Israelites themselves in Palestine. Most of these traditions can be shown to have a historical content, but the historical kernel is usually not that which it was supposed to be before the rise of historical methods of study.

Most of these traditions will be touched upon in the appropriate place. At the moment we are interested in gaining an understanding of those which will throw light on the origin of the Israelitish nation. The key to the understanding of these traditions is obtained from a study of the table of the nations in the tenth chapter of the book of *Genesis*. From such a study, we learn that the Hebrew chroniclers personified nations as men, and then, in cases where there was a recognition of kinship of some kind, or some political union had existed between peoples, they formed genealogies, as modern Arabs have sometimes done, to explain the connection by making it appear that the peoples so related were descended from a common ancestor. Thus in *Genesis* 10:6 we read that the "sons of Ham were Cush, and Misraim, and Put, and Canaan." "Cush" is the

Egyptian *Kesh*, the name of Nubia; "Misraim" is the Hebrew word for the "two Egypts," *i.e.*, Upper and Lower Egypt, which, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, were separate kingdoms so long that the memory of the fact persisted in official nomenclature until the latest times. "Put" is the *Punt* of the Egyptian inscriptions. It is the name they gave to the country in South Arabia and East Africa on both sides of the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, which was to them the land of treasure, of ebony, ivory, incense, and precious woods—in a word, the land of the gods. "Canaan" is the Phœnicia of history. Its people were not Hamites, but, in the time of its Empire, Egypt had dominated it for a hundred and fifty years; hence the Hebrew writer inferred that its people were akin to the Egyptians. It thus appears that by the supposition of descent from a common ancestor the Israelitish chronicler accounted for relations of various sorts, remote kinship as between the Egyptians and the people of Somaliland, and political relations, as between the Nubians and the Egyptians. The Nubians were originally not related by blood to the Egyptians at all.

The most important fact, however, is that here we have nations or lands personified as men. Egypt was never a man; much less the "two Egypts." We now know Egypt's history pretty well, and its beginnings were not from one man, but from the welding together of forty-two distinct tribes. The farther back we go, the greater diversity—not unity—do we find. The same is true of other ancient nations in less degree. No nation has absolutely pure racial blood; each nation, even in ancient times, was the result of the fusion of different elements. This the Biblical writers did not know as we know it. They honestly did the best they could in the light of such knowledge as they had.

The same personification of nations or countries as men runs through the other genealogies in the chapter. In *Genesis* 10:22 the sons of Shem are said to be "Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad, and Lud, and Aram." Elam and Asshur are countries already described in Chapter I. Arpachshad is the Arrapkha of the Assyrian inscriptions, a region around the modern Kirkuk, southeast of Mosul. Aram is the country of the Arameans, which stretched from Damascus northeastward across the Euphrates.

If one turns to the descendants of Japheth in *Genesis* 10:2, the same is true. The sons of Japheth are said to have been "Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras." The names in this list that can be identified with certainty are as follows: "Gomer" is the Cimmerians of the ancient Greeks, the Kummukh of the Assyrians. They lived in eastern Asia Minor, west of the Euphrates. "Madai" are the Medes, already mentioned in the previous chapter. "Javan" is the Hebrew form of the Greek *Ionia*, on the east coast of the Ægean Sea. "Tubal" is the Assyrian *Tabali*; and "Meshech," the *Mushki*—wild

tribes that lived in eastern Asia Minor. "Tiras" is, perhaps, *Troas*, though this is not so certain.

Enough has been said to show that wherever we dip into this chapter we find nations and countries personified as individuals, and we also discover that kinship or political alliance, or association of any sort, is explained by the theory of common descent. This need not surprise us, since, among people of a certain grade of development in many parts of the world, a bond of so-called blood-brotherhood is still the only way known of making a binding alliance. We are, then, on safe ground, if we assume that the Hebrew traditions contain in part tribal history narrated as the experiences of individual men.

By applying the principle of interpretation just established to the account of the sons of Jacob in *Genesis* 29: 31—30: 24 and 35: 16—20, we may learn something of importance concerning the history of the formation of the Israelitish nation. Each of these sons, it must be remembered, is said to have become the father of a tribe; that means that here we have tribes personified. These tribes were finally allied and later welded into a nation. This account of their birth gives us a sort of history of the growth of the alliance. Six of the tribes are said to have been sons of one mother, Leah, and to have been born before the others. They were Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulum. Of these Levi is said to have met with early disaster and to have been scattered, but the other five formed a component part of the Hebrew people. The narrative means that these tribes first formed an alliance of blood-brotherhood; they were the first Israelites. Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher are said to be sons of slave-women; the inference is that they entered the Hebrew federation later and were, for some reason, not regarded as of as good birth as the sons of free mothers. Joseph, who became the father of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, is said to have been born after the ten already mentioned. This apparently means that the Joseph tribes entered the Hebrew federation after all the others mentioned were in the brotherhood—a conclusion which we shall later find other reasons for accepting. Lastly the traditions tell us that, a long time after the birth of Joseph, Benjamin was born, and that, when he was born, Jacob was already in Palestine. There is reason to believe that this is the Hebrew recollection of the historical fact that the Benjaminites split off from the tribe of Ephraim after the settlement in Palestine. The name Benjamin means "sons of the south" or "southerners," and they were the southerners of the tribe of Ephraim.

We have, then, in this genealogy the Hebrew recollection of the steps by which their nation was formed. It is at points hazy, but in broad outline we shall find it confirmed. As will appear later, a group of five or six tribes formed an alliance and called themselves "sons of Israel." In gaining a foothold in Palestine, they made an alliance with tribes already there. They looked down upon them, but found it better to make allies of men

whom they could not conquer. That is how Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher became a part of the nation. We can trace the Asherites about 1360 B.C. in some documents found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt forty years ago. They were, when those documents were written, living just where they lived later, in northwestern Galilee, but were then called Amorites. Later the great Joseph tribes, who had been in Egypt and had been led out of that land by Moses, forced their way into central Palestine and formed an alliance with the Israelites on equal terms. Still later the Benjaminites split off and were recognized as a separate tribe. Many considerations make this outline of the history probable. Jacob's journey westward from Paddan-aram (*Gen.* 31:18) or Haran (*Gen.* 29:4) represents the historical fact that the first Hebrew tribes came from the Aramean or Hurri country, and came, apparently with the westward migration of the Arameans described in the previous chapter.

These genealogical records of Jacob's family, when interpreted by a method learned from the Bible itself, reveal various strata in the Israelitish nation, some of which, as we learn from other sources, joined the Hebrew federation in Palestine itself. This is not, however, the whole story. In several passages in the Biblical accounts of the conquest of Palestine we read: "The children of Benjamin [or whatever the name of the tribe] did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem [or some other people that inhabited some other place], but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day (*Jud.* 1:21; see also verses 29, 30, and 31-36 of the same chapter). This means that, after the Hebrew conquest of Palestine, many of its previous inhabitants, that had not been driven out or exterminated, continued to live there and were ultimately absorbed. Sometimes this absorption went on rapidly by means of alliances. A record of a number of such alliances, by which a large amount of Canaanitish or other blood entered the tribe of Judah, is given us in *Genesis* 38, which describes the marriages of the sons of Judah. This chapter, interpreted as we have interpreted the story of Jacob's sons, describes the incorporation into the tribe of Judah of a number of clans that were not originally of Hebrew stock. It can be shown that one of these clans was of Hurri or Hittite stock. We thus learn from the Hebrew traditions that the Israelitish nation was, like our own, formed from the fusion of peoples in a melting pot. The main element of the Hebrew people was Semitic, just as the main element in the settlement of the American colonies was English, but, in the final make-up of the nation, many other elements were absorbed, just as in the case of the people of the United States.

In these pages we have employed "Israel" and "Jacob" as names of the same man or personified group of people, and "Israelites" and "Hebrews" as regular names of the same people. It is time to say a word as to what is now known of the antiquity of these names, and why they ap-

pear to have been adopted by the nation which gave us the Old Testament. "Israel" is a very old name. It was borne by an Akkadian or an Amorite who lived in Mesopotamia between 2800 and 2600 B.C., whose seal has been found bearing the inscription "Israel, son of Rishzuni."¹ Of course the owner of this seal had nothing to do with our Israelites—he lived at least twelve hundred years before they were heard of; but the seal shows that the name was an old and honorable one. Men who had no standing did not possess such seals. For some reason—just why, we do not know—the first confederation of Hebrew tribes called themselves "sons of Israel." Perhaps they had had a chieftain of that name; of that we have no knowledge.

This supposed ancestor of the Hebrews was also called Jacob. Indeed, in their traditions, Jacob is regarded as his earlier name, and a story is told to explain why his name was changed to Israel (*Gen.* 32: 24-28). "Jacob," like "Israel," is an old Amorite name. It appears in several legal documents written in Babylonia between 2200 and 2100 B.C. in which Amorites were participants. Its original form there was *Yakub-ilu*, or Jacobel, though it is sometimes shortened to *Yakub*, or Jacob. As Amorites traveled westward to Palestine, one of their leaders was named Jacobel. They founded a city somewhere in Palestine which was named after this leader Jacobel-city. When Thothmes III, king of Egypt, overran Palestine between 1470 and 1450 B.C., he captured this city and recorded its name with those of other conquered cities on the walls of a temple at Thebes, where it may still be read.² The name of this city kept alive the memory of this Amoritish chieftain of earlier time, and, after the Hebrews settled in Palestine and occupied the country where his city had stood, they naturally identified him with their supposed ancestor, Israel.

As to "Hebrew," scholars now regard it as the survival of the name "Habiri," which we find in a group of letters written from Palestine to Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, between 1375 and 1350 B.C. It also figures in Hittite and Mitannian documents of the same period. The name may mean "allies," but one of the ways in which it is written, which may mean "hunter," is defined in Assyrian texts as "plunderer" or "robber." Whether the name meant "allies" or "robbers" or "hunters," we now know from sources outside the Bible that the Habiri existed in large numbers in the region of Haran in Mesopotamia, and that a portion of them moved westward and were struggling successfully for a foothold in Palestine between 1375 and 1350 B.C. These Habiri were artificial brotherhoods, composed of men of Aramaic and Hurri stock, formed for purposes of adventure, plunder, and conquest, and it is probable that the first group of the "sons of Israel," the tribes said to be descended from

¹ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 326, and Fig. 302.

² See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 325 and 126, 127. Josephel was the name of a city, named after a similar Amorite chief, as we learn from the same inscription. After settling in the country where this city stood, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh took him as their ancestor.

Leah, were a part of the very people described as Habiri in the letters to Amenophis IV found at El-Amarna. The name clung to the nation. In later time they themselves forgot its origin. Other clans of Habiri remained in Mesopotamia and are personified in *Genesis* as Eber and the children of Eber (*Gen.* 10: 24, 25 and 11: 16 ff.).

If thus we find a thread of history, that is confirmed by outside documents, running through the narratives of Jacob and his sons, what can be said of the stories concerning Abraham? In Hebrew tradition Abraham, who is made Jacob's grandfather, is a greater and much more important figure than Jacob. If Israel and Jacob were names by the use of which the Hebrews of later time expressed their sense of national solidarity, is there any room left for the embodiment of a historical kernel in Abraham?

In answering this question it should first be noted that, while there is not a complete system of chronology in the Old Testament, it is stated several times that Abraham lived four hundred or four hundred and thirty years before the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (*Gen.* 15: 13; *Ex.* 12: 40; *Gal.* 3: 17). If we date the exodus with some modern scholars about 1220 B.C., we should place Abraham about 1650 B.C.; if, with other scholars, we date the exodus about 1400 B.C., we gain a date for Abraham about 1800 or earlier. In either case the date of Abraham would coincide with the Canaanite migration described in the first chapter.

We should next recall that in the fourteenth chapter of *Genesis* Abraham is said to have fought with four kings, Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Elassar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim.³ Many scholars have identified Amraphel king of Shinar with Hammurabi king of Babylon (understanding Shinar to be Sumer), and so have placed Abraham about 2050 or 2100 B.C., in the time of the Amorites. More recently it is proposed to identify Amraphel with a king of Singara in northern Mesopotamia about 1800-1600 B.C.⁴ This last identification would enable us to date Abraham about where the Bible dates him.

Another fact of importance is that Abraham was a good Amorite name. Just a little later than the time of Hammurabi, but during the reign of the same dynasty in Babylonia, there lived in that country an Abraham, several of whose business documents have come down to us on clay tablets. He leased a farm, paid his rent, and hired an ox, so these documents tell us.⁵ In the westward migrations of Amorites, or of their near kinsmen the Canaanites, it is not at all improbable that another and greater Abraham went to Palestine, just as the Jacobel who gave his name to a city there, and became famous in the land of his adoption. The

³ For information concerning theories of these kings, see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 322, 323, and 557.

⁴ See *Archæology and the Bible*, p. 557.

⁵ See *Archæology and the Bible*, pp. 316, 317.

memory of many such chieftains has survived among the descendants of their followers for a long time.

It has already been pointed out that descendants of Canaanites and Amorites were absorbed ultimately by the Hebrew people. When a people is so absorbed, many of its traditions are taken over. In particular the Israelites, as will be noted later, took over many sanctuaries of the former inhabitants of the country. A considerable number of the traditions concerning Abraham represent him as building altars; in other words, as founding sanctuaries. Is it too much to suppose that a number of the Hebrew traditions concerning him were taken over with the sanctuaries?

In any event, the Biblical traditions of Abraham represent the coming of the Amorite and Canaanite strain in the ancestry of the Hebrews, just as the traditions concerning Jacob represent the coming of the Aramean strain. Abraham is said to have started from Ur in southern Babylonia, to have sojourned for a time at Haran, and then to have crossed to Palestine. We have abundant evidence from Babylonian sources that that is just the route followed by waves of Amorite migration. The Amorite element in the Hebrew nation was very real and was long remembered (see *Ezek.* 16: 3). The Hebrew traditions of Abraham are their historical testimony to the coming of Amorites and Canaanites into the country, to the fact that they were in part their descendants, and also to the fact that in occupying the country of Palestine they had entered into an inheritance prepared in part by the people of whom Abraham was to their minds the symbol.

In addition to all this, archæology is showing us that the Abrahamic traditions depict accurately, in general outline, Palestinian conditions as they existed in the Amorite and Canaanite periods.⁶

⁶ On this point see G. A. Barton in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIII (July, 1928), pp. 767-771.

CHAPTER III

BIBLICAL TRADITIONS OF ABRAHAM IN CANAAN

IN the light of the knowledge we have now secured, it is interesting and helpful to read anew the traditions of Abraham and the inhabitants of the land of Canaan. We begin with the story of his coming to Palestine.

THE COMING OF ABRAHAM, *Gen. 12: 1-9*

Gen. 12. Now the LORD said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will 2] shew thee: and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and be thou a 3] blessing: and I will bless them that bless thee, and him that curseth thee will I curse and in thee shall all the 4] families of the earth be blessed. So Abram went, as the LORD had spoken unto him; and Lot went with him: and Abram was seventy and five years old 5] when he departed out of Haran. And Abram took Sarai his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that they had gathered, and the souls

that they had gotten in Haran; and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan; and into the land of Canaan they came. 6] And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Shechem, unto the ¹ oak of Moreh. And the Canaanite was 7] then in the land. And the LORD appeared unto Abram, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: and there builded he an altar unto the LORD, who 8] appeared unto him. And he removed from thence unto the mountain on the east of Beth-el, and pitched his tent, having Beth-el on the west, and Ai on the east: and there he builded an altar unto the LORD, and called upon the name 9] of the LORD. And Abram journeyed, going on still toward the ² South.

ABRAHAM IN TROUBLE

The next episode, the experience of Abraham and Sarah with the king of Gerar, is one that might happen in any ancient Oriental city. There are two accounts of it in the book of *Genesis*, one from the J Document in chapter 12: 10-20, which represents it as happening to Abraham in Egypt; the other in chapter 20: 1-18 from the E Document. Since the details of stories and the localities in which they are supposed to have happened are often changed in oral transmission, so that two sources of transmission may make them seem like different stories, it is believed that these two accounts are two versions of the same incident. Both are given here in parallel columns.

¹ Or, *terebinth*.

² Heb. *Negeb*, the southern tract of Judah.

J'S ACCOUNT, *Gen. 12: 10-20*

10] **Gen. 12.** And there was a famine in the land: and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there; for the famine 11] was sore in the land. And it came to pass, when he was come near to enter into Egypt, that he said unto Sarai his wife, Behold now, I know that thou art 12] a fair woman to look upon: and it shall come to pass, when the Egyptians shall see thee, that they shall say, This is his wife: and they will kill me, but 13] they will save thee alive. Say, I pray thee, thou art my sister: that it may be well with me for thy sake, and that my 14] soul may live because of thee. And it came to pass, that, when Abram was come into Egypt, the Egyptians beheld the woman that she was very fair. 15] And the princes of Pharaoh saw her, and praised her to Pharaoh: and the woman was taken into Pharaoh's house. 16] And he entreated Abram well for her sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he-asses, and menservants, and maid-servants, and she-asses, and camels. 17] And the LORD plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of 18] Sarai Abram's wife. And Pharaoh called Abram, and said, What is this that thou hast done unto me? why didst thou not tell me that she was thy wife? 19] Why saidst thou, She is my sister? so that I took her to be my wife: now therefore behold thy wife, take her, and 20] go thy way. And Pharaoh gave men charge concerning him: and they brought him on the way, and his wife, and all that he had.

E'S ACCOUNT *Gen. 20: 1-18*

Gen. 20. And Abraham journeyed from thence toward the land of the South, and dwelt between Kadesh and 2] Shur; and he sojourned in Gerar. And Abraham said of Sarah his wife, She is my sister: and Abimelech king of Gerar 3] sent, and took Sarah. But God came to Abimelech in a dream of the night, and said to him, Behold, thou art but a dead man, because of the woman which thou hast taken; for she is a man's wife. 4] Now Abimelech had not come near her: and he said, LORD, wilt thou slay 5] even a righteous nation? Said he not himself unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother: in the integrity of my heart and the innocency of my hands have I 6] done this. And God said unto him in the dream, Yea, I know that in the integrity of thy heart thou hast done this, and I also withheld thee from sinning against me: therefore suffered I thee 7] not to touch her. Now therefore restore the man's wife; for he is a prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live: and if thou restore her not, know thou that thou shalt surely die, 8] thou, and all that are thine. And Abimelech rose early in the morning, and called all his servants, and told all these things in their ears: and the men were 9] sore afraid. Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said unto him, What hast thou done unto us? and wherein have I sinned against thee, that thou hast brought on me and on my kingdom a great sin? thou hast done deeds unto 10] me that ought not to be done. And Abimelech said unto Abraham, What sawest thou, that thou hast done 11] this thing? And Abraham said, Because I thought, Surely the fear of God is not in this place; and they will slay 12] me for my wife's sake. And moreover she is indeed my sister, the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife: 13] and it came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy kindness which thou shalt shew unto

me; at every place whither we shall come, say of me, He is my brother. 14] And Abimelech took sheep and oxen, and men-servants and women-servants, and gave them unto Abraham, 15] and restored him Sarah his wife. And Abimelech said, Behold, my land is before thee: dwell where it pleaseth 16] thee. And unto Sarah he said, Behold, I have given thy brother a thou-

sand pieces of silver: behold,³ it is for thee a covering of the eyes to all that are with thee; and⁴ in respect of all thou 17] art righted. And Abraham prayed unto God: and God healed Abimelech, and his wife, and his maidservants; and 18] they bare children. For the LORD had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah Abraham's wife.

ABRAHAM RETURNS TO BETHEL, *Gen. 13: 1-4*

Gen. 13. And Abram went up out of Egypt, he, and his wife, and all that he had, and Lot with him, into the South. 2] And Abram was very rich in cattle, 3] in silver, and in gold. And he went on his journeys from the South even to

Beth-el, unto the place where his tent had been at the beginning, between 4] Beth-el and Ai; unto the place of the altar, which he had made there at the first: and there Abram called on the name of the LORD.

The rest of the thirteenth chapter of *Genesis* is one of the narratives in which, at least in part, a country is personified as a man. East of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea there dwelt two peoples, the Ammonites and Moabites. During the centuries when the Hebrews were independent and had their own kings, they were frequently at war with these peoples; nevertheless they were conscious that the Moabites and Ammonites were their kindred—descended from the same stock as themselves. The country in which the Moabites and Ammonites lived had, in earlier times, been called "Lotan" or "Lotannu." We find the name in Egyptian inscriptions of about 1900 B.C. and earlier as "Ruten" or "Rutennu." The Egyptians had no letter *l*, but employed *r* instead. Lotan, though the name of a land, was personified as a person (see *Gen. 36: 22*), and then shortened to "Lot." "Lot," then, is the name which the country east of the Jordan had borne for centuries. In the following passage Lot is personified and made the nephew of Abraham. It was in this way that the Hebrews expressed their sense of kinship to the Moabites and Ammonites.

ABRAHAM AND LOT, *Gen. 13: 5-18*

Gen. 13: 5. And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and 6] tents. And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. 7] And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle: and the Canaanite

and the Perizzite dwelled then in the 8] land. And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we are brethren. 9] Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if *thou wilt take* the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if *thou take* the right

³ Or, *he*.

⁴ Or, *before all men*.

10] hand, then I will go to the left. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the ⁵ Plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the LORD destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the garden of the LORD, like the land of 11] Egypt, as thou goest unto Zoar. So Lot chose him all the Plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east: and they separated themselves the one from the other. 12] Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the Plain, and moved his tent as far as 13] Sodom. Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the 14] LORD exceedingly. And the LORD said unto Abram, after that Lot was sep-

arated from him, Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou art, northward and southward and 15] eastward and westward: for all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give 16] it, and to thy seed for ever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also 17] be numbered. Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it; for unto thee will I give 18] it. And Abram moved his tent, and came and dwelt by the ⁶ oaks of Mamre, which are in Hebron, and built there an altar unto the LORD.

ABRAHAM IN WAR, *Gen. 14: 1-24*

Gen. 14. And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of 2] Elam, and Tidal king of ⁷ Goiim, that they made war with Bera king of Sodom, and with Birsha king of Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, and Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela 3] (the same is Zoar). All these ⁸ joined together in the vale of Siddim (the same 4] is the Salt Sea). Twelve years they served Chedorlaomer, and in the thir- 5] teenth year they rebelled. And in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer, and the kings that were with him, and smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim, and the Zuzim in Ham, and the Emim in 6] ⁹ Shaveh-kiriathaim, and the Horites in their mount Seir, unto El-paran, which 7] is by the wilderness. And they returned, and came to En-mishpat (the same is Kadesh), and smote all the ¹⁰ country of the Amalekites, and also the Amorites, that dwelt in Hazazon- 8] tamar. And there went out the king of Sodom, and the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Admah, and the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela (the same is Zoar); and they set the battle in array against them in the vale of Siddim;

9] against Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim, and Amraphel king of Shinar, and Arioch king of Ellasar; four kings against the five. Now the vale of Siddim was full of ¹¹ slime pits; and the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, and they fell there, and they that remained fled to the mountain. 11] And they took all the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all their victuals, 12] and went their way. And they took Lot, Abram's brother's son, who dwelt in Sodom, and his goods, and departed. 13] And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram the Hebrew: now he dwelt by the ⁶ oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol, and brother of Aner; and these were confederate with 14] Abram. And when Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen, and pur- 15] sued as far as Dan. And he divided himself against them by night, he and his servants, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the 16] ¹² left hand of Damascus. And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother Lot, and his goods, and the women also, and the peo-

⁵ Or, *Circle*.

⁶ Or, *terebinths*.

⁷ Or, *nations*.

⁸ Or, *joined themselves together against*.

⁹ Or, *the plain of Kiriathaim*.

¹⁰ Heb. *field*.

¹¹ That is, *bitumen pits*.

¹² Or, *north*.

17] ple. And the king of Sodom went out to meet him, after his return from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him, at the vale of Shaveh (the same is the King's Vale). 18] And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he 19] was priest of ¹³ God Most High. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of ¹³ God Most High, ¹⁴ possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be ¹³ God Most High, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And 21] he gave him a tenth of all. And the

king of Sodom said unto Abram, Give me the persons, and take the goods to 22] thyself. And Abram said to the king of Sodom, I have lifted up mine hand unto the LORD, ¹³ God Most High, ¹⁴ possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take a thread nor a shoe-latchet nor aught that is thine, lest thou should- 24] est say, I have made Abram rich: ¹⁵ save only that which the young men have eaten, and the portion of the men which went with me; Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre, let them take their portion.

The fourteenth chapter of *Genesis*, just quoted, relates how Abraham fought and conquered four kings in order to rescue his nephew Lot, whom they had taken captive. On his way back from the battle, it is said he stopped at Salem (Jerusalem), where Melchizedek was king and also a priest, and gave to Melchizedek a tithe (tenth) of all the booty he had captured. This last feature of the narrative has been illuminated by recent excavations. The city of Jerusalem is situated on the southern spur of two hills, which are separated from the surrounding country and from one another by deep valleys on all sides except the north. Until the time of King Solomon the city was confined to the southern end of the eastern hill. On all sides except the north it was protected by the deep valleys, and, in the period 1800-1600 B.C., a valley on the north, which has since been filled up, partially protected it there also. This valley Macalister and Duncan uncovered in 1924; they found that it had been extended at its eastern end by a rock-cut moat, which extended the defense clear across the hill. That people might easily cross this moat to enter and leave the city, elevated causeways of rock were left at either end of it. Each of these causeways had rock-cut steps at each end of it, by which one crossing it could descend to it and go up from it. By the city gate at the end of the easternmost causeway a rock-cut altar was found. Apparently every one entering the city was expected to sacrifice to its god. This Abraham did, the narrative tells us, in a generous manner. The source of this narrative is something outside either of the four sources of the Pentateuch described above. The spade of the excavator has shown that the division of spoil with Melchizedek is in accordance with the customs of the period to which the Bible assigns Abraham.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH, *Gen.* 18: 1—19: 29

Gen. 18. And the LORD appeared unto him by the ¹⁶ oaks of Mamre, as he sat | in the tent door in the heat of the day; 2] and he lifted up his eyes and looked,

¹³ Heb. *El Elyon*.

¹⁴ Or, *maker*.

¹⁵ Or, let there be *nothing for me; only that &c.*

¹⁶ Or, *terebinths*.

and, lo, three men stood over against him: and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the tent door, and bowed 3] himself to the earth, and said, ¹⁷ My lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight, pass not away, I pray thee, from 4] thy servant: let now a little water be fetched, and wash your feet, and rest 5] yourselves under the tree: and I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your heart; after that ye shall pass on: ¹⁸ forasmuch as ye are come to your servant. And they said, So do, as thou 6] hast said. And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quickly three measures of fine 7] meal, knead it, and make cakes. And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetched a calf tender and good, and gave it unto the servant; and he hasted to dress it. 8] And he took butter, and milk, and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them; and he stood by them under 9] the tree, and they did eat. And they said unto him, Where is Sarah thy wife? 10] And he said, Behold, in the tent. And he said, I will certainly return unto thee when the season ¹⁹ cometh round; and, lo, Sarah thy wife shall have a son. And Sarah heard in the tent door, which was 11] behind him. Now Abraham and Sarah were old, and well stricken in age; it had ceased to be with Sarah after 12] the manner of women. And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, After I am waxed old shall I have pleasure, my 13] lord being old also? And the LORD said unto Abraham, Wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, Shall I of a surety 14] bear a child, which am old? Is any thing too ²⁰ hard for the LORD? At the set time I will return unto thee, when the season ²¹ cometh round, and Sarah 15] shall have a son. Then Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not; for she was afraid. And he said, Nay; but thou didst laugh. 16] And the men rose up from thence, and looked toward Sodom: and Abraham went with them to bring them on 17] the way. And the LORD said, Shall I

hide from Abraham that which I do; 18] seeing that Abraham shall surely become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in 19] him? For I have ²² known him to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the LORD to do justice and judgment; to the end that the LORD may bring upon Abraham that 20] which he hath spoken of him. And the LORD said, ²³ Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and ²³ because 21] their sin is very grievous; I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if 22] not, I will know. And the men turned from thence, and went toward Sodom: but Abraham stood yet before 23] the LORD. And Abraham drew near, and said, Wilt thou consume the right- 24] eous with the wicked? Peradventure there be fifty righteous within the city: wilt thou consume and not spare the place for the fifty righteous that are 25] therein? That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the wicked; that be far from thee: shall not the Judge of all 26] the earth do right? And the LORD said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the 27] place for their sake. And Abraham answered and said, Behold now, I have taken upon me to speak unto the LORD, 28] which am but dust and ashes: peradventure there shall lack five of the fifty righteous: wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five? And he said, I will not destroy it, if I find there forty and five. 29] And he spake unto him yet again, and said, Peradventure there shall be forty found there. And he said, I will 30] not do it for the forty's sake. And he said, Oh let not the LORD be angry, and I will speak: peradventure there shall thirty be found there. And he said, I will not do it, if I find thirty there. 31] And he said, Behold now, I have

¹⁷ Or, O Lord.

¹⁸ Or, for therefore.

¹⁹ Heb. *liveth*, or, *reviveth*.

²⁰ Or, wonderful.

²¹ Heb. *liveth*, or *reviveth*.

²² See *Amos* 3: 2.

²³ Or, *Verily*.

taken upon me to speak unto the LORD : peradventure there shall be twenty found there. And he said, I will not destroy it 32] for the twenty's sake. And he said, Oh let not the LORD be angry, and I will speak yet but this once: peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the ten's sake. 33] And the LORD went his way, as soon as he had left communing with Abraham: and Abraham returned unto his place.

19. And the two angels came to Sodom at even; and Lot sat in the gate of Sodom: and Lot saw them, and rose up to meet them; and he bowed himself 2] with his face to the earth; and he said, Behold now, my lords, turn aside, I pray you, into your servant's house, and tarry all night, and wash your feet, and ye shall rise up early, and go on your way. And they said, Nay; but we 3] will abide in the street all night. And he urged them greatly; and they turned in unto him, and entered into his house; and he made them a feast, and did bake unleavened bread, and they did eat. 4] But before they lay down, the men of the city, *even* the men of Sodom, compassed the house round, both young and old, all the people from every quarter; 5] and they called unto Lot, and said unto him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night? bring them out unto us, that we may know them. 6] And Lot went out unto them to the 7] door, and shut the door after him. And he said, I pray you, my brethren, do not 8] so wickedly. Behold now, I have two daughters which have not known man; let me, I pray you, bring them out unto you, and do ye to them as is good in your eyes: only unto these men do nothing; 24 forasmuch as they are come under the 9] shadow of my roof. And they said, Stand back. And they said, This one fellow came in to sojourn, and he will needs be a judge: now will we deal worse with thee, than with them. And they pressed sore upon the man, even Lot, and drew 10] near to break the door. But the men

put forth their hand, and brought Lot into the house to them, and shut to the 11] door. And they smote the men that were at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great: so that they wearied themselves to find the door. 12] And the men said unto Lot, Hast thou here any besides? son in law, and thy sons, and thy daughters, and whomsoever thou hast in the city; bring them 13] out of the place: for we will destroy this place, because the cry of them is waxen great before the LORD; and the 14] LORD hath sent us to destroy it. And Lot went out, and spake unto his sons in law, which 25 married his daughters, and said, Up, get you out of this place; for the LORD will destroy the city. But he seemed unto his sons in law as one that 15] mocked. And when the morning arose, then the angels hastened Lot, saying, Arise, take thy wife, and thy two daughters which are here; lest thou be consumed in the 26 iniquity of the city. 16] But he lingered; and the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters; the LORD being merciful unto him: and they brought him forth, 17] and set him without the city. And it came to pass, when they had brought them forth abroad, that he said, Escape for thy life; look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the 27 Plain; escape to the 18] mountain, lest thou be consumed. And Lot said unto them, Oh, not so, 28 my 19] lord: behold now, thy servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy, which thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life; and I cannot escape to the mountain, lest 20] 29 evil overtake me, and I die: behold now, this city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: Oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my 21] soul shall live. And he said unto him, See, I have accepted thee concerning this thing also, that I will not overthrow the 22] city of which thou hast spoken. Haste thee, escape thither; for I cannot do any thing till thou be come thither. There-

24 Or, *for therefore.*

25 Or, *were to marry.*

26 Or, *punishment.*

27 See ch. 13: 10.

28 Or, *O Lord.*

29 Or, *the evil.*

fore the name of the city was called
 23] ³⁰ Zoar. The sun was risen upon the
 earth when Lot came unto Zoar.
 24] Then the LORD rained upon Sodom
 and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire
 25] from the LORD out of heaven; and he
 overthrew those cities, and all the Plain,
 and all the inhabitants of the cities, and
 that which grew upon the ground.
 26] But his wife looked back from be-
 hind him, and she became a pillar of
 27] salt. And Abraham gat up early in

the morning to the place where he had
 28] stood before the LORD: and he looked
 toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and
 toward all the land of the Plain, and be-
 held, and, lo, the smoke of the land went
 up as the smoke of a furnace.

29] And it came to pass, when God de-
 stroyed the cities of the Plain, that God
 remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out
 of the midst of the overthrow, when he
 overthrew the cities in the which Lot
 dwelt.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters of *Genesis* there is a picturesque and graphic account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and other cities of "the Plain" as the deep depression at the south end of the Dead Sea was called. This account is in the main from the J Document, and is replete with the religious ideas of that writer. The writer tells his stories as simply and powerfully as Homer, making the scene stand out before the reader and never permitting the interest to lag. The story is probably founded on the memory of a disaster which overtook that region through an earthquake and the subsidence of a part of the earth's surface. The description suggests volcanic action, but geologists tell us that there has been no volcanic action in that part of Palestine in times so recent. It is known, though, that, while the northern two-thirds of the Dead Sea is from 1,200 to 1,500 feet deep, the southern third is only 12 to 16 feet deep. It is also known that the water is gradually rising and is submerging more and more land year by year. That there were once cities there was established in 1924 by Dr. W. F. Albright and Dr. Melvin G. Kyle, who discovered at the base of the hills which rise at the east of the "Plain" the "high place" where these peoples of long ago used to go and worship. The pottery found in connection with this sanctuary showed that it had been used from about 2800 B.C. to 1800 B.C., and deserted about the last mentioned date. As this corresponds approximately with the time of Abraham, it tends to establish our faith in this story that the cities which once stood here perished in some great upheaval.

THE DELIVERANCE OF ISAAC, *Gen. 22: 1-24*

Gen. 22. And it came to pass after these things, that God did prove Abraham, and said unto him, Abraham; and 2] he said, Here am I. And he said, Take now thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest, even Isaac, and get thee in to the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt offering upon one of the moun- 3] tains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham rose early in the morning, and

saddled his ass, and took two of his young men with him, and Isaac his son; and he clave the wood for the burnt offering, and rose up, and went unto the 4] place of which God had told him. On the third day Abraham lifted up his eyes, 5] and saw the place afar off. And Abraham said unto his young men, Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the lad will go yonder; and we will worship, and

30 That is, *Little*, ver. 20. See ch. 14: 8.

6] come again to you. And Abraham took the wood of the burnt offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he took in his hand the fire and the knife; and 7] they went both of them together. And Isaac spake unto Abraham his father, and said, My father: and he said, Here am I, my son. And he said, Behold, the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb 8] for a burnt offering? And Abraham said, God will ³¹ provide himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son: so 9] they went both of them together. And they came to the place which God had told him of; and Abraham built the altar there, and laid the wood in order, and bound Isaac his son, and laid him on the 10] altar, upon the wood. And Abraham stretched forth his hand, and took the 11] knife to slay his son. And the angel of the LORD called unto him out of heaven, and said, Abraham, Abraham: 12] and he said, Here am I. And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him: for now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou has not withheld thy son, thine only son, 13] from me. And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and ³² behold, behind him a ram caught in the thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt 14] offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham called the name of that place

³³ Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD ³⁴ it shall be 15] provided. And the angel of the LORD called unto Abraham a second time out 16] of heaven, and said, By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not with- 17] held thy son, thine only son: that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the sea shore; and thy seed shall possess the gate of his en- 18] emies; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth ³⁵ be blessed; be- 19] cause thou hast obeyed my voice. So Abraham returned unto his young men, and they rose up and went together to Beer-sheba; and Abraham dwelt at Beer-sheba.

20] And it came to pass after these things, that it was told Abraham, saying, Behold, Milcah, she also hath borne 21] children unto thy brother Nahor; Uz his firstborn, and Buz his brother, and 22] Kemuel the father of Aram; and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jid- 23] laph, and Bethuel. And Bethuel begat Rebekah: these eight did Milcah bear to Nahor, Abraham's brother. 24] And his concubine, whose name was Reumah, she also bare Tebah, and Gaham, and Tahash, and Maacah.

The twenty-second chapter of *Genesis* has long been called the "sacrifice of Isaac"; it should be called the "deliverance of Isaac." The ancestors of the Hebrews had believed that God required human sacrifices. The firstborn children, as well as firstborn animals, were regarded as Jehovah's and should be given him in sacrifice (see *Ex.* 34: 19, 20). Later they felt that God permitted them to substitute a lamb and sacrifice it instead of their firstborn, and they told this story of how God had revealed the fact to Abraham as he was about to sacrifice Isaac, his firstborn, in justification of such substitution. The story is from the E Document.

ABRAHAM BUYS A BURIAL-CAVE, *Gen.* 23: 1-20

Gen. 23. And the life of Sarah was an hundred and seven and twenty years:

these were the years of the life of Sarah. 2] And Sarah died in Kiriath-arba (the

³¹ Heb. see for himself.

³² Or, according to many ancient authorities, behold a (Heb. one) ram caught.

³³ That is, The LORD will see, or, provide.

³⁴ Or, he shall be seen.

³⁵ Or, bless themselves.

same is Hebron), in the land of Canaan: and Abraham came to mourn for Sarah, 3] and to weep for her. And Abraham rose up from before his dead, and spake 4] unto the children of Heth, saying, I am a stranger and a sojourner with you: give me a possession of a buryingplace with you, that I may bury my dead out 5] of my sight. And the children of Heth answered Abraham, saying unto him, 6] Hear us, my lord: thou art ³⁶ a mighty prince among us: in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withhold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou mayest bury thy dead. 7] And Abraham rose up, and bowed himself to the people of the land, even 8] to the children of Heth. And he communed with them, saying, If it be your mind that I should bury my dead out of my sight, hear me, and intreat for me to 9] Ephron the son of Zohar, that he may give me the cave of Machpelah, which he hath, which is in the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in the midst of you for a possession 10] of a buryingplace. Now Ephron was sitting in the midst of the children of Heth: and Ephron the Hittite answered Abraham in the audience of the children of Heth, even of all that went in at the 11] gate of his city, saying, Nay, my lord, hear me: the field give I thee, and the cave that is therein, I give it thee; in the presence of the sons of my people

12] give I it thee: bury thy dead. And Abraham bowed himself down before the 13] people of the land. And he spake unto Ephron in the audience of the people of the land, saying, But if thou wilt, I pray thee, hear me: I will give the price of the field; take it of me, and I will 14] bury my dead there. And Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him, My 15] lord, hearken unto me: a piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee? 16] bury therefore thy dead. And Abraham hearkened unto Ephron; and Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the children of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current *money* with the mer- 17] chant. So the field of Ephron, which was in Machpelah, which was before Mamre, the field, and the cave which was therein, and all the trees that were in the field, that were in all the border 18] thereof round about, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession in the presence of the children of Heth, before all that went in at the gate of his city. 19] And after this, Abraham buried Sarah his wife in the cave of the field of Machpelah before Mamre (the same is 20] Hebron), in the land of Canaan. And the field, and the cave that is therein, were made sure unto Abraham for a possession of a buryingplace by the children of Heth.

In early Palestine the dead were often buried in caves, the mouths of which were then closed up. If no cave was available, a tomb could be cut out of the solid rock; but, if a cave could be obtained, much labor was saved. The twenty-third chapter of *Genesis* tells the story of how, when Sarah died, Abraham purchased the Cave of Macpelah in Hebron as a tomb for her. Although the story is taken from the P Document, the latest source in the Pentateuch, it is interesting as it recognizes that Hittites were in possession of Hebron in the Abrahamic age. It is also an excellent picture of the slow processes of Oriental bargaining.

ABRAHAM TAKES A BRIDE FOR ISAAC, *Gen.* 24: 1-67

In the twenty-fourth chapter of *Genesis* there is the story of an Oriental wooing of a bride. It is taken from the J Document, and is one of that writer's best told tales.

³⁶ Heb. a prince of God.

Gen. 24. And Abraham was old, and well stricken in age: and the LORD had 2] blessed Abraham in all things. And Abraham said unto his servant, the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under 3] my thigh: and I will make thee swear by the LORD, the God of heaven and the God of the earth, that thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites, among whom I dwell: 4] but thou shalt go unto my country, and to my kindred, and take a wife for 5] my son Isaac. And the servant said unto him, Peradventure the woman will not be willing to follow me unto this land: must I needs bring thy son again unto the land from whence thou camest? 6] And Abraham said unto him, Beware thou that thou bring not my son thither 7] again. The LORD, the God of heaven, that took me from my father's house, and from the land of my nativity, and that spake unto me, and that sware unto me, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land; he shall send his angel before thee, and thou shalt take a wife for my son 8] from thence. And if the woman be not willing to follow thee, then thou shalt be clear from this my oath; only thou shalt not bring my son thither 9] again. And the servant put his hand under the thigh of Abraham his master, and sware to him concerning this matter. And the servant took ten camels, of the camels of his master, and departed; ³⁷ having all goodly things of his master's in his hand: and he arose, and went to ³⁸ Mesopotamia, unto the 11] city of Nahor. And he made the camels to kneel down without the city by the well of water at the time of evening, the time that women go out to 12] draw water. And he said, O LORD, the God of my master Abraham, send me, I pray thee, good speed this day, and shew kindness unto my master Abraham. Behold, I stand by the fountain of water; and the daughters of the men of the city come out to draw water: 14] and let it come to pass, that the dam-

sel to whom I shall say, Let down thy pitcher, I pray thee, that I may drink; and she shall say, Drink, and I will give thy camels drink also: let the same be she that thou hast appointed for thy servant Isaac; and thereby shall I know that thou hast shewed kindness unto my 15] master. And it came to pass, before he had done speaking, that, behold, Rebekah came out, who was born to Bethuel the son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother, with her pitcher up- 16] on her shoulder. And the damsel was very fair to look upon, a virgin, neither had any man known her: and she went down to the fountain, and filled 17] her pitcher, and came up. And the servant ran to meet her, and said, Give me to drink, I pray thee, a little water 18] of thy pitcher. And she said, Drink, my lord: and she hastened, and let down her pitcher upon her hand, and gave 19] him drink. And when she had done giving him drink, she said, I will draw for thy camels also, until they have done 20] drinking. And she hastened, and emptied her pitcher into the trough, and ran again unto the well to draw, and drew 21] for all his camels. And the man looked stedfastly on her; holding his peace, to know whether the LORD had made his journey prosperous or not. 22] And it came to pass, as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ring of ³⁹ half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten 23] shekels weight of gold; and said, Whose daughter art thou? tell me, I pray thee. Is there room in thy father's 24] house for us to lodge in? And she said unto him, I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, which she 25] bare unto Nahor. She said moreover unto him, We have both straw and provender enough, and room to lodge in. 26] And the man bowed his head, and 27] worshipped the LORD. And he said, Blessed be the LORD, the God of my master Abraham, who hath not forsaken his mercy and his truth toward my master: as for me, the LORD hath led me in

³⁷ Or, for all the goods of his master were in his hand.

³⁸ Heb. *Aramnaharaim*, that is, *Aram of the two rivers*.

³⁹ Heb. *a beka*. See *Ex.* 38: 26.

the way to the house of my master's
 28] brethren. And the damsel ran, and
 told her mother's house according to
 29] these words. And Rebekah had a
 brother, and his name was Laban: and
 Laban ran out unto the man, unto the
 30] fountain. And it came to pass, when
 he saw the ring, the bracelets upon his
 sister's hands, and when he heard the
 words of Rebekah his sister, saying,
 Thus spake the man unto me; that he
 came unto the man; and, behold, he
 stood by the camels at the fountain.
 31] And he said, Come in, thou blessed
 of the LORD; wherefore standest thou
 without? for I have prepared the house,
 32] and room for the camels. And the
 man came into the house, and he un-
 girded the camels; and he gave straw
 and provender for the camels, and wa-
 ter to wash his feet and the men's feet
 33] that were with him. And there was
 set meat before him to eat: but he said,
 I will not eat, until I have told mine er-
 34] rand. And he said, Speak on. And he
 35] said, I am Abraham's servant. And
 the LORD hath blessed my master greatly;
 and he is become great: and he hath
 given him flocks and herds, and silver
 and gold, and menservants and maid-
 36] servants, and camels and asses. And
 Sarah my master's wife bare a son to
 my master when she was old: and unto
 him hath he given all that he hath.
 37] And my master made me swear, say-
 ing, Thou shalt not take a wife for my
 son of the daughters of the Canaanites,
 38] in whose land I dwell: but thou shalt
 go unto my father's house, and to my
 kindred, and take a wife for my son.
 39] And I said unto my master, Perad-
 venture the woman will not follow me.
 40] And he said unto me, The LORD, be-
 fore whom I walk, will send his angel
 with thee, and prosper thy way; and
 thou shalt take a wife for my son of my
 kindred, and of my father's house:
 41] then shalt thou be clear from my
 oath, when thou comest to my kindred;
 and if they give her not to thee, thou
 42] shalt be clear from my oath. And
 I came this day unto the fountain, and
 said, O LORD, the God of my master
 Abraham, if now thou do prosper my

43] way which I go: behold, I stand by
 the fountain of water; and let it come
 to pass, that the maiden which cometh
 forth to draw, to whom I shall say, Give
 me, I pray thee, a little water of thy
 44] pitcher to drink; and she shall say
 to me, Both drink thou, and I will also
 draw for thy camels: let the same be
 the woman whom the LORD hath ap-
 45] pointed for my master's son. And be-
 fore I had done speaking in mine heart,
 behold, Rebekah came forth with her
 pitcher on her shoulder; and she went
 down unto the fountain, and drew: and
 I said unto her, Let me drink I pray
 46] thee. And she made haste, and let
 down her pitcher from her shoulder, and
 said, Drink, and I will give thy camels
 drink also: so I drank, and she made the
 47] camels drink also. And I asked her,
 and said, Whose daughter art thou? And
 she said, The daughter of Bethuel, Na-
 hor's son, whom Milcah bare unto him:
 and I put the ring upon her nose, and the
 48] bracelets upon her hands. And I
 bowed my head, and worshipped the
 LORD, and blessed the LORD, the God of
 my master Abraham, which had led me
 in the right way to take my master's
 49] brother's daughter for his son. And
 now if ye will deal kindly and truly
 with my master, tell me: and if not, tell
 me; that I may turn to the right hand,
 50] or to the left. Then Laban and Meth-
 uel answered and said, The thing pro-
 ceedeth from the LORD: we cannot speak
 51] unto thee bad or good. Behold, Re-
 bekah is before thee, take her, and go,
 and let her be thy master's son's wife,
 52] as the LORD hath spoken. And it
 came to pass, that, when Abraham's serv-
 ant heard their words, he bowed him-
 self down to the earth unto the LORD.
 53] And the servant brought forth jew-
 els of silver, and jewels of gold, and
 raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he
 gave also to her brother and to her
 54] mother precious things. And they did
 eat and drink, he and the men that were
 with him, and tarried all night; and
 they rose up in the morning, and he said,
 55] Send me away unto my master. And
 her brother and her mother said, Let the
 damsel abide with us *a few* days, at the

56] least ten; after that she shall go. And he said unto them, Hinder me not, seeing the LORD hath prospered my way; send me away that I may go to my master. And they said, We will call the damsel, and inquire at her mouth. 58] And they called Rebekah, and said unto her, Wilt thou go with this man? 59] And she said, I will go. And they sent away Rebekah their sister, and her nurse, and Abraham's servant, and his 60] men. And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Our sister, be thou *the mother* of thousands of ten thousands, and let thy seed possess the gate of those 61] which hate them. And Rebekah arose, and her damsels, and they rode upon the camels, and followed the man: and the servant took Rebekah, and went

62] his way. And Isaac came ⁴⁰ from the way of Beer-lahai-roi; for he dwelt in 63] the land of the South. And Isaac went out to meditate in the field at the eventide: and he lifted up his eyes, and saw, and, behold, there were camels coming. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she lighted off 65] the camel. And she said unto the servant, What man is this that walketh in the field to meet us? And the servant said, It is my master: and she took her 66] veil, and covered herself. And the servant told Isaac all the things that he 67] had done. And Isaac brought her into his mother Sarah's tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her: and Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.

This narrative is another item, linking the Hebrew ancestry with Haran. It represents under the form of marriage the blending of the Amorite and the Aramean elements.

These priceless pictures of Oriental life contain in various degrees such historical elements from the age of Abraham as had survived in the memory of the story-tellers of ancient Israel.

⁴⁰ The Sept. has, *through the wilderness*.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF HEBREWS IN PALESTINE

IN the late autumn of 1887 an Egyptian peasant woman was digging in the sand at Tel-el-Amarna, about half-way between Cairo and the First Cataract on the east side of the Nile in Egypt, when she came upon some clay tablets, inscribed in the wedge-shaped writing of Babylonia. She is said to have sold her rights to the discovery for fifty cents. When the clue was followed up, more than four hundred such tablets were found. They proved to be an archive of letters written to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, kings of Egypt between 1411 and 1357 B.C., by various kings, princes, and chieftains of western Asia. There were letters from kings of Babylon, Assyria, the Mitanni, from Azarwa in western Asia Minor, and a great many from princes of cities in Phenicia and Palestine, including Tyre and Jerusalem. It was from these letters that we gained our first information about the Habiri, who were described above in chapter II.

As soon as it was realized that the Habiri, who, these tablets said, were making war on the residents of Palestine and overrunning parts of the country, were Hebrews, it was assumed by some that here we had contemporary evidence from the people of Canaan of the wars of Joshua, the story of which is recounted in the book of *Joshua*. While this supposition suits certain chronological statements of the Bible, it creates difficulties in other ways. If the Habiri described in the tablets were the armies of Joshua, the exodus from Egypt must have occurred under the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, but the book of *Exodus* tells us (ch. 1:11) that the Hebrews, when in bondage in Egypt, were compelled to help build the city of Raamses, which we know from Egyptian sources was built by Ramses II, a king of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, who reigned from 1292 to 1225 B.C. The description of the oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt corresponds so closely with what is known of his reign, and with the reign of no other Egyptian king, that it has been very generally accepted by scholars that Ramses II was the Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews and that the Exodus occurred under Merneptah, his son and successor, who reigned from 1225 to 1215 B.C.—the exodus being about 1220 B.C. The evidence for this view is so much more convincing than for the other, that it has been accepted by the great majority of scholars, and will be found in most modern books on the subject. Notwithstanding this, there are difficulties, if one accepts it. In 1896 Petrie

discovered on the back of a statue a hymn of victory, written in the fifth year of Merneptah's reign, to celebrate the victories he had won up to that time, in which, in naming the peoples he had conquered in the land of Canaan, he said: "Israel is desolated; his seed is not."¹ Because the evidence is so conflicting, a few scholars, the present writer among them, have come to believe that there were two periods of Hebrew conquest and settlement in Palestine, one in the time of Amenophis IV, of which the El-Amarna letters give us a glimpse, and the other about 1200 B.C., after the reign of Merneptah. During the first settlement the tribes said to be descended from Leah, who were even then called the "sons of Israel," settled, it is supposed, in that country, where they remained. According to this theory, it was only the tribes said to be descended from Rachel that were in Egypt and were delivered therefrom by Moses, and who reached Palestine soon after the year 1200 B.C. The acceptance of this solution of the difficulties involves the supposition that centuries later, when the documents J, E, D, and P, from which the book of *Joshua* was compiled, were written, the two periods of conquest lay so far back that they seemed to be one, and so the actual perspective was lost. Such a supposition need not disturb us. It is a mistaken view of inspiration to suppose that it enables one to write history without sources and state all the facts exactly. The writers of the Bible show their inspiration by the fact that they perceived more clearly than their contemporaries the true nature of God, and saw more deeply than others the vital connection between ethics and religion.

This theory of two invasions of Palestine finds support in the fact that, in spite of what has been said about the book of *Joshua*, there are recollections of two invasions of Palestine in the Bible itself, for, while the book of *Joshua* describes one made from the east, in *Numbers* 21: 1-3 and *Judges* 1: 1-20 we have a record of an invasion made by the tribe of Judah from the south.² The evidence is so conflicting that there will be for a long time advocates of all three theories. Some will believe that the Hebrews conquered Palestine before 1350 B.C.; others, that they did it about 1200 B.C.; while some, like the writer, will believe that they did it at both times. The following pages are written on the supposition that the last mentioned theory is probably correct. If at times the writer seems to speak too much as though it were fully established, it is only to avoid using too often some such word as "probably," "perhaps," or "in our opinion." It is always helpful to arrange our knowledge in an orderly manner in accordance with the theory that will best explain all the facts, but one must be willing to abandon one's theory, when it becomes clear that another affords a better explanation of all the facts.

¹ See J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records: Egypt*, Vol. III, p.264 ff., or G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 338.

² A more detailed statement with more complete reasons will be found in G. A. Barton, *Religion of Israel*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1928, ch. 111.

With the understanding thus reached, we ask what the letters found at El-Amarna have to tell us of the first Hebrew conquest of Palestine. Several of these letters were written by Abdi-Hepa (or Ebed-Hepa), a king of Jerusalem, who was of Hurri descent. Ebed-Hepa was a vassal of the king of Egypt, who was hard beset by the Habiri, and he made in these letters frantic appeals for soldiers to help him in his fight. One of them begins thus :

"To the king, my lord, speak, saying, Ebed-Hepa, thy servant—at the feet of my lord, the king, seven times and seven times I prostrate myself. What have I done to the king, my lord? They slander and misrepresent me before the king, my lord (saying): 'Ebed-Hepa is disloyal to the king,' my lord. Behold I—neither my father nor my mother set me in this place; the arm of the mighty king caused me to enter into the house of my father. Why should I commit rebellion against the king, my lord? As long as the king, my lord, lives I will say unto the governor of the king, my lord; 'Why dost thou love the Habiri and hate the prefects?' But thus he misrepresents me before the king, my lord. Now I say: 'lost are the lands of the king, my lord.'"

Further on in the same letter Ebed-Hepa says :

"May the king turn his face toward soldiers, so that there may come forth soldiers of the king, my lord. There are no lands left to the king, my lord. The Habiri plunder all the lands of the king. If there are soldiers in this year, there will be left lands of the king, my lord. If there are no soldiers, the lands of the king will be lost. Unto the scribe of the king, my lord, the following: Ebed-Hepa, thy servant. Take beautiful words to the king, my lord. Lost are all the lands of the king, my lord."

In another letter he says :

"I set once a ship on the sea, when the mighty arm of the king took Naharina [Mesopotamia] and Kapasi, but, behold the Habiri take the cities of the king. There is no prefect to the king, my lord; all are lost. Behold Turbazu was killed in the city-gate of Zilu and the king is inactive! Behold Zimrida of Lachish, his servants were enraged at him; he adhered to the Habiri. Yapti-Adda was killed in the city-gate of Zilu and there is no action! Concerning it the king makes no inquiry! Let the king care for his land and let the king turn his face to soldiers for the tributary lands! For, if there are no soldiers in this year, lost, perished are all the lands of the king, my lord. Let not one say in the presence of the king, my lord, that the land of the king, my lord, is lost and all the prefects are lost. If there are no soldiers in this year, then let the king send a governor to bring me and my brothers unto thee, and we will die with the king, my lord."

In still another letter he says, after the usual introduction :

"Behold the deed which Malkiel and Shuardatu have done against the country of the king, my lord! They have won over the soldiers of Gezer, the soldiers of Gath, and the soldiers of Keilah; they have seized the country of the city Rubuti. The land of the king is fallen away to the Habiri. And now also a city of the territory of Jerusalem—its name is Beth-shemesh—a city of the king, has gone over to the men of Keilah. May the king hearken to Ebed-Hepa, thy servant, and send

soldiers that the land of the king may remain unto the king. If there are no soldiers, lost are the lands of the king to the Habiri. This is the deed which Malkiel and Shuardatu have done. . . . May the king care for his land!"³

From these letters it is clear that Jerusalem was the capital of an extensive territory, which included the territory of what was afterward northern Judea, extended westward to include Beth-shemesh on the border of what we now call the Philistine plain, and northward to Mount Carmel. The Habiri were pushing into Lachish, Gath, and Gezer, all on the edge of the Plain, and Beth-shemesh and Keilah in Judea had gone over to them. They appear to have been pushing up from the south along the western edge of the central range of Palestinian hills. According to a passage in the book of *Judges* the children of Judah made a similar attack from the south and captured several cities, including Jerusalem. We suspect that this passage refers to a slightly later stage in the same war, and that their capture of Jerusalem caused Ebed-Hepa's letters to cease. The passage reads as follows:

JUD. 1. 2] And the LORD said, Judah shall go up: behold, I have delivered 3] the land into his hand. And Judah said unto Simeon his brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites; and I likewise will go with thee into thy lot. So Simeon went 4] with him. And Judah went up; and the LORD delivered the Canaanites and the Perizzites into their hand: and they smote of them in Bezek ten thousand 5] men. And they found Adoni-bezek in Bezek: and they fought against him, and they smote the Canaanites and the 6] Perizzites. But Adoni-bezek fled; and they pursued after^d him, and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. 7] And Adoni-bezek said, Three-score and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered *their meat* under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me. And they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died there.

8] And the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the 9] city on fire. And afterward the chil-

dren of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites that dwelt in the hill country, and in the South, and in the 10] lowland. ⁴ And Judah went against the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron: (now the name of Hebron beforetime was Kiriath-arba:) and they smote She- 11] shai, and Ahiman, and Talmai. And from thence he went against the inhabitants of Debir. (Now the name of Debir 12] beforetime was Kiriath-sepher.) And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kiriath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give 13] Achsah my daughter to wife. And Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him 14] Achsah his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, when she came *unto him*, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted down from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What 15] wouldest thou? And she said unto him, Give me a ⁵ blessing; for that thou hast ⁶ set me in the land of the South, give me also springs of water. And Caleb gave her the upper springs and the nether springs.

The book of *Numbers*, ch. 21: 1-3, seems to record another episode in this same war. It reads as follows:

³ For full translation of these letters, see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 403-406.

⁴ See *Josh. 15: 13-19*.

⁵ Or, *present*.

⁶ Or, *given me the land of the South*.

Num. 21. And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, which dwelt in the South, heard tell that Israel came by the way ⁷ of Atharim; and he fought against Israel, and took some of them captive. **2]** And Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed de-

liver this people into my hand, then I **3]** will ⁸ utterly destroy their cities. And the LORD hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they ⁹ utterly destroyed them and their cities: and the name of the place was called ¹⁰ Hormah.

THE CONQUEST OF THE AMORITE KING SIHON BY THE REUBENITES, *Num. 21: 21-31*

Num. 21. 21] And Israel sent messengers unto Sihon king of the Amorites, **22]** saying, Let me pass through thy land: we will not turn aside into field, or into vineyard; we will not drink of the water of the wells: we will go by the king's *high* way, until we have passed **23]** thy border. And Sihon would not suffer Israel to pass through his border: but Sihon gathered all his people together, and went out against Israel into the wilderness, and came to Jahaz: and **24]** he fought against Israel. And Israel smote him with the edge of the sword, and possessed his land from Arnon unto Jabbok, even unto the children of Ammon: for the border of the children of **25]** Ammon was strong. And Israel took all these cities: and Israel dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites, in Heshbon, **26]** and in all the ¹¹ towns thereof. For Heshbon was the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites, who had fought against the former king of Moab, and taken all his land out of his hand, even unto Ar-

27] non. Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say,

Come ye to Heshbon,

Let the city of Sihon be built and established:

28] For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,

A flame from the city of Sihon:

It hath devoured Ar of Moab,

The lords of ¹² the high places of Arnon.

29] Woe to thee, Moab!

Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh:

He hath given his sons as fugitives,

And his daughters into captivity,

Unto Sihon king of the Amorites.

30] We have shot at them; Heshbon is perished even unto Dibon,

And we have laid waste even unto Nophah,

¹³ which *reacheth* unto Medeba.

31] Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites.

This passage tells us how the Reubenites won their land east of the Jordan.

Other letters in the El-Amarna correspondence, written by other men than Ebed-Hepa, tell a similar tale. Lapaya and Malkiel, to whom Ebed-Hepa refers, wrote letters, the one telling how an influential man had gone over to the Habiri, the other appealing that the land of the king might be saved from them. Yapahi, king of Gezer, wrote to the king making a similar appeal, while men whose names are lost declared "the Habiri are stronger than we."

The El-Amarna letters from the north of Palestine tell a similar story.

⁷ Or, of the spies

⁸ Heb. devote.

⁹ Heb. devoted.

¹⁰ From the same root as *herem*, a devoted thing.

¹¹ Heb. daughters.

¹² Or, Bamoth.

¹³ Some ancient authorities have, *Fire reached unto*.

Rib-Adad, king of Gebal, wrote a number of letters, from which we learn that the Habiri were pressing down upon the Amorite kingdom which lay just east of Tyre and Sidon. A king of Sidon writes: "All my cities are in the hands of the Habiri." They attacked Gebal itself. Other letters, the names of whose writers are lost, show that the Habiri were in Bethshean on the west of the Jordan, and in Ashtart (Ashtoreth Karnaim) and in Bosrah. They also attacked Damascus. These letters accordingly show that the Habiri had gained a foothold in the country east of the Sea of Galilee which has for centuries been called the Hauran, that they held a fortress in the heights of Galilee, and were pressing hard on the cities of Phenicia. It would seem therefore that they gained possession of the southern portion of the country and of the most northerly part of it.

The Habiri, in struggling for a foothold in Palestine, did not expel or exterminate all its previous inhabitants. Sometimes they captured a city, as Ebed-Hepa testifies; sometimes they were repulsed with loss; sometimes they gained a foothold by making alliances with clans who were in possession. The El-Amarna letters reveal the fact that there were much intrigue and bad faith among the petty princes of the country, who had been vassals of the Egyptian king, and we learn also from the Bible that the Hebrews themselves were sometimes treacherous and suffered for it. The story of such an episode, which seems to belong to this period, is recorded in the thirty-fourth chapter of *Genesis*. In the narrative the tribes of Simeon and Levi are personified as men. What their shadowy sister Dinah may represent, we do not know. The scene of the narrative is the city of Shechem, in central Palestine, afterward an important city in the tribe of Ephraim. The city, like the tribes, is personified. In the affair described, there seems to have been treachery on both sides. In the encounter the tribes of Simeon and Levi were so nearly annihilated that they never recovered from the shock. The few Levites who survived were scattered among the other tribes, and the remnant of Simeon maintained for a time a shadowy existence on the border of Judah, by which tribe it was afterward absorbed.

The story reads as follows, *Genesis* 33: 18-34: 31.

Gen. 33. 18] And Jacob came ¹⁴ in peace to the city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Paddan-aram; and encamped before the 19] city. And he bought the parcel of ground, where he had spread his tent, at the hand of the children of Hamor, Shechem's father, for an hundred 20] ¹⁵ pieces of money. And he erected there an altar, and called it ¹⁶ El-elohe-Israel.

34. And Dinah the daughter of Leah, which she bare unto Jacob, went out to 2] see the daughters of the land. And Shechem the son of Hamor the Hivite, the prince of the land, saw her; and he took her, and lay with her, and humbled 3] her. And his soul clave unto Dinah the daughter of Jacob, and he loved the damsel, and spake ¹⁷ kindly unto the 4] damsel. And Shechem spake unto his father Hamor, saying, Get me this dam-

¹⁴ Or, to Shalom, a city.

¹⁵ Heb. kesitah.

¹⁶ That is, God, the God of Israel.

¹⁷ Heb. to the heart of the damsel.

5] sel to wife. Now Jacob heard that he had defiled Dinah his daughter; and his sons were with his cattle in the field: and Jacob held his peace until they came. 6] And Hamor the father of Shechem went out unto Jacob to commune with 7] him. And the sons of Jacob came in from the field when they heard it: and the men were grieved, and they were very wroth, because he had wrought folly in Israel in lying with Jacob's daughter; 8] which thing ought not to be done. And Hamor communed with them, saying, The soul of my son Shechem longeth for your daughter: I pray you give her unto 9] him to wife. And make ye marriages with us; give your daughters unto us, 10] and take our daughters unto you. And ye shall dwell with us: and the land shall be before you; dwell and trade ye therein, and get you possessions 11] therein. And Shechem said unto her father and unto her brethren, Let me find grace in your eyes, and what ye shall 12] say unto me I will give. Ask me never so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me: but give me the damsel to wife. 13] And the sons of Jacob answered Shechem and Hamor his father with guile, and spake, because he had defiled Dinah their sister, and said unto them, 14] We cannot do this thing, to give our sister to one that is uncircumcised; for 15] that were a reproach unto us: only on this condition will we consent unto you: if ye will be as we be, that every 16] male of you be circumcised; then will we give our daughters unto you, and we will take your daughters to us, and we will dwell with you, and we will 17] become one people. But if ye will not hearken unto us, to be circumcised; then will we take our daughter, and we will 18] be gone. And their words pleased Hamor, and Shechem Hamor's son. 19] And the young man deferred not to do the thing, because he had delight in Jacob's daughter: and he was honoured

above all the house of his father. 20] And Hamor and Shechem his son came unto the gate of their city, and communed with the men of their city, 21] saying, These men are peaceable with us; therefore let them dwell in the land, and trade therein; for, behold, the land is large enough for them; let us take their daughters to us for wives, and 22] let us give them our daughters. Only on this condition will the men consent unto us to dwell with us, to become one people, if every male among us be circumcised, as they are circumcised. 23] Shall not their cattle and their substance and all their beasts be ours? only let us consent unto them, and they will 24] dwell with us. And unto Hamor and unto Shechem his son hearkened all that went out of the gate of his city; and every male was circumcised, all that went 25] out of the gate of his city. And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that two of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren, took each man his sword, and came upon the 26] city ¹⁸ unawares, and slew all the males. And they slew Hamor and Shechem his son with the edge of the sword, and took Dinah out of Shechem's house, 27] and went forth. The sons of Jacob came upon the slain, and spoiled the city, because they had defiled their sister. 28] They took their flocks and their herds and their asses, and that which was in the city, and that which was 29] in the field; and all their wealth, and all their little ones and their wives, took they captive and spoiled, even all 30] that was in the house. And Jacob said to Simeon and Levi, Ye have troubled me, to make me to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanites and the Perizzites: and, I being few in number, they will gather themselves together against me and smite me; and I shall be destroyed, I and my house. 31] And they said, Should he deal with our sister as with an harlot?

The memory of the treachery of these tribes and the punishment which, it was believed, they suffered, is also preserved in an old poem,

called "The Blessing of Jacob" preserved in the forty-ninth chapter of *Genesis*. Among the Hebrews it was customary to sum up in terse poetry the fortunes of various tribes and attribute the lines as a prophecy to some ancient patriarch. A similar custom still exists among the Arabs. The forty-ninth chapter of *Genesis* contains a group of such poems, describing the fortunes of each of the sons of Jacob. The portion concerning Simeon and Levi reads as follows:

Gen. 49. 5] Simeon and Levi are brethren;

Weapons of violence are their
¹⁹ swords.

6] O my soul, come not thou into their
²⁰ council;

Unto their assembly, my glory, be not
thou united;

For in their anger they slew ²¹ a man,
And in their selfwill they houghed
²² an ox.

7] Cursed be their anger, for it was
fierce;

And their wrath, for it was cruel:

I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel.

Another passage, which probably records a war of this period, is found in the eleventh chapter of the book of *Joshua*. It records the defeat of Jabin, king of Hazor, a site near the "Waters of Merom," the modern Huleh, a small lake formed by the river Jordan some miles north of the Sea of Galilee. Its site was discovered by Dr. Garstang in 1927. The description of the battle in the book of *Joshua* is drawn from the D Document, which is quite late, but it seems to be a tradition of a historical battle. The writer of the passage calls the Hebrew commander Joshua, but, since the victory secured the territory in which the tribe of Zebulun lived, and since Zebulun was one of the Leah-tribes who, according to our theory, settled in Palestine with the first settlement of Hebrews, it seems probable that, in a long oral transmission, the true perspective was lost, and the battle mistakenly attributed to the time of Joshua. This need not surprise us; stories still attach themselves to the wrong persons as they pass from mouth to mouth. The writer has heard the same stories told of Professor Neander of Berlin and Professor Andrew P. Peabody, both of whom were very absent-minded. He has also heard a story which was originally told in England of the school days of Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown at Rugby*, told in this country of the school days of President Roosevelt. The account of the defeat of Jabin is as follows:

Josh. 11. And it came to pass, when Jabin king of Hazor heard thereof, that he sent to Jobab king of Madon, and to the king of Shimron, and to the king of **2]** Achshaph, and to the kings that were on the north, in the hill country, and in the Arabah south of Chinneroth, and in the lowland, and in ²³ the heights of Dor

3] on the west, to the Canaanite on the east and on the west, and the Amorite, and the Hittite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite in the hill country, and the Hivite under Hermon in the land of Miz-
4] pah. And they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea shore in

¹⁹ Or, *compacts*.

²⁰ Or, *secret*.

²¹ Or, *men*.

²² Or, *oxen*.

²³ Or, *Naphoth Dor*.

multitude, with horses and chariots very
 5] many. And all these kings met together; and they came and pitched together at the waters of Merom, to fight
 6] with Israel. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Be not afraid because of them: for to-morrow at this time will I deliver them up all slain before Israel: thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their char-
 7] iots with fire. So Joshua came, and all the people of war with him, against them by the waters of Merom suddenly,
 8] and fell upon them. And the LORD delivered them into the hand of Israel, and they smote them, and chased them unto great Zidon, and unto Misrephoth-maim, and unto the valley of Mizpeh eastward; and they smote them, until
 9] they left them none remaining. And Joshua did unto them as the LORD bade him: he houghed their horses, and burnt their chariots with fire.

10] And Joshua turned back at that time, and took Hazor, and smote the king thereof with the sword: for Hazor be-

foretime was the head of all those king-
 11] doms. And they smote all the souls that were therein with the edge of the sword, ²⁴utterly destroying them: there was none left that breathed: and he burnt
 12] Hazor with fire. And all the cities of those kings, and all the kings of them, did Joshua take, and he smote them with the edge of the sword, and ²⁵utterly destroyed them; as Moses the servant of
 13] the LORD commanded. But as for the cities that stood on their mounds, Israel burned none of them, save Hazor only;
 14] that did Joshua burn. And all the spoil of these cities, and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they
 15] any that breathed. As the LORD commanded Moses his servant, so did Moses command Joshua: and so did Joshua; ²⁶he left nothing undone of all that the LORD commanded Moses.

Of course, if we are right in thinking this a tradition of a battle of the fourteenth century B.C., the references to Joshua and Moses are mistakes, since they both lived later.

Our sources give us a glimpse of one other tribe at this period, which was ultimately incorporated into the Hebrew confederacy—the tribe of Asher. That tribe in later centuries occupied the western part of Galilee, east of the Phenician cities of Tyre and Sidon. The El-Amarna letters and tablets from Boghaz Koi reveal to us a petty Amorite kingdom in this very territory in the period between 1400 and 1200 B.C., though the tribe at this time appears also to have occupied territory in the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountains to the north of the river Litani. About 1400 B.C., the chieftain, or petty king, of these Amorites was named Aziru. He was subject to the king of Egypt, and wrote some letters to a high official of Egypt of which we shall speak later. His son and successor was named Ebed-Ashera—a name which means “Servant of Ashera.” Ashera was the name given by these Amorites to the old Semitic mother-goddess, who was usually called Ishtar or Ashtoreth. This Amorite chieftain tried to conquer the city of Gebal in Phenicia, and Rib-Adda, who was then king of Gebal, complained of him in some letters to Amenophis IV, king of Egypt, which were found at El-Amarna. In one of these letters Rib-Adda says: “Again, there is clear to the king,

²⁴ Heb. *devoting*.
²⁵ Heb. *devoting*.

²⁶ Heb. *he removed nothing*.

my lord, the deed of Ebed-Ashera, the dog, when all the lands of the king, my lord, are made over to him and are subservient to his hand." In another letter he says: "It is going very hard with me. The sons of Ebed-Ashera have become great in Amorite-land; theirs is the whole land."²⁷ In this last passage he calls the Amorites "sons of Ebed-Ashera." It has sometimes happened that Semitic tribes came to be called after famous chieftains, and one has only to drop out the word "Ebed" in Rib-Adda's phrase, to obtain "sons of Ashera" or "sons of Asher," the very name by which the Bible calls the tribe of Asher. When we add to all the facts enumerated here the fact mentioned in a previous chapter that the tribe of Asher is said to have been descended from a slave-girl, and accordingly cannot have been one of the original members of the Israelitish confederacy, there can be little doubt that the Asherites were originally this Amorite people who figure in the El-Amarna letters. Probably it was in the fourteenth century before Christ that the alliance was made with them which brought them into the Hebrew federation.

From Hittite records at Boghaz Koi we learn that, after Amenophis IV allowed Palestine to slip from Egypt's grasp, the Amorites of Asher became subject for a time to the kings of Hittite-city. Copies of a treaty made after 1350 B.C. between Mursilis, king of the Hittites, and Duppi-Adda (whom the Hittites called Duppi-Teshub, the name of their weather-god being Teshub), have come to us. We learn from it that Duppi-Adda was a grandson of Aziru. Later, the kings of Hittite-city at Boghaz Koi weakened, and their sway over the country of the "sons of Asher" ceased. When the Bible gives us our next glimpse of the Asherites, they are a part of the Israelitish nation.

Such are the glimpses our ancient records give us of what seems to us to be the first settlement of Israelites in Palestine. As already said, others interpret the evidence differently, but, on the whole, it seems to the present writer that the interpretation here given affords the best understanding of all the facts.

²⁷ For translations of some of these letters see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 402 f.

CHAPTER V

HEBREWS IN EGYPT

THE river valleys of Babylonia and Egypt have often attracted hungry peoples. In Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor famines occur if the rainfall fails; in the valleys of the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Nile, where water for irrigation can be had from rivers fed from far-off sources, famines are far rarer. It thus happened that again and again Asiatic tribes entered the Egyptian Delta, to secure food and sojourn awhile. At some time during the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.) some Hebrew clans entered Egypt. The stories of Joseph in the book of *Genesis* give us the Biblical account of this "going down" to Egypt. It has been explained in a previous chapter that probably these tribes took the name Joseph as that of their reputed ancestor because the city Josephel was in the territory which they afterward inhabited in Palestine. The stories of Joseph, as we have them, grew up centuries later. Joseph became one of the most popular of heroes with Hebrew story-tellers, and we can now show that some of the tales in which he figures were borrowed from Egyptian sources and were originally told of others. Perhaps the tribes said to be descended from Rachel had tried to gain a foothold in Palestine and, failing, blamed the Leah-tribes for the fact that they had to go to Egypt, where they were reduced to servitude. Perhaps that is the historical kernel of the following story, in which tribes are personified as men.

JOSEPH IS SOLD INTO EGYPTIAN SLAVERY, *Gen. 37:3-36*

Gen. 37. 3] Now Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age: and he made
4] him ¹a coat of many colours. And his brethren saw that their father loved him more than all his brethren; and they hated him, and could not speak peaceably
5] unto him. And Joseph dreamed a dream, and he told it to his brethren;
6] and they hated him yet the more. And he said unto them, Hear, I pray you, this dream which I have dreamed:

7] for, behold, we were binding sheaves in the field, and, lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves came round about, and made
8] obeisance to my sheaf. And his brethren said to him, Shalt thou indeed reign over us? or shalt thou indeed have dominion over us? And they hated him yet the more for his dreams, and for his
9] words. And he dreamed yet another dream, and told it to his brethren, and said, Behold, I have dreamed yet a

¹ Or, a long garment with sleeves.

dream; and, behold, the sun and the moon and eleven stars made obeisance to 10] me. And he told it to his father, and to his brethren; and his father rebuked him, and said unto him, What is this dream that thou hast dreamed? Shall I and thy mother and thy brethren indeed come to bow down ourselves to thee to 11] the earth? And his brethren envied him; but his father kept the saying in 12] mind. And his brethren went to feed 13] their father's flock in Shechem. And Israel said unto Joseph, Do not thy brethren feed the flock in Shechem? come, and I will send thee unto them. 14] And he said to him, Here am I. And he said to him, Go now, see whether it be well with thy brethren, and well with the flock; and bring me word again. So he sent him out of the vale of Hebron, and 15] he came to Shechem. And a certain man found him, and, behold, he was wandering in the field: and the man asked 16] him, saying, What seekest thou? And he said, I seek my brethren: tell me, I pray thee, where they are feeding the 17] flock. And the man said, They are departed hence: for I heard them say, Let us go to Dothan. And Joseph went after his brethren, and found them in 18] Dothan. And they saw him afar off, and before he came near unto them, they conspired against him to slay him. 19] And they said one to another, Be- 20] hold, this ² dreamer cometh. Come now therefore, and let us slay him, and cast him into one of the pits, and we will say, An evil beast hath devoured him: and we shall see what will become 21] of his dreams. And Reuben heard it, and delivered him out of their hands; 22] and said, Let us not take his life. And Reuben said unto them, Shed no blood; cast him into this pit that is in the wilderness, but lay no hand upon him: that he might deliver him out of their hand, 23] to restore him to his father. And it came to pass, when Joseph was come

unto his brethren, that they stript Joseph of his coat, the coat of many colours that was on him; and they took him, and cast him into the pit: and the pit was empty, there was no water in it. 25] And they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a travelling company of Ishmaelites came from Gilead, with their camels bearing ³ spicery and ⁴ balm and ⁵ myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt. 26] And Judah said unto his brethren, What profit is it if we slay our brother 27] and conceal his blood? Come, and let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother, our flesh. And his brethren 28] hearkened unto him. And there passed by Midianites, merchantmen; and they drew and lifted up Joseph out of the pit, and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver. And 29] they brought Joseph into Egypt. And Reuben returned unto the pit; and, behold, Joseph was not in the pit; and 30] he rent his clothes. And he returned unto his brethren, and said, The child is 31] not; and I, whither shall I go? And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat in the blood; 32] and they sent the coat of many colours, and they brought it to their father; and said, This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat 33] or not. And he knew it, and said, It is my son's coat; an evil beast hath devoured him; Joseph is without doubt 34] torn in pieces. And Jacob rent his garments, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many 35] days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down to ⁶ the grave to my son mourning. And his father wept for 36] him. And the ⁷ Midianites sold him into Egypt unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the ⁸ captain of the guard.

² Heb. *master of dreams*.

³ Or, *gum tragacanth*; or *storax*.

⁴ Or, *mastic*.

⁵ Or, *ladanum*.

⁶ Heb. *Sheol*, the name of the abode of the

dead, answering to the Greek Hades, *Acts* ii. 27.

⁷ Heb. *Medanites*.

⁸ Heb. *chief of the executioners*.

JOSEPH BECOMES STEWARD, IS ACCUSED AND IMPRISONED,
Gen. 39

Gen. 39. And Joseph was brought down to Egypt; and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, the captain of the guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the hand of the Ishmaelites, which had brought him 2] down thither. And the LORD was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man; and he was in the house of his master the 3] Egyptian. And his master saw that the LORD was with him, and that the LORD made all that he did to prosper in his hand. And Joseph found grace in his sight, and he ministered unto him: and he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand. 5] And it came to pass from the time that he made him overseer in his house, and over all that he had, that the LORD blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of the LORD was upon all that he had, in the house 6] and in the field. And he left all that he had in Joseph's hand; and ⁹ he knew not aught *that was* with him, save the bread which he did eat. And Joseph was come- 7] ly, and well favoured. And it came to pass after these things, that his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph; 8] and she said, Lie with me. But he refused, and said unto his master's wife, Behold, my master ¹⁰ knoweth not what is with me in the house, and he hath put 9] all that he hath into my hand; ¹¹ there is none greater in this house than I; neither hath he kept back any thing from me but thee, because thou art his wife: how then can I do this great wickedness, 10] and sin against God? And it came to pass, as she spake to Joseph day by day, that he hearkened not unto her, to lie by 11] her, *or* to be with her. And it came to pass about this time, that he went into the house to do his work; and there was none of the men of the house there with-

12] in. And she caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and 13] got him out. And it came to pass, when she saw that he had left his garment in her hand, and was fled forth, 14] that she called unto the men of her house, and spake unto them, saying, See, he hath brought in an Hebrew unto us to mock us; he came in unto me to lie with me, and I cried with a loud voice: 15] and it came to pass, when he heard that I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled, and 16] got him out. And she laid up his garment by her, until his master came 17] home. And she spake unto him according to these words, saying, The Hebrew servant, which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock me: 18] and it came to pass, as I lifted up my voice and cried, that he left his garment by me, and fled out. And it came to pass, when his master heard the words of his wife, which she spake unto him, saying, After this manner did thy servant to me; that his wrath was 20] kindled. And Joseph's master took him, and put him into the prison, the place where the king's prisoners were bound: and he was there in the prison. 21] But the LORD was with Joseph, and shewed kindness unto him, and gave him favour in the sight of the keeper of the 22] prison. And the keeper of the prison committed to Joseph's hand all the prisoners that were in the prison; and whatsoever they did there, he was the doer 23] of it. The keeper of the prison looked not to any thing that was under his hand, because the LORD was with him; and that which he did, the LORD made it to prosper.

This tale is, as to its main features, identical with an Egyptian story called "The Tale of the Two Brothers."¹² We know the Egyptian story from a papyrus written before 1200 B.C., more than three hundred years

⁹ Or, *with him he knew not.*

¹⁰ Or, *knoweth not with me what is &c.*

¹¹ Or, *he is not.*

¹² For the Egyptian story, see Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 326 ff.

earlier than the earliest of the documents in our Pentateuch. That it is told of Joseph, is another example of the fact that stories travel.

JOSEPH IS DELIVERED FROM PRISON AND BECOMES VIZIER OF EGYPT, *Gen. 40 and 41*

Gen. 40. And it came to pass after these things, that the butler of the king of Egypt and his baker offended their
2] lord the king of Egypt. And Pharaoh was wroth against his two officers, against the chief of the butlers, and
3] against the chief of the bakers. And he put them in ward in the house of the captain of the guard, into the prison, the
4] place where Joseph was bound. And the captain of the guard charged Joseph with them, and he ministered unto them: and they continued a season in ward.
5] And they dreamed a dream both of them, each man his dream, in one night, each man according to the interpretation of his dream, the butler and the baker of the king of Egypt, which were bound
6] in the prison. And Joseph came in unto them in the morning, and saw them,
7] and, behold, they were sad. And he asked Pharaoh's officers that were with him in ward in his master's house, saying, Wherefore look ye so sadly to-day?
8] And they said unto him, We have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it. And Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong to
9] God? tell it me, I pray you. And the chief butler told his dream to Joseph, and said to him, In my dream, behold, a
10] vine was before me; and in the vine were three branches: and it was as though it budded, *and* its blossoms shot forth; *and* the clusters thereof brought
11] forth ripe grapes: and Pharaoh's cup was in my hand; and I took the grapes, and pressed them into Pharaoh's cup, and I gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand.
12] And Joseph said unto him, This is the interpretation of it: the three
13] branches are three days; within yet three days shall Pharaoh lift up thine head, and restore thee unto thine office: and thou shalt give Pharaoh's cup into his hand, after the former manner when

14] thou wast his butler. But have me in thy remembrance when it shall be well with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me, and make mention of me unto Pharaoh, and bring me out of this
15] house: for indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews: and here also have I done nothing that they should
16] put me into the dungeon. When the chief baker saw that the interpretation was good, he said unto Joseph, I also was in my dream, and, behold, three baskets of white bread were on my head:
17] and in the uppermost basket there was of all manner of bakemeats for Pharaoh; and the birds did eat them
18] out of the basket upon my head. And Joseph answered and said, This is the interpretation thereof: the three baskets
19] are three days; within yet three days shall Pharaoh lift up thy head from off thee, and shall hang thee on a tree; and the birds shall eat thy flesh from off
20] thee. And it came to pass the third day, which was Pharaoh's birthday, that he made a feast unto all his servants: and he lifted up the head of the chief butler and the head of the chief baker
21] among his servants. And he restored the chief butler unto his butlership again; and he gave the cup into Pharaoh's hand: but he hanged the chief baker: as Joseph had interpreted to
22] them. Yet did not the chief butler remember Joseph, but forgot him.

41. And it came to pass at the end of two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed: and, behold, he stood by the ¹³ river.
2] And, behold, there came up out of the river seven kine, well favoured and fattished; and they fed in the reed-
3] grass. And, behold, seven other kine came up after them out of the river, ill favoured and leanfleshed; and stood by the other kine upon the brink of the
4] river. And the ill favoured and lean-

¹³ Heb. *Yeor*, that is, the Nile.

fleshed kine did eat up the seven well
5] favoured and fat kine. So Pharaoh
awoke. And he slept and dreamed a second
time: and, behold, seven ears of
corn came up upon one stalk, ¹⁴ rank and
6] good. And, behold, seven ears, thin
and blasted with the east wind, sprung
7] up after them. And the thin ears swallowed
up the seven ¹⁴ rank and full ears.
And Pharaoh awoke, and, behold, it was
8] a dream. And it came to pass in the
morning that his spirit was troubled;
and he sent and called for all the ¹⁵ magicians
of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof:
and Pharaoh told them his dream; but
there was none that could
9] interpret them unto Pharaoh. Then
spake the chief butler unto Pharaoh,
saying, I ¹⁶ do remember my faults this
10] day: Pharaoh was wroth with his
servants, and put me in ward in the
house of the captain of the guard, me
11] and the chief baker: and we dreamed
a dream in one night, I and he; we
dreamed each man according to the in-
12] terpretation of his dream. And there
was with us there a young man, an He-
brew, servant to the captain of the
guard; and we told him, and he interpreted
to us our dreams; to each man according
to his dream he did in-
13] terpret. And it came to pass, as he
interpreted to us, so it was; ¹⁷ me he
restored unto mine office, and him he
14] hanged. Then Pharaoh sent and
called Joseph, and they brought him
hastily out of the dungeon: and he
shaved himself, and changed his raiment,
and came in unto Pharaoh.
15] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I
have dreamed a dream, and there is
none that can interpret it: and I have
heard say of thee, that when thou hear-
est a dream thou canst interpret it.
16] And Joseph answered Pharaoh, say-
ing, It is not in me: God shall give
17] Pharaoh an answer of peace. And
Pharaoh spake unto Joseph, In my
dream, behold, I stood upon the brink
18] of the river: and, behold, there came
up out of the river seven kine, fat-

fleshed and well favoured; and they fed
19] in the reed-grass: and, behold, seven
other kine came up after them, poor and
very ill favoured and leanfleshed, such
as I never saw in all the land of Egypt
20] for badness: and the lean and ill
favoured kine did eat up the first seven
21] fat kine: and when they had eaten
them up, it could not be known that they
had eaten them; but they were still ill
22] favoured, as at the beginning. So I
awoke. And I saw in my dream, and,
behold, seven ears came up upon one
23] stalk, full and good: and, behold,
seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted
with the east wind, sprung up after
24] them: and the thin ears swallowed
up the seven good ears: and I told it unto
the magicians; but there was none that
25] could declare it to me. And Joseph
said unto Pharaoh, The dream of Pharaoh
is one: what God is about to do he
26] hath declared unto Pharaoh. The
seven good kine are seven years; and the
seven good ears are seven years: the
27] dream is one. And the seven lean and
ill favoured kine that came up after them
are seven years, and also the seven empty
ears blasted with the east wind; they
28] shall be seven years of famine. That
is the thing which I spake unto Pharaoh:
what God is about to do he hath shewed
29] unto Pharaoh. Behold, there come
seven years of great plenty throughout
30] all the land of Egypt: and there shall
arise after them seven years of famine;
and all the plenty shall be forgotten in
the land of Egypt; and the famine shall
31] consume the land; and the plenty
shall not be known in the land by reason
of that famine which followeth; for it
32] shall be very grievous. And for that
the dream was doubled unto Pharaoh
twice, it is because the thing is estab-
lished by God, and God will shortly
33] bring it to pass. Now therefore let
Pharaoh look out a man discreet and
wise, and set him over the land of Egypt.
34] Let Pharaoh do *this*, and let him ap-
point overseers over the land, and take
up the fifth part of the land of Egypt

¹⁴ Heb. *fat*.

¹⁵ Or, *sacred scribes*.

¹⁶ Or, *will make mention of*.

¹⁷ Or, *I was restored . . . and he was hanged*.

35] in the seven plenteous years. And let them gather all the food of these good years that come, and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh for food in 36] the cities, and let them keep it. And the food shall be for a store to the land against the seven years of famine, which shall be in the land of Egypt; that the land perish not through the famine. 37] And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his 38] servants. And Pharaoh said unto his servants, Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the spirit of God is? 39] And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as 40] thou: thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people ¹⁸ be ruled: only in the throne 41] will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt. 42] And Pharaoh took off his signet ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of ¹⁹ fine linen, and put a gold chain about 43] his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, ²⁰ Bow the knee: and he set him over all the land of 44] Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or his foot 45] in all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphenath-paneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-phaera priest of On. And Joseph went out over the land of 46] Egypt. And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king

of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went through- 47] out all the land of Egypt. And in the seven plenteous years the earth brought 48] forth by handfuls. And he gathered up all the food of the seven years which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field, which was round about every city, 49] laid he up in the same. And Joseph laid up corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it 50] was without number. And unto Joseph were born two sons before the year of famine came, which Asenath the daughter of Poti-phaera priest of On 51] bare unto him. And Joseph called the name of the first born ²¹ Manasseh: For, *said he*, God hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house. 52] And the name of the second called he ²² Ephraim: For God hath made me fruitful in the land of my affliction. 53] And the seven years of plenty, that was in the land of Egypt, came to an end. 54] And the seven years of famine began to come, according as Joseph had said: and there was famine in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was 55] bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; 56] what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth: and Joseph opened all the storehouses, and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine was sore in the land of Egypt. 57] And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy corn; because the famine was sore in all the earth.

In all the Egyptian records which have come down to us there is no mention of a vizier, Joseph. That Semites did sometimes rise to high ministerial positions in Egypt is shown by the fact that Aziru, the Amorite, mentioned in the last chapter, wrote letters to an Egyptian minister named Dudu.²³ Dudu is a good Semetic name, being the form the name David would assume in Babylonian. In the story of Joseph's viziership

¹⁸ Or, *order themselves*, or *do homage*.

¹⁹ Or, *cotton*.

²⁰ *Abrech*, probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning to *kneel*.

²³ See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 329 f.

²¹ That is, *Making to forget*.

²² From a Hebrew word signifying to *be fruitful*.

we probably have another instance of the transfer to Joseph of a promotion that had once been experienced by another.

The account of Joseph's storing up of grain for lean years, when the rains failed in Abyssinia, so that the Nile did not overflow in Egypt, is paralleled by the records of a number of Egyptian officers and noblemen.²⁴ The accounts are true to Egypt's history, even if they applied in the first instance to some one other than Joseph.

JOSEPH'S BRETHREN COME TO BUY GRAIN, *Gen. 42-45*

Gen. 42. Now Jacob saw that there was corn in Egypt, and Jacob said unto his sons, Why do ye look one upon another? And he said, Behold, I have heard that there is corn in Egypt: get you down thither, and buy for us from thence; that we may live, and not die. 3] And Joseph's ten brethren went 4] down to buy corn from Egypt. But Benjamin, Joseph's brother, Jacob sent not with his brethren; for he said, Lest 5] peradventure mischief befall him. And the sons of Israel came to buy among those that came: for the famine was in 6] the land of Canaan. And Joseph was the governor over the land; he it was that sold to all the people of the land: and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves to him with their faces 7] to the earth. And Joseph saw his brethren, and he knew them, but made himself strange unto them, and spake roughly with them; and he said unto them, Whence come ye? And they said, From the land of Canaan to buy food. 8] And Joseph knew his brethren, but 9] they knew not him. And Joseph remembered the dreams which he dreamed of them, and said unto them, Ye are spies: to see the nakedness of the land 10] ye are come. And they said unto him, Nay, my lord, but to buy food are thy 11] servants come. We are all one man's sons; we are true men, thy servants are 12] no spies. And he said unto them, Nay, but to see the nakedness of the land 13] ye are come. And they said, We thy servants are twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan; and, behold, the youngest is this day with our 14] father, and one is not. And Joseph

said unto them, That is it that I spake 15] unto you, saying, Ye are spies: hereby ye shall be proved: by the life of Pharaoh ye shall not go forth hence, except your youngest brother come 16] hither. Send one of you, and let him fetch your brother, and ye shall be bound, that your words may be proved, whether there be truth in you: or else by the life of Pharaoh surely ye are spies. 17] And he put them all together into 18] ward three days. And Joseph said unto them the third day, This do, and 19] live; for I fear God: if ye be true men, let one of your brethren be bound in your prison house; but go ye, carry corn for the famine of your houses: 20] and bring your youngest brother unto me; so shall your words be verified, and ye shall not die. And they did 21] so. And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the distress of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress 22] come upon us. And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child; and ye would not hear? therefore also, 23] behold, his blood is required. And they knew not that Joseph understood them; for there was an interpreter between them. And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and he returned to them, and spake to them, and took Simeon from among them, and 25] bound him before their eyes. Then Joseph commanded to fill their vessels with corn, and to restore every man's money into his sack, and to give them provision for the way: and thus was

²⁴ *Ibid.* p. 332.

26] it done unto them. And they laded their asses with their corn, and departed 27] thence. And as one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender in the lodging place, he espied his money; and, behold, it was in the mouth of his 28] sack. And he said unto his brethren, My money is restored; and, lo, it is even in my sack: and their heart failed them, and they turned trembling one to another, saying, What is this that God 29] hath done unto us? And they came unto Jacob their father unto the land of Canaan, and told him all that had be- 30] fallen them; saying, The man, the lord of the land, spake roughly with us, and took us for spies of the country. 31] And we said unto him, We are true 32] men; we are no spies: we be twelve brethren, sons of our father; one is not, and the youngest is this day with our 33] father in the land of Canaan. And the man, the lord of the land, said unto us, Hereby shall I know that ye are true men; leave one of your brethren with me, and take *corn* for the famine of your 34] houses, and go your way: and bring your youngest brother unto me: then shall I know that ye are no spies, but that ye are true men: so will I deliver you your brother, and ye shall traffick 35] in the land. And it came to pass as they emptied their sacks, that, behold, every man's bundle of money was in his sack: and when they and their father saw their bundles of money, they were 36] afraid. And Jacob their father said unto them, Me have ye bereaved of my children: Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin away: all these things are ²⁵ against me. 37] And Reuben spake unto his father, saying, Slay my two sons, if I bring him not to thee: deliver him into my hand, and I will bring him to thee again. 38] And he said, My son shall not go down with you; for his brother is dead, and he only is left: if mischief befall him by the way in the which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to ²⁶ the grave.

43. And the famine was sore in 2] the land. And it came to pass, when they had eaten up the corn which they had brought out of Egypt, their father said unto them, Go again, buy us a little 3] food. And Judah spake unto him, saying, The man did solemnly protest unto us, saying, Ye shall not see my face, ex- 4] cept your brother be with you. If thou wilt send our brother with us, we will 5] go down and buy thee food: but if thou wilt not send him, we will not go down: for the man said unto us, Ye shall not see my face, except your brother be 6] with you. And Israel said, Wherefore dealt ye so ill with me, as to tell the man whether ye had yet a brother? 7] And they said, The man asked straitly concerning ourselves, and concerning our kindred, saying, Is your father yet alive? have ye *another* brother? and we told him according to the tenor of these words: could we in any wise know that he would say, Bring your brother down? 8] And Judah said unto Israel his father, Send the lad with me, and we will arise and go; that we may live, and not die, both we, and thou, and also our 9] little ones. I will be surety for him; of my hand shalt thou require him: if I bring him not unto thee, and set him before thee, then ²⁷ let me bear the blame 10] for ever: for except we had lingered, surely we had now returned a second 11] time. And their father Israel said unto them, If it be so now, do this; take of the choice fruits of the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present, a little ²⁸ balm, and a little honey, spicery and myrrh, ²⁹ nuts, and almonds: 12] and take double money in your hand; and the money that was returned in the mouth of your sacks carry again in your hand; peradventure it was an 13] oversight: take also your brother, 14] and arise, go again unto the man: and ³⁰ God Almighty give you mercy before the man, that he may release unto you your other brother and Benjamin. And if I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved.

²⁵ Or, *upon*.

²⁶ Heb. *Sheol*. See ch. 37: 25.

²⁷ Heb. *I shall have sinned against thee for ever*.

²⁸ See ch. 37: 25.

²⁹ That is, *pistachio nuts*.

³⁰ Heb. *El Shaddai*.

15] And the men took that present, and they took double money in their hand, and Benjamin; and rose up, and went down to Egypt, and stood before 16] Joseph. And when Joseph saw Benjamin with them, he said to the steward of his house, Bring the men into the house, and slay, and make ready; for the men shall dine with me at noon. 17] And the man did as Joseph bade; and the man brought the men into 18] Joseph's house. And the men were afraid, because they were brought into Joseph's house; and they said, Because of the money that was returned in our sacks at the first time are we brought in; that he may ⁸¹ seek occasion against us, and fall upon us, and take us for 19] bondmen, and our asses. And they came near to the steward of Joseph's house, and they spake unto him at the 20] door of the house, and said, Oh my lord, we came indeed down at the 21] first time to buy food: and it came to pass, when we came to the lodging place, that we opened our sacks, and, behold, every man's money was in the mouth of his sack, our money in full weight: and we have brought it again 22] in our hand. And other money have we brought down in our hand to buy food: we know not who put our money 23] in our sacks. And he said, Peace be to you, fear not: your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks: I had your money. And he brought Simeon out unto them. 24] And the man brought the men into Joseph's house, and gave them water, and they washed their feet; and he gave 25] their asses provender. And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon: for they heard that they 26] should eat bread there. And when Joseph came home, they brought him the present which was in their hand into the house, and bowed down themselves 27] to him to the earth. And he asked them of their welfare, and said, Is your father well, the old man of whom ye 28] spake? Is he yet alive? And they said, Thy servant our father is well, he

is yet alive. And they bowed the head, 29] and made obeisance. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw Benjamin his brother, his mother's son, and said, Is this your youngest brother, of whom ye spake unto me? And he said, God be 30] gracious unto thee, my son. And Joseph made haste; for his bowels did yearn upon his brother: and he sought where to weep; and he entered into his 31] chamber, and wept there. And he washed his face, and came out; and he refrained himself, and said, Set on bread. 32] And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves: because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians. 33] And they sat before him, the first-born according to his birthright, and the youngest according to his youth: and the men marvelled one with another. 34] And ³² he took *and sent* messes unto them from before him: but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs. And they drank, and ³³ were merry with him.

44. And he commanded the steward of his house, saying, Fill the men's sacks with food, as much as they can carry, and put every man's money in 2] his sack's mouth. And put my cup, the silver cup, in the sack's mouth of the youngest, and his corn money. And he did according to the word that Joseph 3] had spoken. As soon as the morning was light, the men were sent away, they 4] and their asses. *And* when they were gone out of the city, and were not yet far off, Joseph said unto his steward, Up, follow after the men; and when thou dost overtake them, say unto them, Wherefore have ye rewarded evil for 5] good? Is not this it in which my lord drinketh, and whereby he indeed divineth? ye have done evil in so doing. 6] And he overtook them, and he spake 7] unto them these words. And they said unto him, Wherefore speaketh my lord such words as these? God forbid that thy servants should do such a thing.

⁸¹ Heb. *roll himself upon us.*

⁸² Or, *messes were taken.*

³³ Heb. *drank largely.*

8] Behold, the money, which we found in our sacks' mouths, we brought again unto thee out of the land of Canaan: how then should we steal out of thy
9] lord's house silver or gold? With whomsoever of thy servants it be found, let him die, and we also will be my lord's
10] bondmen. And he said, Now also let it be according unto your words: he with whom it is found shall be my bondman;
11] and ye shall be blameless. Then they hasted, and took down every man his sack to the ground, and opened every
12] man his sack. And he searched, and began at the eldest, and left at the youngest: and the cup was found in
13] Benjamin's sack. Then they rent their clothes, and laded every man his
14] ass, and returned to the city. And Judah and his brethren came to Joseph's house; and he was yet there: and they
15] fell before him on the ground. And Joseph said unto them, What deed is this that ye have done? know ye not that such a man as I can indeed divine?
16] And Judah said, What shall we say unto my lord? what shall we speak? or how shall we clear ourselves? God hath found out the iniquity of thy servants: behold, we are my lord's bondmen, both we, and he also in whose hand the cup
17] is found. And he said, God forbid that I should do so: the man in whose hand the cup is found, he shall be my bondman; but as for you, get you up in peace unto your father.

18] Then Judah came near unto him, and said, Oh my lord, let thy servant, I pray thee, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not thine anger burn against thy servant: for thou art even as Pharaoh.
19] My lord asked his servants, saying, Have ye a father, or a brother?
20] And we said unto my lord, We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one; and his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother,
21] and his father loveth him. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Bring him down unto me, that I may set mine eyes upon
22] him. And we said unto my lord, The

lad cannot leave his father: for if he should leave his father, his father would
23] die. And thou saidst unto thy servants, Except your youngest brother come down with you, ye shall see my
24] face no more. And it came to pass when we came up unto thy servant my father, we told him the words of my
25] lord. And our father said, Go again, ^{26]} buy us a little food. And we said, We cannot go down: if our youngest brother be with us, then will we go down: for we may not see the man's face, except our youngest brother be
27] with us. And thy servant my father said unto us, Ye know that my wife
28] bare me two sons: and the one went out from me, and I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I have not seen him
29] since: and if ye take this one also from me, and mischief befall him, ye shall bring down my gray hairs with
30] ³⁴ sorrow to ³⁵ the grave. Now therefore when I come to thy servant my father, and the lad be not with us; seeing that ³⁶ his life is bound up in the
31] lad's life; it shall come to pass, when he seeth that the lad is not with
32] us, that he will die: and thy servants shall bring down the gray hairs of thy servant our father with sorrow to ³⁵ the
33] grave. For thy servant became surety for the lad unto my father, saying, If I bring him not unto thee, then shall I bear the blame to my father for ever.
34] Now therefore, let thy servant, I pray thee, abide instead of the lad a bondman to my lord; and let the lad go
35] up with his brethren. For how shall I go up to my father, and the lad be not with me? lest I see the evil that shall come on my father.

45. Then Joseph could not refrain himself before all them that stood by him; and he cried, Cause every man to go out from me. And there stood no man with him, while Joseph made himself
2] self known unto his brethren. And he
3] wept aloud: and the Egyptians heard
4] and the house of Pharaoh heard. And Joseph said unto his brethren, I am

³⁴ Heb. *evil*.

³⁵ Heb. *Sheol*. See ch. 37: 35.

³⁶ Or, *his soul is knit with the lad's soul*. See *I Sam.* 18: 1.

³⁷ Heb. *gave forth his voice in weeping*.

Joseph; doth my father yet live? And his brethren could not answer him; for they were troubled at his presence.

4] And Joseph said unto his brethren, Come near to me, I pray you. And they came near. And he said, I am Joseph your brother, whom ye sold into Egypt.

5] And now be not grieved, nor angry with yourselves, that ye sold me hither: for God did send me before you to pre-

6] serve life. For these two years hath the famine been in the land: and there are yet five years, in the which there shall be neither plowing nor harvest.

7] And God sent me before you to preserve you a remnant in the earth, and to save you alive ⁸⁸ by a great deliverance.

8] So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God: and he hath made me a father to Pharaoh, and lord of all his house, and ruler over all the land of

9] Egypt. Haste ye, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt: come down unto me, tarry

10] not: and thou shalt dwell in the land of Goshen, and thou shalt be near unto me, thou, and thy children, and thy children's children, and thy flocks, and thy

11] herds, and all that thou hast: and there will I nourish thee; for there are yet five years of famine; lest thou come to poverty, thou, and thy household, and

12] all that thou hast. And, behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that

13] speaketh unto you. And ye shall tell my father of all my glory in Egypt, and of all that ye have seen; and ye shall haste and bring down my father hither.

14] And he fell upon his brother Benjamin's neck, and wept; and Benjamin

15] wept upon his neck. And he kissed all his brethren, and wept upon them: and after that his brethren talked with him.

16] And the fame thereof was heard in Pharaoh's house, saying, Joseph's brethren are come: and it pleased Pharaoh well, and his servants. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Say unto thy brethren, This do ye: lade your beasts, and go, get you unto the land of Canaan; and take your father and your households, and come unto me: and I will give you the good of the land of Egypt, and ye shall eat the fat of the land.

19] Now thou art commanded, this do ye; take you wagons out of the land of Egypt for your little ones, and for your wives, and bring your father, and

20] come. Also regard not your stuff; for the good of all the land of Egypt is

21] yours. And the sons of Israel did so: and Joseph gave them wagons, according to the commandment of Pharaoh, and gave them provision for the way.

22] To all of them he gave each man changes of raiment; but to Benjamin he gave three hundred pieces of silver, and

23] five changes of raiment. And to his father he sent after this manner; ten asses laden with the good things of Egypt, and ten she-asses laden with corn and bread and victual for his father

24] by the way. So he sent his brethren away, and they departed: and he said unto them, See that ye fall not out by

25] the way. And they went up out of Egypt, and came into the land of Canaan unto Jacob their father. And they told him, saying, Joseph is yet alive, and he is ruler over all the land of Egypt. And his heart fainted, for he be-

27] lieved them not. And they told him all the words of Joseph, which he had said unto them: and when he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him, the spirit of Jacob their father re-

28] vived: and Israel said, It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die.

With such stories as these the ancient story-tellers of Israel beguiled the time. While it seems clear, for reasons already stated, that in one sense we cannot take these stories as history in just the form they are told, in another sense they are history of a high order. They are inimitable pictures of ancient Oriental life, and, as such, are historical in that

⁸⁸ Or, to be a great company that escape.

they faithfully reflect the life, customs, and feelings of men of that time. Asiatics often went to Egypt to trade and, in time of famine, to buy corn. On the walls of tombs at Beni Hasan groups of such traders were pictured five hundred years before the Hebrews entered Egypt.³⁹

As will appear in a later chapter, the events connected with the exodus from Egypt ultimately transformed the religion of the Hebrews. It was for this reason that in the lapse of time the memories and stories connected with Egypt became so popular that it seemed that all the tribes must have participated in its experiences. Accordingly stories were added which gave expression to that point of view. They will be found in the remaining chapters of *Genesis* and in many parts of the Pentateuch. Nevertheless passages have been preserved which reflect what we regard as the historical fact.

THE EGYPTIANS MAKE BONDMEN OF THE HEBREWS, *Ex. i: 8-22*

Ex. i. 8] Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph. **9]** And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are **10]** ⁴⁰ more and mightier than we: come, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass, that, when there falleth out any war, they also join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and get them up out of the **11]** land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raamses. **12]** But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and the more they spread abroad. And they ⁴¹ were grieved **13]** because of the children of Israel. And the Egyptians made the children of Israel **14]** to serve with rigour: and they made their lives bitter with hard service, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field, all their service, wherein they made them serve with rigour.

15] And the king of Egypt spake to the Hebrew midwives, of which the

name of the one was Shiprah, and the **16]** name of the other Puah: and he said, When ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, and see them upon the birthstool; if it be a son, then ye shall kill him; but if it be a daughter, **17]** then she shall live. But the midwives feared God, and did not as the king of Egypt commanded them, but saved the **18]** men children alive. And the king of Egypt called for the midwives, and said unto them, Why have ye done this thing, and have saved the men children alive? **19]** And the midwives said unto Pharaoh, Because the Hebrew women are not as the Egyptian women; for they are lively, and are delivered ere the mid-**20]** wife come unto them. And God dealt well with the midwives: and the people multiplied, and waxed very **21]** mighty. And it came to pass, because the midwives feared God, that he **22]** made them houses. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into ⁴² the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive.

This account, which was drawn from the E Document, gives, it is believed, a correct history of events. A change of dynasty occurred in Egypt and a king of the new dynasty needed laborers for his building

³⁹ See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 1.

⁴⁰ Or, *too many and too mighty for us*.

⁴¹ Or, *abhorred*.

⁴² See *Gen. 41: 1*.

enterprises, so he compelled the Hebrew foreigners who were living in Egypt to work for him. The cities which they helped him build were Pithom (Egyptian *Pitum*) and Raamses. This fact identifies the Pharaoh concerned in this oppression as Ramses II. Not only is one of the cities named for him, but we now have his own statement, in one of his inscriptions, that he built it.⁴³ Most buildings in Egypt were constructed of brick; it was only temples and great palaces that were constructed of stone. From sculptured pictures on the walls of Egyptian tombs we gain a vivid impression of the processes of brick-making.⁴⁴

It will be noticed that, in the account quoted above from *Exodus*, the Hebrew community in Egypt is so small that two midwives can check its birth-rate. This is a picture quite in accord with the assumption that only the Joseph tribes were in Egypt; they, too, could not have been numerous. The writer of the E Document lived in Ephraim, one of the Joseph tribes, where a more correct memory of the numbers in Egypt would be likely to survive than in Judah, a tribe that was probably not there. The historical fact seems to be that it was a comparatively small body of Hebrews that were in Egypt. The deep impression which that sojourn made on the Hebrew people resulted from the change of religion which came with the exodus; but of that the next chapter will treat.

⁴³ See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 551 f.

⁴⁴ See *Ibid.*, Fig. 11.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK OF MOSES

THE first great personal figure that we can discern with any certainty in the history of Israel is Moses. It was his leadership that delivered the Hebrew serfs from Egypt and led them to devote themselves to a religion that had a new element in it—an element that first welded all the tribes together, and ultimately, under other leaders, made it different from any other religion in the world. Later tradition attributed to him much that belonged to later and lesser men, and so overlaid his portrait with features from a later time that it is sometimes difficult to discern his true figure. Nevertheless, in the main, we can make out his character and work with a good degree of clearness.

THE BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF MOSES, *Ex. 2*

Ex. 2. And there went a man of the house of Levi, and took to wife a 2] daughter of Levi. And the woman conceived, and bare a son: and when she saw him that he was a goodly child, 3] she hid him three months. And when she could not longer hide him, she took for him an ark of ¹bulrushes, and daubed it with ²slime and with pitch; and she put the child therein, and laid it in the flags by the river's brink. 4] And his sister stood afar off, to know 5] what would be done to him. And the daughter of Pharaoh came down to bathe at the river; and her maidens walked along by the river side; and she saw the ark among the flags, and sent 6] her handmaid to fetch it. And she opened it, and saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is one of 7] the Hebrew's children. Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child

8] for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter said to her, Go. And the maid went and 9] called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages. And the woman 10] took the child, and nursed it. And the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son. And she called his name ³Moses, and said, Because I ⁴drew him out of the water.

11] And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown up, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens: and he saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his 12] brethren. And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he smote the Egyptian, 13] and hid him in the sand. And he went out the second day, and, behold, two men of the Hebrews strove together: and he said to him that did the wrong, Wherefore smitest thou thy fellow?

¹ That is, *papyrus*.
² That is, *bitumen*.

³ Heb. *Mosheh*.

⁴ Heb. *mashah*, to draw out.

14] And he said, Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? thinkest thou to kill me, as thou killedst the Egyptian? And Moses feared, and said, Surely the 15] thing is known. Now when Pharaoh heard this thing, he sought to slay Moses. But Moses fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of Midian: 16] and he sat down by a well. Now the priest of Midian had seven daughters: and they came and drew water, and filled the troughs to water their father's 17] flock. And the shepherds came and drove them away: but Moses stood up and helped them, and watered their flock. 18] And when they came to Reuel their father, he said, How is it that ye are 19] come so soon to-day? And they said, An Egyptian delivered us out of the hand of the shepherds, and moreover he drew water for us, and watered the

20] flock. And he said unto his daughters, And where is he? why is it that ye have left the man? call him, that he may eat 21] bread. And Moses was content to dwell with the man: and he gave Moses 22] Zipporah his daughter. And she bare a son, and he called his name Gershom: for he said, I have been ⁵ a sojourner in a strange land.

23] And it came to pass in the course of those many days, that the king of Egypt died: and the children of Israel sighed by reason of the bondage, and they cried, and their cry came up unto 24] God by reason of the bondage. And God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, 25] with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God saw the children of Israel, and God took knowledge of *them*.

The facts in the story just quoted that are undoubtedly historical are that Moses was born in Egypt of the oppressed race; that, when he had come to man's estate, he killed in anger an Egyptian who was maltreating a Hebrew and fled the country; that he fled to the Midianites, a nomadic tribe which was connected with the inhabitants of Main in South Arabia, but roamed in a region of northwestern Arabia stretching far down toward the site of the present city of Medina; and that he married Zipporah, the daughter of the priest of Midian, whom the E Document calls Reuel, but whom J calls Jethro. With Jethro he dwelt and became the shepherd of his flocks. Of this much we may be sure, but the other features of the story are probably unhistorical accretions. His parents were probably not Levites in the sense that they were members of the tribe of Levi. Moses and Aaron were later called "levim" or "adherers" along with a group of people who, in a later crisis, adhered to Yahweh (Jehovah). (See *Ex.* 32:26.) The descendants of these people were called "levites" or "adherers," and were supposed to be the proper people to exercise the priesthood, and they also bore the name. In time they were naturally confused in the traditions with the ancient tribe that had been destroyed at the time of the first settlement in Canaan, but with that tribe they really had nothing to do. Down to the time of the Babylonian Exile, about 600 B.C., the "levites" who were priests were drawn from every tribe.

Another element that is probably an addition to real history is the story of his secret birth, his exposure on the Nile in a little papyrus-boat daubed with pitch, his rescue and adoption by Pharaoh's daughter. A

⁵ Heb. *Ger*.

story almost identical with this was told in Babylonia centuries before of Sargon of Agade, who was said to have been brought forth in secret, set afloat on the Euphrates in a boat of reed lined with bitumen, rescued by an irrigator, and adopted by the goddess Ishtar.⁶ The parallel is so close that it is difficult to resist the impression that this is another of the stories that have "traveled." The Hebrews heard it, were fascinated by it, and in time came to believe that its main features were events in the life of Moses. If Moses was never adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, it is hardly probable that he was "instructed in all the wisdom of Egypt."

MOSES' CALL TO SERVICE, *Ex. 3: 1-14*

EX. 3. Now Moses was keeping the flock of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Midian: and he led the flock to the back of the wilderness, and came to 2] the mountain of God, unto Horeb. And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush: and he looked, and, behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was 3] not consumed. And Moses said, I will turn aside now, and see this great sight, 4] why the bush is not burnt. And when the LORD saw that he turned aside to see, God called unto him out of the midst of 5] the bush, and said, Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And he said, Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou 6] standest is holy ground. Moreover he said, I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God. 7] And the LORD said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people which are in Egypt, and have heard their cry by reason of their taskmasters; for I know 8] their sorrows; and I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land unto a good land and a large,

unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Hivite, and the Jebusite. 9] And now, behold, the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me: moreover I have seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them. 10] Come now therefore, and I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of 11] Israel out of Egypt. And Moses said unto God, Who am I, that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of 12] Egypt? And he said, Certainly I will be with thee; and this shall be the token unto thee, that I have sent thee: when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve God 13] upon this mountain. And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is his name? what shall I 14] say unto them? And God said unto Moses, ⁷ I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, ⁸ I AM hath sent me unto you.

Although this account was compiled when many things that we know concerning nature and psychology were unknown, and even when much that we know of the previous history of religion was a sealed book; there is in it clearly a record of an epoch-making religious experience

⁶ See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 337.

⁷ Or, I AM, BECAUSE I AM; or, I AM WHO AM; or, I WILL BE THAT I WILL BE.

⁸ Or, I WILL BE (Heb. Ehyeh).

on the part of Moses. In order to understand it, it should be known that the god Yah or Yahu or Yahweh (his name is spelled in all three ways)—the God whom we know as Jehovah—had been worshiped for centuries in Arabia. His worshipers appear to have lived in South Arabia, from which his name had been carried both to Babylonia and to Palestine, where traces of it have been found. Yahu was worshiped by widely scattered Amorites, some of whom lived many centuries before Moses. The Kenites, the clan of Midianites to which Moses' father-in-law belonged, were especially devoted to his worship; inscriptions bearing his name have been found in their territory. Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was a priest of this god.

Yahu was not the only god of any of his worshipers, except possibly the Kenites. He was only one among many gods. To the Kenites he had become the chief deity. He made things grow; he presided over births; there was a volcano in their territory, and its activity was believed to be Yahu's activity; when it rained, Yahu caused it to rain; the thunder was his voice; their wars were Yahu's wars, and, as they had been particularly successful in fighting, Yahu was regarded as "a man of war." Up to this time no one who worshiped him had thought of denying the reality of other gods or of refusing, under certain circumstances, to worship them.

Moses, as son-in-law of Jethro, knew of the existence of Yahu and probably had often joined in his worship, but, on the day described in the passage from *Exodus* just quoted, he had a mystical experience, which not only changed the course of his whole life, but made that day one of the landmarks in the history of the world. All great things, whether in industry, science, literature, art, or religion, first take shape in the soul of a man. Moses' experience on this day set in motion influences which in later centuries were taken up and developed, and ultimately gave to the world three great religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism.

The Horeb to which Moses led his flock that day was, we believe, not the traditional Horeb in the peninsula of Sinai, but a volcanic mountain far down toward the modern city of Medina. It was a mountain that at times was in active eruption.⁹ Most of the great religious leaders of the world have possessed a strain of lofty mysticism. At moments of great religious experience new impressions are sometimes received by such persons and new ideas take shape in their minds with such suddenness and intensity that they seem to hear them uttered by a voice.¹⁰ Such experiences are called "auditions." It is a well-known fact that great upheavals of nature, such as storms and earthquakes—experiences in which man realizes his littleness in comparison with God—often pave

⁹ This is made particularly clear in *Ex. 19*.

¹⁰ For many instances, see Barton, *Handbook of Religious Mysticism*, (in preparation).

the way for great religious experience. Such a moment had now come in the life of Moses. On the volcanic mountain, which was believed to be Yahweh's abode, he saw what seemed to be a bush on fire, but, as he watched, the bush did not burn up as one might expect. He drew nearer to examine the mystery. He knew that this was Yahweh's mountain; in the burning bush he believed he was face to face with Yahweh in a most unusual way. Stirred by such thoughts, the conviction that Yahweh called him to liberate his brethren in Egypt from their bondage, that Yahweh was able to do it, and that, if they worshiped only him, he would do it, took such sudden shape in his mind that he seemed to hear a voice, and so believed that Yahweh had actually spoken to him.

This is the historic fact underlying this narrative. As the record stands, it is compiled in part from J and in part from E, and D has added a touch, so that conceptions of a later time are mingled with it. These do not, however, obscure the fact of the great mystic experience which gave Moses his sense of mission, and burned it into his soul, together with a new faith in Yahweh, with such intensity that it carried him through all difficulties. One of the conceptions that belongs to a later age than that of Moses is the belief that the name Yahweh means "I AM," or "the self-existent One." We now know that the name probably meant "He-who-causes love."¹¹

MOSES AGAIN IN EGYPT

That part of the book of Exodus between ch. 3:15 and the end of ch. 12 is occupied with stories of the tests Moses tried to see if his call was real, of his return to Egypt, his interviews with Pharaoh, and, above all, with the story of the ten plagues culminating in the miraculous slaying of the first born of the Egyptians and the starting of the Hebrews on their Exodus. Three writers, who lived at widely different periods, J, E, and P, were drawn upon for materials, and the actual history is so overlaid with wonders, and the ideas of a later age are so interwoven, especially in the material taken from P, that one does not know how much credence to give to many portions of the story. Until long after Moses everybody believed in magic. Probably Moses did, but whether he could beat the Egyptian magicians in its practice, as these writers believed, we do not know. E consistently represents the few Hebrews as living among the Egyptians, where they can borrow jewelry of their Egyptian neighbors just before they run away (Ex. 11:1-3), while J represents them as dwelling in Goshen, a large district apart from the Egyptians, where they can enjoy light in their houses, when it is dark in all the rest of Egypt (Ex. 8:22, 9:26, and 10:23). The number of plagues differs in the different sources; J tells of seven, E, of five, and P of seven. They

¹¹ See G. A. Barton, *The Religion of Israel*, Philadelphia, 1928, p. 60.

do not all recount the same ones, so that, when all the sources are combined, the plagues become ten. Most of the plagues are the heightening or intensifying of phenomena which sometimes occur in Egypt. In all probability the plagues are later additions to the story. At first, perhaps, some untoward happening was interpreted as a manifestation of Yahweh's displeasure toward the Egyptians, and, in the course of the centuries, the stories grew. It is of little profit now to attempt to separate the facts from the additions. It is enough to be sure that a comparatively small number of Hebrews were in Egypt, that they were living among the Egyptians, not in a land apart, that Moses came and told them of the power of the God Yahweh and promised them deliverance, if they would go out into the wilderness to worship him, and that, after such obstacles as any one in similar circumstances would meet—incredulity on the part of Hebrews, and opposition on the part of Egyptians—he persuaded his brethren to make the venture.

CROSSING THE RED SEA

The route of the Hebrews from the land of their bondage to the wilderness lay along the isthmus of Suez, but that isthmus is in part occupied with lagoons of salt water, which, as the sand has accumulated, have been gradually separated from the Gulf of Suez. These are now called the Bitter Lakes. Twelve hundred years before Christ the marsh-land to the south of these lakes seems to have been impassable, and north of them there had long been a fortress, which is often mentioned in earlier Egyptian records, where an Egyptian garrison was stationed to guard the frontier. The Hebrews did not dare to encounter the garrison, and found themselves hemmed in and their flight checked by the Gulf of Suez, the marshes, and the Bitter Lakes. Then a way of escape opened by what they regarded as a direct interposition of Yahweh. Three accounts of it, one from J, one from E, and one from P, are woven together in the fourteenth chapter of *Exodus*. J says that "Yahweh caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry land" (*Ex.* 14: 21*b*). E says that "Moses stretched out his hand and lifted up his rod over the sea and the sea was divided" (*Ex.* 14: 16 and 21*a* and *c*). According to P the Hebrews crossed on dry ground, "and the waters were a wall to them on the right hand and on the left" (*Ex.* 14: 22). In other words J sees a divine interposition of Yahweh as he controlled nature, directing the wind; E makes it a miracle, which P makes a greater miracle. This is the sort of heightening of the divine for purposes of religious instruction which, in the course of the centuries, often happens. If the explanation of J points to the historical fact, the Hebrews, through some unexpected recession of the waters, got across, and the Egyptians, in attempting to follow, were drowned.

Naturally the Hebrews saw in this the interposition of Yahweh. Like most other peoples, they celebrated events of importance in poetry, and soon this event was celebrated in the couplet:

"Sing ye to Yahweh, for he hath triumphed gloriously,
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea."

THE COVENANT WITH YAHWEH

Having really escaped from Egypt into the wilderness, the Hebrews made their way to the mountain of Yahweh, Horeb. As has already been said, this was probably not in the peninsula of Sinai, but a volcanic mountain far down toward Medina. When they arrived there, Jethro, Yahweh's priest, celebrated the event by a sacrifice. This initiated Moses and Aaron into the cult of Yahweh, and was apparently a kind of ordination service for them. The account of it is in *Exodus* 18: 1-12 and is as follows:

Ex. 18. Now Jethro, the priest of Midian, Moses' father in law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, how that the LORD had 2] brought Israel out of Egypt. And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took Zipporah, Moses' wife, after he had sent 3] her away, and her two sons; of which the name of the one was Gershom; for he said, I have been ¹² a sojourner in 4] a strange land: and the name of the other was ¹⁸ Eliezer: for *he said*, The God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh: 5] and Jethro, Moses' father in law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness where he was 6] encamped, at the mount of God: and he said unto Moses, I thy father in law Jethro am come unto thee, and thy wife, 7] and her two sons with her. And Moses went out to meet his father in law, and did obeisance, and kissed him; and they asked each other of their welfare; and

8] they came into the tent. And Moses told his father in law all that the LORD had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, all the travail that had come upon them by the way, 9] and how the LORD delivered them. And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the LORD had done to Israel, in that he had delivered them out of the 10] hand of the Egyptians. And Jethro said, Blessed be the LORD, who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh; who hath delivered the people from un- 11] der the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that the LORD is greater than all gods: yea, in the thing wherein they 12] dealt proudly against them. And Jethro, Moses' father in law, took a burnt offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father in law before God.

After this initiatory sacrifice, the account of which comes from the E Document, Moses and Aaron officiated at a covenant sacrifice, by which the Hebrews, through their elders, bound themselves to worship Yahweh, and he, they understood, would be their God and fight their battles and give them prosperity. A favorable opportunity for this oc-

¹² Heb. *Ger*. See ch. 2: 22.

¹⁸ Heb. *El*. God, and *ezer*, help.

curred when the sacred mountain burst into smoke and flame on account of a mild volcanic eruption. Yahweh was then believed to be present on his mountain. This is told from the point of view of ancient Hebrews in *Exodus* 19. Moses and Aaron and seventy elders then went up into the mountain and sealed the covenant by a sacrifice. There are two accounts of this: one from J and the other from E. They are as follows:

E, *Ex.* 24: 3-8

Ex. 24. 3] And Moses came and told the people all the words of the LORD, and all the judgements: and all the people answered with one voice, and said, All the words which the LORD hath 4] spoken will we do. And Moses wrote all the words of the LORD, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the mount, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel. 5] And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offered burnt offerings, and sacrificed peace offerings of 6] oxen unto the LORD. And Moses took half of the blood, and put it in basons; and half of the blood he sprinkled on the 7] altar. And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people: and they said, All that the LORD hath spoken will we do, and be 8] obedient. And Moses took the blood, and sprinkled it on the people, and said,

J, *Ex.* 24: 1, 2; 9-11

Ex. 24. And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the LORD, thou, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel; and worship ye afar 2] off: and Moses alone shall come near unto the LORD; but they shall not come near; neither shall the people go up with 9] him. Then went up Moses, and Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, and seventy 10] of the elders of Israel: and they saw the God of Israel; and there was under his feet as it were ¹⁴a paved work of sapphire stone, and as it were the very 11] heaven for clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand: and they beheld God, and did eat and drink.

Behold the blood of the covenant, which the LORD hath made with you ¹⁵concerning all these words.

Both accounts of the making of the covenant tell us that it was ratified by a sacrifice. According to J the sacrifice was a meal which Moses, Aaron, and the seventy elders ate in Yahweh's presence; according to E the blood of the offering was sprinkled on an altar, which represented Yahweh, and also upon the congregation of Hebrews. In both accounts the underlying idea is that Yahweh and Israel were bound together by the blood of a consecrated victim.

THE EARLIEST FORM OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS,

Ex. 34: 2, 3, 10a, 14-30

Ex. 34. 2] And be ready by the morning, and come up in the morning unto mount Sinai, and present thyself there to 3] me on the top of the mount. And no man shall come up with thee, neither let any man be seen throughout all the mount; neither let the flocks nor herds

10] feed before that mount. And he 14] said, Behold, I make a covenant: thou shalt worship no other god: for the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous 15] God: lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do

¹⁴ Or, *work of bright sapphire.*

¹⁵ Or, *upon all these words.*

sacrifice unto their gods, and one call
 16] thee and thou eat of his sacrifice; and
 thou take of their daughters unto thy
 sons, and their daughters go a whoring
 after their gods, and make thy sons go
 17] a whoring after their gods. Thou
 shalt make thee no molten gods.
 18] The feast of unleavened bread
 shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt
 eat unleavened bread, as I commanded
 thee, at the time appointed in the month
 Abib: for in the month Abib thou
 19] camest out from Egypt. All that
 openeth the womb is mine; and all
 thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of
 20] ox and sheep. And the firstling of an
 ass thou shalt redeem with a ¹⁶ lamb:
 and if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou
 shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of
 thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none
 21] shall appear before me empty. Six
 days thou shalt work, but on the seventh
 day thou shalt rest: in plowing time and
 22] in harvest thou shalt rest. And thou
 shalt observe the feast of weeks, *even* of
 the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the
 feast of ingathering at the year's ¹⁷ end.
 23] Three times in the year shall all thy
 males appear before the LORD God,
 24] the God of Israel. For I will cast
 out nations before thee, and enlarge thy

borders: neither shall any man desire thy
 land, when thou goest up to appear be-
 fore the LORD thy God three times in the
 25] year. Thou shalt not offer the blood of
 my sacrifice with leavened bread;
 neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of
 the passover be left unto the morning.
 26] The first of the firstfruits of thy
 ground thou shalt bring unto the house
 of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not
 27] see the kid in its mother's milk. And
 the LORD said unto Moses, Write thou
 these words: for after the tenor of these
 words I have made a covenant with thee
 28] and with Israel. And he was there
 with the LORD forty days and forty
 nights; he did neither eat bread, nor
 drink water. And he wrote upon the
 tables the words of the covenant, the
 ten ¹⁸ commandments.

29] And it came to pass, when Moses
 came down from mount Sinai with the
 two tables of the testimony in Moses'
 hand, when he came down from the
 mount, that Moses wist not that the skin
 of his face ¹⁹ shone ²⁰ by reason of his
 30] speaking with him. And when Aaron
 and all the children of Israel saw Moses,
 behold, the skin of his face shone; and
 they were afraid to come nigh him.

This narrative is, in the main, from the J Document, though some editorial additions have been made by later editors. It tells how Yahweh called Moses up into the mountain and conveyed to him face to face the substance of the ten commandments. There are elements in the story which make it probable that it records another mystic experience of Moses, for when he came down his face shone. It has been noted of many mystics that, when the feelings are exalted in mystic ecstasy, the face is often illumined and seems to shine with unwonted radiance. This touch, unique in the Old Testament, vouches for the historicity of this part of the story. Nothing, indeed, would be more natural than for Moses to go up into the sacred mountain alone, to commune with Yahweh and to seek guidance.

The narrative states that in this interview Yahweh imparted to Moses the ten commandments, even going so far as to say that he wrote them on stone (see verse 28). All ancient peoples believed that their fundamental laws were revealed from heaven. Hammurabi, the Babylonian

¹⁶ Or, *kid*.

¹⁷ Heb. *revolution*.

¹⁸ Heb. *words*.

¹⁹ Or, *sent forth beams* (Heb. *horns*).

²⁰ Or, *while he talked with him*.

lawgiver, pictures the sun-god as handing him his code of laws. This feature of the story is, then, simply the ancient way of expressing the belief that the commandments had divine authority. The strange thing is that these commands as given here, which J believed to have formed the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, differ very widely from the ten commandments as given in *Exodus* 20 and *Deuteronomy* 5, and are clearly much more primitive than those. We believe that J is right in thinking that these ten simple commands, which could be counted off on the fingers and easily carried in the memory, formed the basis of the covenant which was made at this time. At the time the commands were meant to apply to nomadic life in the Arabian deserts. Later editors retouched them a little at certain points to make them apply better to the agricultural conditions of Palestine after the people had settled there, but it is believed that we can still approximately restore the original form. It was probably as follows:

1. Thou shalt worship no other god.
2. Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.
3. The feast of the Passover thou shalt keep.
4. The firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb; all the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem.
5. None shall appear before me empty.
6. Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh thou shalt rest.
7. Thou shalt observe the feast of ingathering (*i. e.*, the date harvest).
8. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread, neither shall the sacrifice of the Passover remain until the morning.
9. The firstlings of thy flocks thou shalt bring unto Yahweh, thy God.
10. Thou shalt not boil a kid in its mother's milk.

At this early period, religion consisted largely of ritual. These commands are almost exclusively ritualistic. They taught people what Yahweh required them to do in his ritual worship. They did contain one requirement unique for that age—the requirement to worship no other god. Most ancient gods were believed to be tolerant; they were not angry, if their devotees at proper times worshiped other gods. But Yahweh was a jealous God; he required the sole allegiance of his worshipers. In this was the germ of Israel's future monotheism.

The relation established by this covenant between Yahweh and Israel was also unique. It laid the foundation for the future development of Yahwehism as an ethical religion. The gods of other nations were believed to be, like their chieftains, bound to them by ties of kinship, which, it was thought, could not be broken. A chieftain might not like the conduct of his tribe; he might sulk for a time; but in the end he must help them. He could not permit them to be destroyed, or he would not be a chief. He would become an outcast and have no tribe over which to rule. Similarly a national god related to his people by kinship could

be coerced. In the end he must rescue his people, whatever their morals, or he would have no worshipers and so would be no god. Yahweh's relation to Israel was, however, different. It was a covenant relation, and, if Israel did not fulfil its part of the bargain, Yahweh would be free to cast them off and choose another people. To this fact successive prophets in subsequent centuries appealed with effect.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the covenant, in the time of Moses, was not written. Later writers supposed it to have been written, but in this we believe they were mistaken. As it was unwritten, it could be continually reinterpreted. Thus while J believed the covenant to be based on this oldest decalogue, just quoted, E thought it was based on the ethical decalogue of *Exodus* 20 and the agricultural code of laws in *Exodus* 20: 24—23: 19; the prophets Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah believed it to be based on the living of a thoroughly humane and ethical life; D interpreted the basis of the covenant to be his revised agricultural code; while P considered it the whole body of Levitical ritual, much of which was not developed until long after. This constant reinterpretation ultimately made Israel's religion the lofty, ethical monotheism which has been such a blessing to the world. The first step in that process was the establishment of this covenant by Moses.

THE WILDERNESS WANDERING

The reinterpretations just mentioned have overlaid the period traditionally known as the "wandering in the wilderness" with so many traditions of later origin that it seems at first sight hopeless to discover a historical kernel in the traditions that have come down to us. The great body of material in the last chapters of *Exodus*, all the book of *Leviticus*, and nearly all the book of *Numbers* are from the P stratum—the latest stratum in the Pentateuch. The representation given by these editors, that the number of Hebrews in the wilderness was as great as the population of New York with all its boroughs, and that, when they camped, the tabernacle with all its priestly and Levitical retinue occupied a prescribed area in the midst of this vast city of tents, is certainly unhistorical. What the historical fact probably was will be told soon.

How long a period should be assigned to the wilderness we do not know. The traditional time is "forty years," but that is a period of time that the Deuteronomic writers are particularly fond of, and it seems that they may have employed it as a round number to express the idea of a "generation" or "a long time."

Whether the tribes said to be descended from Rachel roamed as nomads in the desert country for twenty or for forty years, they seem to have made the mountain of Yahweh, far down toward Medina, one gathering place, and the oasis of Kadesh, about fifty miles south of Beersheba, the

other. Only one or two facts of the history of this period are now discernible.

THE REAL TABERNACLE, *Ex. 33:7-11*

7] Now Moses used to take the tent and to pitch it without the camp, afar off from the camp; and he called it, The tent of meeting. And it came to pass, that every one which sought the LORD went out unto the tent of meeting which 8] was without the camp. And it came to pass, when Moses went out unto the Tent, that all the people rose up, and stood, every man at his tent door, and looked after Moses, until he was gone 9] into the Tent. And it came to pass, when Moses entered into the Tent, the

pillar of cloud descended, and stood at 10] the door of the Tent: and *the* LORD spake with Moses. And all the people saw the pillar of cloud stand at the door of the Tent: and all the people rose up and worshipped, every man at his tent 11] door. And *the* LORD spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend. And he turned again into the camp: but his minister Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man, departed not out of the Tent.

Some features of this story, which comes from the E Document, are probably additions of a later time. Such is the tradition that, when Yahweh came to the tent, the pillar of cloud rested upon it, and all the people stood. That Moses, as he led this comparatively small group of Hebrews, had a tent for the worship of Yahweh, which he pitched apart from the camp, and to which he went for the purpose of ascertaining the will of Yahweh, by casting the sacred lot and by such other means as the men of that time believed to be efficacious, is altogether probable. This is the original of that "tabernacle," which the imagination of priestly writers expanded into the structure pictured in much Sunday school literature.

THE ORIGIN OF THE LEVITES, *Ex. 32:25-31*

25] And when Moses saw that the people were broken loose; for Aaron had let them loose for a ²¹ derision 26] among their enemies: then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said, Whoso is on the LORD's side, *let him come* unto me. And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together unto him. 27] And he said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Put ye every man his sword upon his thigh, and go to and fro from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every 28] man his neighbour. And the sons of Levi did according to the word of

Moses: and there fell of the people that 29] day about three thousand men. And Moses said, ²² Consecrate yourselves to-day to the LORD, ²³ yea, every man ²⁴ against his son, and ²⁴ against his brother; that he may bestow upon you a 30] blessing this day. And it came to pass on the morrow, that Moses said unto the people, Ye have sinned a great sin: and now I will go up unto the LORD; peradventure I shall make atone- 31] ment for your sin. And Moses returned unto the LORD, and said, Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold.

²¹ Heb. *whispering*.

²² Heb. *Fill your hand,*

²³ Or, *for every man hath been against his son and against his brother.*

²⁴ Or, *upon*.

The second of the commandments of *Exodus* 34, quoted above, prohibited the making of "molten gods." It did not prohibit the making of idols whittled out of wood, but only expensive idols made of molten metal. The verses, just preceding the extract last quoted from the book of *Exodus*, tell how Aaron made a golden calf and the people worshiped it. We are told that then Moses said: "Who is on Yahweh's side, let him come to me." The narrative adds "all the Levites [literally, "adherers"] gathered themselves together unto him." Those who thus adhered to Yahweh in this crisis, and showed it by standing by Moses and executing the bloody mission on which he sent them, became, it is believed, the ancestors of the Levitical priesthood of later times. Naturally, in the lapse of time, they were confused with the old tribe of Levi, some memory of which lingered, but, unless we are mistaken, originally the two were quite distinct.

The story of this crisis as we have it was written to combat the use of golden bullocks or calves in the worship of Yahweh in the time of the kingdom of Israel, but doubtless there may have been a crisis over some similar matter in the time of Moses. People do not give up old practices easily.

THE OVERTHROW OF OG, KING OF BASHAN, *Num.* 21: 33-35

Num. 21. 33] And they turned and went up by the way of Bashan: and Og the king of Bashan went out against them, he and all his people, to battle at 34] Edrei. And the LORD said unto Moses, Fear him not: for I have delivered him into thy hand, and all his people, and his

land; and thou shalt do to him as thou didst unto Sihon king of the Amorites, 35] which dwelt at Heshbon. So they smote him, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him remaining: and they possessed his land.

Og ruled over a kingdom in the fertile lands east of the Sea of Galilee, called to-day, as in the time of the Assyrians, the Hauran. As, according to the hypothesis of this book, the Reubenites and Gadites were already occupying the territory east of the Jordan and south of the Hauran, Moses led the Joseph tribes, whom he had delivered from Egypt, along the border of the desert to the neighborhood of what is to-day called Gebel-ed-Druz, and, turning westward, conquered the kingdom of Bashan. Here a part of the tribe of Manasseh settled.

THE DEATH OF MOSES, *Deut.* 34: 1-8

Deut. 34. And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho. And the LORD shewed him all 2] the land of Gilead, unto Dan; and all

Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah, 3] unto the ²⁵ hinder sea; and the South, and the Plain of the valley of Jericho 4] the city of palm trees, unto Zoar. And

²⁵ That is, *western*.

the LORD said unto him, This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go 5] over thither. So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD. 6] And ²⁶ he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab over against Beth-

peor: but no man knoweth of his sepul- 7] chre unto this day. And Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died: his eye was not dim, nor his 8] natural force abated. And the children of Israel wept for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days: so the days of weeping in the mourning for Moses were ended.

The death of Moses, recorded in this passage, occurred before the Joseph-tribes had made any conquests west of the Jordan. This passage in *Deuteronomy*, made up of strands from different documents, shows how later generations venerated him, and how little they knew of the details of his last days. His age of a hundred and twenty years is an addition from the P Document, and is clearly an exaggeration. Although, as we have seen, later generations greatly magnified the work of Moses, it would be difficult to exaggerate its importance. He set in motion influences which made the Hebrew people what they were, and thus contributed ultimately one of the most important elements of modern civilization.

²⁶ Or, *he was buried.*

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE

IT has already been pointed out that the book of *Joshua*, which is devoted to an account of the conquest of Palestine, is in good part composed of material from the D and P documents, whose authors had entirely lost the historical perspective. In the first ten chapters of the book there is some material drawn from J and E, and, though even here there are later accretions as is natural, the account is in the main historical.

The tribes said to be descended from Rachel traced their ancestry in part back to Haran in Mesopotamia, and it is probable that they too were Habiri, but Habiri who had not obtained a footing in Palestine at the time of the first settlement. We know from the tablets from Boghaz Koi that not all the Habiri had left the Hurri-country, when the first settlement took place. When the Rachel-tribes approached western Palestine through the Hauran, where they conquered the kingdom of Og and where part of the tribe of Manasseh settled, northern Palestine, according to our hypothesis, was already in the possession of Habiri, while the tribes of Judah and Simeon had established themselves in the south, where they had made an alliance with the tribe of Dan, which was, perhaps, originally Canaanite. The great central portion of the country from Jerusalem northward nearly to the great Plain of Esdraelon was still in the hands of Amorite or Canaanite tribes. This the Rachel-tribes determined to attack; and apparently they moved down the Jordan valley on the east side of the river seeking an advantageous point at which to begin the invasion. They appear to have found this at Jericho.

CROSSING OF THE JORDAN

When this decision was reached the problem was how to get across the Jordan. Farther up the river the bottom of the stream is often hard and it can be forded, but for miles above Jericho the bed of the river is of clay in which there are streaks of salt. The water is deep, flows swiftly, and the bottom is treacherous. Along its banks great cliffs of this clay, worn into curious shapes through the centuries by annual floods, stand like castles.¹ The problem of crossing was a serious one, and it was

¹ For a picture of such a cliff see G. A. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 125.

accomplished by the occurrence of an event which, like the blowing of the winds at the Red Sea, the Hebrews believed to be an interposition of Yahweh. Here is the Biblical account of it, made up of strata from the different documents.

Josh 3. And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and they removed from Shittim, and came to Jordan, he and all the children of Israel; and they lodged 2] there before they passed over. And it came to pass after three days, that the officers went through the midst of the 3] camp; and they commanded the people, saying, When ye see the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God, and the priests the Levites bearing it, then ye shall remove from your place, and go 4] after it. Yet there shall be a space between you and it, about two thousand cubits by measure: come not near unto it, that ye may know the way by which ye must go; for ye have not passed this 5] way heretofore. And Joshua said unto the people, Sanctify yourselves: for to-morrow the LORD will do wonders 6] among you. And Joshua spake unto the priests, saying, Take up the ark of the covenant, and pass over before the people. And they took up the ark of the covenant, and went before the people. And the LORD said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that, as I was with Moses, so I 8] will be with thee. And thou shalt command the priests that bear the ark of the covenant, saying, When ye are come to the brink of the waters of Jordan, ye shall stand still in Jordan.

9] And Joshua said unto the children of Israel, Come hither, and hear the 10] words of the LORD your God. And Joshua said, Hereby ye shall know that the living God is among you, and that

he will without fail drive out from before you the Canaanite, and the Hittite, and the Hivite, and the Perizzite, and the Girgashite, and the Amorite, and the 11] Jebusite. Behold, the ark of the covenant of the LORD of all the earth pass- 12] eth over before you into Jordan. Now therefore take you twelve men out of the tribes of Israel, for every tribe a 13] man. And it shall come to pass, when the soles of the feet of the priests that bear the ark of the LORD, the LORD of all the earth, shall rest in the waters of Jordan, that the waters of Jordan shall be cut off, even the waters that come down from above; and they shall 14] stand in one heap. And it came to pass, when the people removed from their tents, to pass over Jordan, the priests that bare the ark of the covenant 15] being before the people; and when they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brink of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all its banks all the time of harvest), 16] that the waters which came down from above stood, and rose up in one heap, a great way ² off, at Adam, the city that is beside Zarethan: and those that went down toward the sea of the ³ Arabah, even the Salt Sea, were wholly cut off: and the people passed 17] over right against Jericho. And the priests that bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD stood firm on dry ground in the midst of Jordan, and all Israel passed over on dry ground, until all the nation were passed clean over Jordan.

What are we to make of this narrative? The key to its interpretation is furnished by an Arab historian, who relates that in the year 1266 A.D. an Arab officer was detailed to repair a bridge over this part of the Jordan.⁴ It was at the time of the year when the river was in flood, and the bridge was in imminent danger of being washed away. Suddenly the

² Another reading is, *off from*.

³ See *Deut.* 1: 1.

⁴ For the Arabic text with translation see *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1895, pp. 253-261.

water subsided and in a little while the river bottom was waterless, so that the bridge was repaired. On examination it was found that farther up the river one of the clay cliffs had been undermined by the flood and made a dam which caused the waters to back up for a long way while the river was finding a way through it and around it. Such an occurrence in the time of Joshua the Hebrews would certainly regard as a miraculous interposition of Yahweh. That is probably what occurred, and later tradition by a natural, unconscious process turned it into a miracle which happened at the approach of a procession of priests.

THE FALL OF JERICHO, *Josh. 6*

Josh. 6. (Now Jericho ⁵ was straitly shut up because of the children of Israel: none went out, and none came in.)
 2] And the LORD said unto Joshua, See, I have given into thine hand Jericho, and the king thereof, and the mighty
 3] men of valour. And ye shall compass the city, all the men of war, going about
 4] the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days. And seven priests shall bear seven
 6] trumpets of rams' horns before the ark: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city seven times, and the priests
 5] shall blow with the trumpets. And it shall be, that when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, and when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down
 7] flat, and the people shall go up every
 6] man straight before him. And Joshua the son of Nun called the priests, and said unto them, Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark
 7] of the LORD. And ⁸ they said unto the people, Pass on, and compass the city, and let the armed men pass on before
 8] the ark of the LORD. And it was so, that when Joshua had spoken unto the people, the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the LORD passed on, and blew with the trumpets: and the ark of the covenant of the
 9] LORD followed them. And the armed men went before the priests that blew the trumpets, and the rearward went

after the ark, *the priests* blowing with
 10] the trumpets as they went. And Joshua commanded the people, saying, Ye shall not shout, nor let your voice be heard, neither shall any word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid
 11] you shout; then shall ye shout. So he caused the ark of the LORD to compass the city, going about it once: and they came into the camp, and lodged in the camp.

12] And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark
 13] of the LORD. And the seven priests bearing the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of the LORD went on continually, and blew with the trumpets: and the armed men went before them; and the rearward came after the ark of the LORD, *the priests* blowing with
 14] the trumpets as they went. And the second day they compassed the city once, and returned into the camp: so they did
 15] six days. And it came to pass on the seventh day, that they rose early at the dawning of the day, and compassed the city after the same manner seven times: only on that day they compassed the city
 16] seven times. And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout; for the LORD hath given
 17] you the city. And the city shall be
 9] devoted, even it and all that is therein, to the LORD: only Rahab the harlot shall live, she and all that are with her in the house, because she hid the messengers

⁵ Heb. *shut the gates and was shut in.*

⁶ Or, *jubilee trumpets.*

⁷ Heb. *in its place.*

⁸ Another reading is, *he.*

⁹ See *Lev. 27: 28; Deut. 20: 17.*

18] that we sent. And ye, in any wise keep yourselves from the devoted thing, lest when ye have devoted it, ye take of the devoted thing; so should ye make the camp of Israel ¹⁰ accursed, and trou- 19] ble it. But all the silver, and gold, and vessels of brass and iron, are holy unto the LORD: they shall come into the 20] treasury of the LORD. So the people shouted, and the priests blew with the trumpets: and it came to pass, when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, that the people shouted with a great shout, and the wall fell down ⁷ flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they 21] took the city. And they ¹¹ utterly destroyed all that was in the city, both man and woman, both young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of 22] the sword. And Joshua said unto the two men that had spied out the land, Go into the harlot's house, and bring out thence the woman, and all that she hath, 23] as ye sware unto her. And the young

men the spies went in, and brought out Rahab, and her father, and her mother, and her brethren, and all that she had, all her ¹² kindred also they brought out; and they set them without the camp of 24] Israel. And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein: only the silver, and the gold, and the vessels of brass and of iron, they put into the treas- 25] ury of the house of the LORD. But Rahab the harlot, and her father's household, and all that she had, did Joshua save alive; and she dwelt in the midst of Israel, unto this day; because she hid the messengers, which Joshua sent to 26] spy out Jericho. And Joshua charged them with an oath at that time, saying, Cursed be the man before the LORD, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho: with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof, and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the 27] gates of it. So the LORD was with Joshua; and his fame was in all the land.

Scholars find two strands woven together in this chapter, one from J and one from E. According to the J strand the Hebrews marched around the walls of Jericho once a day for six days, making no attack. The people of Jericho, thinking they did not dare to attack, were thrown off their guard and became lax in the vigilance of their defense. When, on the seventh day, they marched around, they made a surprise attack and took the city. E, on the other hand, represented the Hebrews as marching around seven times on one day, and then blowing trumpets, when the walls fell down of themselves. As the narrative stands they are made to march around the walls thirteen times in all and the miraculous falling of the walls is preserved. It is believed that the J account represents the historical fact.

THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL PALESTINE, *Josh.* 8: 1—10: 27

Josh. 8. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear not, neither be thou dismayed: take all the people of war with thee, and arise, go up to Ai: see, I have given into thy hand the king of Ai, and his people, and his city, and his land: 2] and thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king:

only the spoil thereof, and the cattle thereof, shall ye take for a prey unto yourselves: set thee an ambush for the 3] city behind it. So Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up to Ai: and Joshua chose out thirty thousand men, the mighty men of valour, and sent 4] them forth by night. And he com-

¹⁰ Heb. *devoted*.

¹¹ Heb. *devoted*.

¹² Heb. *families*.

manded them, saying, Behold, ye shall lie in ambush against the city, behind the city: go not very far from the city, but 5] be ye all ready: and I, and all the people that are with me, will approach unto the city: and it shall come to pass, when they come out against us, as at the first, 6] that we will flee before them; and they will come out after us, till we have drawn them away from the city; for they will say, They flee before us, as at the first; so we will flee before them: 7] and ye shall rise up from the ambush, and take possession of the city: for the LORD your God will deliver it into your 8] hand. And it shall be, when ye have seized upon the city, that ye shall set the city on fire; according to the word of the LORD shall ye do: see, I have 9] commanded you. And Joshua sent them forth: and they went to the ambushment, and abode between Beth-el and Ai, on the west side of Ai: but Joshua lodged that night among the people.

10] And Joshua rose up early in the morning, and mustered the people, and went up, he and the elders of Israel, 11] before the people to Ai. And all the people, *even the men of war* that were with him, went up, and drew nigh, and came before the city, and pitched on the north side of Ai: now there was a valley 12] between him and Ai. And he took about five thousand men, and set them in ambush between Beth-el and Ai, on 13] the west side of ¹³ the city. ¹⁴ So they set the people, even all the host that was on the north of the city, and their liers in wait that were on the west of the city; and Joshua ¹⁵ went that night into 14] the midst of the vale. And it came to pass, when the king of Ai saw it, that they hasted and rose up early, and the men of the city went out against Israel to battle, he and all his people, ¹⁶ at the time appointed, before the Arabah; but he wist not that there was an ambush 15] against him behind the city. And Joshua and all Israel made as if they were beaten before them, and fled by

16] the way of the wilderness. And all the people that were in ¹⁸ the city were called together to pursue after them: and they pursued after Joshua, and were 17] drawn away from the city. And there was not a man left in Ai or Beth-el, that went not out after Israel: and they left the city open, and pursued after 18] Israel. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand toward Ai; for I will give it into thine hand. And Joshua stretched out the javelin that was in his hand 19] toward the city. And the ambush arose quickly out of their place, and they ran as soon as he had stretched out his hand, and entered into the city, and took it; and they hasted and set the city 20] on fire. And when the men of Ai looked behind them, they saw, and, behold, the smoke of the city ascended up to heaven, and they had no ¹⁷ power to flee this way or that way: and the people that fled to the wilderness turned 21] back upon the pursuers. And when Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city, and that the smoke of the city ascended, then they turned again, and slew the men of Ai. 22] And the other came forth out of the city against them; so they were in the midst of Israel, some on this side, and some on that side: and they smote them, so that they let none of them remain or 23] escape. And the king of Ai they took alive, and brought him to Joshua. 24] And it came to pass, when Israel had made an end of slaying all the inhabitants of Ai in the field, in the wilderness wherein they pursued them, and they were all fallen by the edge of the sword, until they were consumed, that all Israel returned unto Ai, and smote 25] it with the edge of the sword. And all that fell that day, both of men and women, were twelve thousand, even all 26] the men of Ai. For Joshua drew not back his hand, wherewith he stretched out the javelin, until he had ¹⁸ utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai. 27] Only the cattle and the spoil of that

¹³ Another reading is, *Ai*.

¹⁴ Or, *So the people set all &c.*

¹⁵ Some MSS. read, *lodged that night in*.

¹⁶ Or, *to the place appointed*.

¹⁷ Heb. *hands*.

¹⁸ Heb. *devoted*.

city Israel took for a prey unto themselves, according unto the word of the LORD which he commanded Joshua. 28] So Joshua burnt Ai, and made it an ¹⁹ heap for ever, even a desolation, unto 29] this day. And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until the eventide: and at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raised thereon a great heap of stones, unto this day.

30] Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD, the God of Israel, in mount 31] Ebal, as Moses the servant of the LORD commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of ²⁰ unhewn stones, upon which no man had lift up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt offerings unto the LORD, and sacrificed 32] peace offerings. And he wrote there upon ²¹ the stones a copy of the law of Moses, ²² which he wrote, in the presence of the children of Israel. And all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark and on that side before the priests the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the LORD, as well the stranger as the homeborn; half of them in front of mount Gerizim, and half of them in front of mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the LORD had ²³ commanded, that they should bless the people of Israel first of all. And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessing and the curse, according to all that is written in the book of the 35] law. There was not a word of all that Moses commanded, which Joshua read not before all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the little ones, and the strangers that ²⁴ were conversant among them.

9. And it came to pass, when all the kings which were beyond Jordan, in the hill country, and in the lowland, and on all the shore of the great sea in front

of Lebanon, the Hittite, and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivite, and the Jebusite, heard thereof; 2] that they gathered themselves together, to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord.

3] But when the inhabitants of Gibeon heard what Joshua had done unto 4] Jericho and to Ai, they also did work wilyly, and went and ²⁵ made as if they had been ambassadors, and took old sacks upon their asses, and wine-skins, 5] old and rent and bound up; and old shoes and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them; and all the bread of their provision was dry and 6] was become mouldy. And they went to Joshua unto the camp at Gilgal, and said unto him, and to the men of Israel, We are come from a far country: now therefore make ye a covenant with us. 7] And the men of Israel said unto the Hivites, Peradventure ye dwell among us; and how shall we make a covenant 8] with you? And they said unto Joshua, We are thy servants. And Joshua said unto them, Who are ye? and from 9] whence come ye? And they said unto him, From a very far country thy servants are come because of the name of the LORD thy God: for we have heard the fame of him, and all that he did in 10] Egypt, and all that he did to the two kings of the Amorites, that were beyond Jordan, to Sihon king of Heshbon, and to Og king of Bashan, which was 11] at Ashtaroth. And our elders and all the inhabitants of our country spake to us, saying, Take provision in your hand for the journey, and go to meet them, and say unto them, We are your servants: and now make ye a covenant with 12] us. This our bread we took hot for our provision out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you; but now, behold, it is dry, and is become mouldy: and these wine-skins, which we filled, were new; and, behold, they be rent: and these our garments and our shoes are become old by reason of the

¹⁹ Or, mound Heb. tel.

²⁰ Heb. whole.

²¹ See Deut. 27: 2-4.

²² Or, which he wrote in &c.

²³ Or, commanded at the first that they should bless the people of Israel.

²⁴ Heb. walked.

²⁵ Another reading, followed by most ancient versions, is, took them provisions. See ver. 12.

14] very long journey. And the men took of their provision, and asked not counsel at the mouth of the LORD. 15] And Joshua made peace with them, and made a covenant with them, to let them live: and the princes of the congregation swore unto them. And it came to pass at the end of three days after they had made a covenant with them, that they heard that they were their neighbours, and that they dwelt 17] among them. And the children of Israel journeyed, and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and Chephirah, and Beer-18] oth, and Kiriath-jearim. And the children of Israel smote them not, because the princes of the congregation had sworn unto them by the LORD, the God of Israel. And all the congregation 19] murmured against the princes. But all the princes said unto all the congregation, We have sworn unto them by the LORD, the God of Israel: now therefore 20] we may not touch them. This we will do to them, and let them live; lest wrath be upon us, because of the oath 21] which we swore unto them. And the princes said unto them, Let them live: so they became hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation; as the princes had spoken 22] unto them. And Joshua called for them, and he spake unto them, saying, Wherefore have ye beguiled us, saying, We are very far from you; when ye 23] dwell among us? Now therefore ye are cursed, and there ²⁶ shall never fail to be of you bondmen, both hewers of wood and drawers of water for the 24] house of my God. And they answered Joshua, and said, Because it was certainly told thy servants, how that the LORD thy God commanded his servant Moses to give you all the land, and to destroy all the inhabitants of the land from before you; therefore we were sore afraid for our lives because of you, 25] and have done this thing. And now, behold, we are in thine hand: as it seemeth good and right unto thee to do unto 26] us, do. And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the

children of Israel, that they slew them 27] not. And Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of the LORD, unto this day, in the place which he should choose.

10. Now it came to pass, when Adonizadek king of Jerusalem heard how Joshua had taken Ai, and had ²⁷ utterly destroyed it; as he had done to *Jericho and her king, so he had done to Ai and her king*; and how the inhabitants of Gibeon had made peace with Israel, and 2] were among them; that they feared greatly, because Gibeon was a great city, as one of the royal cities, and because it was greater than Ai, and all the men 3] thereof were mighty. Wherefore Adonizadek king of Jerusalem sent unto Hoham king of Hebron, and unto Piram king of Jarmuth, and unto Japhia king of Lachish, and unto Debir king of 4] Eglon, saying, Come up unto me, and help me, and let us smite Gibeon: for it hath made peace with Joshua and 5] with the children of Israel. Therefore the five kings of the Amorites, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, gathered themselves together, and went up, they and all their hosts, and encamped against Gibeon, and made war against it. And the men of Gibeon sent unto Joshua to the camp of Gilgal, saying, Slack not thy hand from thy servants; come up to us quickly, and save us, and help us: for all the kings of the Amorites that dwell in the hill country are gathered together 7] against us. So Joshua went up from Gilgal, he, and all the people of war with him, and all the mighty men of val-8] our. And the LORD said unto Joshua, Fear them not: for I have delivered them into thine hands; there shall not a man of them stand before thee. 9] Joshua therefore came upon them suddenly; *for he went up from Gilgal* 10] all the night. And the LORD discomfited them before Israel, and he slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them by the way of the ascent of Beth-horon, and smote them to

²⁶ Heb. *shall not be cut off from you.*

²⁷ Heb. *devoted.*

11] Azekah, and unto Makkedah. And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, while they were in the going down of Beth-horon, that the LORD cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah, and they died: they were more which died with the hail-stones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword.

12] Then spake Joshua to the LORD in the day *when the LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel*; and he said in the sight of Israel,

Sun, ²⁸ stand thou still upon Gibeon;

And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.

13] And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,

Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Is not this written in the book of ²⁹ Jashar? And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go 14] down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the LORD fought for Israel.

15] And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp to Gilgal.

16] And these five kings fled, and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah.

17] And it was told Joshua, saying, The five kings are found, hidden in the cave

18] at Makkedah. And Joshua said, Roll great stones unto the mouth of the cave, and set men by it for to keep them:

19] but stay not ye; pursue after your enemies, and smite the hindmost of them; suffer them not to enter into their cities: for the LORD your God hath de-

20] livered them into your hand. And it came to pass, when Joshua and the children of Israel had made an end of slaying them with a very great slaughter, till they were consumed, and the remnant which remained of them had

21] entered into the fenced cities, that all the people returned to the camp to Joshua at Makkedah in peace: none ³⁰ moved his tongue against any of the

22] children of Israel. Then said Joshua, Open the mouth of the cave, and bring

forth those five kings unto me out of the

23] cave. And they did so, and brought forth those five kings unto him out of

the cave, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the

king of Lachish, the king of Eglon. 24] And it came to pass, when they

brought forth those kings unto Joshua, that Joshua called for all the men of

Israel, and said unto the chiefs of the men of war which went with him,

Come near, put your feet upon the necks of these kings. And they came near, and

put their feet upon the necks of them. 25] And Joshua said unto them, Fear

not, nor be dismayed; be strong and of good courage: for thus shall the LORD

do to all your enemies against whom ye 26] fight. And afterward Joshua smote

them, and put them to death, and hanged them on five trees: and they were hang-

ing upon the trees until the evening. 27] And it came to pass at the time of

the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded, and they took them down

off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden them-

selves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave, unto this very day.

These chapters from the book of *Joshua* contain all we know of the conquest of central Palestine. To one who follows them with the map they give a tolerably clear picture. Partly by conquest and partly by alliances the Rachel-tribes gained possession of the territory in which they developed into a political power. The only part of the material that needs a word of comment is the supposed miracle of the sun standing still in chapter 10: 12, 13. The last part of verse 12 and all of verse 13 are a bit of poetry, taken by the writer of the J Document from an ancient

²⁸ Heb. *be silent*.

²⁹ Or, *The Upright*. See 2 Sam. 1: 18.

³⁰ Heb. *whetted*.

book of odes that is now lost. This book, which is quoted three or four times in the Old Testament, contained poems celebrating the deeds of ancient heroes. It contained a poem on Joshua's victorious battle at Aijalon, and the poet with poetic exaggeration expresses the fact that the day was quite long enough for the victory by saying that

"The sun stood still and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves on their enemies."

It is a bit of poetic hyperbole, such as one might find in Homer, written by one who thought of the sun as a creature that passed through a kind of Hudson tunnel at night from west to east, and that might stop for a bit without doing more harm than a person does when he stops. For us, who know how the earth would fall into the sun's fire, if it stopped moving around the sun, it is a different matter. The utterance is as clearly poetic metaphor as is Shakespeare's

"How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!"

KENITES SETTLE IN JUDAH, *Jud.* 1: 16

16] And the children of the Kenite, Moses' ³¹ brother in law, went up out of ³² the city of palm trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness	of Judah, which is in the south of Arad; and they went and dwelt with the people.
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This passage shows that some Kenite-Midianites moved into the tribe of Judah and lived there. Apparently they were absorbed and became a part of that tribe as numerous Canaanites did.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF PALESTINE

In the two settlements which have now been described the Hebrews pushed their way in among the Palestinian population. They killed some and made alliances with others. There were many walled cities that they did not take; a line of these extended from Bethshean to Megiddo across the Plain of Jezreel, and another from Jerusalem to Gezer. Judah had once captured Jerusalem, but had lost it to the Jebusites. Nevertheless Israel became the dominant element in the population and in a few centuries had assimilated the others. With a map of Palestine one should note the locality occupied by each of the twelve tribes.

Having reached a point where we can study the real history of Israel, we should form some idea of the physical features of the country. It is divided naturally into five long narrow strips which run from north to south. The first of these as we approach the land from the west is the

³¹ Or, *father in law*.

³² See *Deut.* 34: 3.

maritime plain. This plain at the southern end of the country is about fifteen miles wide; it narrows as one goes north until, at Mount Carmel, it disappears. It consists of rolling land intersected by streams; it is well watered and fertile. During most of the Old Testament period it was in the hands of Israel's enemies.

East of this plain is a range of low hills, which begin about opposite Samaria and extend southward to Lachish. The Hebrews called these the "Shephēlah." The city of Gezer was situated in it.

East of the Shephelah is the range of hills which constitute central Palestine. Most of Hebrew history was enacted on this range. North of Beersheba the hills begin to rise in what was called the "Negeb" or "south country"; they increase in height as one goes northward until at Hebron their summits are 3,300 feet above sea-level. North of this they gradually fall; Jerusalem is 2,500 feet above the sea, although the top of the Mount of Olives is 2,900 feet. As one goes northward through the country of ancient Ephraim the hills are lower and the valleys wider. This continues until we reach the great Plain of Jezreel—called later Esdraelon—which extends in a northwesterly direction from Bethshean to the Mediterranean north of Mount Carmel. North of this plain near Nazareth the hills begin again and gradually become higher until in northern Galilee they again reach a height of about 3,300 feet. A few miles east of Nazareth, Mount Tabor rises like a round loaf to a height of 2,800 feet.

The most remarkable part of Palestine is the Jordan valley, which lies just east of the central range. Beginning where the Jordan rises near the foot of Mount Hermon—the highest mountain in Palestine, which reaches a height of 9,300 feet—this valley starts at a height of 1,700 feet above the level of the sea. As one goes south it descends so fast—the name "Jordan" means "descender"—that where it broadens out into the Hulah (the ancient "Waters of Merom") it is but two feet above sea-level. From the Huleh it descends so rapidly that at the Sea of Galilee it is 681 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. From this point it descends so rapidly that it enters the Dead Sea 1,300 feet below sea-level. This valley, only twenty miles wide at the broadest part, and averaging about eight miles in width, is a great crevice in the earth's surface, most of it below the level of the sea, into which the rays of the subtropical sun beat, producing in it a truly tropical climate. In it oleanders and various tropical flowers bloom, while Hermon at its northern end—snow-capped for nine months of the year—can be seen as a white sentinel throughout its entire length.

As one goes up out of the Jordan valley to the east opposite Jericho one seems to be climbing the side of a mountain 5,000 feet high. When he has reached the top, he finds himself, however, not on a mountain, but on an elevated plain. The country is rolling, well watered, and fertile. This elevated table-land—the Transjordan of to-day—is the fifth

division of the country. It extends from the Jordan valley to the Arabian desert. Opposite the Dead Sea the fertile land is about thirty miles wide; farther north, east of the Sea of Galilee, where the land is not so high and the moisture is not so soon drained out of the air blown in from the Mediterranean, it is more than twice that width.

This portion of Palestine is divided into four parts by three deep valleys, at the bottoms of which perennial streams flow. The southernmost of these was in ancient times called the Arnon. It divided the land of Moab from the territory supposed to belong to the tribe of Reuben (see *Num.* 21: 14, 15), though Moab often pushed to the north of it. The Arnon empties into the Dead Sea. About half-way between the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee another deeply cut bed of a small river enters the Jordan valley. This is the ancient Jabbok (see *Gen.* 32: 22). A few miles south of the Sea of Galilee the third valley, the Yarmuk, divides the land and conducts a large creek to the Jordan. In going through this country from south to north one finds one's self east of the Dead Sea in a fertile land that reminds one of eastern Pennsylvania. Farther to the north, in the territory of Gad, he passes through a more mountainous region—Mount Gilead, of the Bible—where there is less fertility. North of the Jabbok the country is still hilly and one finds occasional oak trees, the few survivors of the forests that once clothed these hills (see *2 Sam.* 18: 9, 10). North of the Yarmuk the country is less elevated and broadens out into more fertile undulating plains, though far to the east, near the desert, are mountains of volcanic formation—the Gebel ed-Druz.

Such was the land that the Hebrews came to call "the promised land." Although but about the size of Vermont or New Hampshire, it presents a greater variety of scenery, of climate, and of products than can be found anywhere else on the earth's surface in the same space. Its hills are everywhere intersected by deep valleys. From the hilltops wide views are nearly always obtainable. Fertility depends on the rains of heaven, not on rivers, like the Nile and Euphrates, which man can control for irrigation. Is it an accident that the world's best religion had such a birthplace?

CHAPTER VIII

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES

WE must not think of a "judge" in ancient Israel as we think of a judge in the United States. The ancient Hebrew judge was not appointed; he was not elected; his duties were defined by no constitution or laws. Indeed, in the period of the judges there was in Israel no generally recognized code of laws. The compiler of the book of *Judges* remarks: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (*Jud.* 21: 25; compare also *Jud.* 18: 1 and 19: 1). There was no king, nor constitution, nor any sense of national unity. Each tribe had its elders, but there was no general government even in the tribe. There was no such thing as national defense. If the country was invaded, the invasion went on unchecked until some energetic person on his own initiative organized his fellows and drove the enemy out. In the process such a man became rich and powerful because of the booty he took. Both because of his riches and because of the energy he had displayed, he became the principal citizen of his district, and men brought to him their disputes to be settled. It was thus that he became a "judge." Probably the authority of no "judge" was recognized over the whole country.

The book of *Judges*, together with the books of *Samuel* and *Kings*, was compiled about 600 B.C. by a writer whose purpose it was to persuade people by lessons from history to observe the laws of *Deuteronomy*, which had been promulgated in 621 B.C. The method of the compiler was to select extracts from J and E and other documents, telling of invasions and the emergence of leaders who expelled the invader. These he wove together, inserting connecting material of his own composition, which said that, because Israel forgot Yahweh and served the Baals and Ash-taroths (Canaanite deities), Yahweh permitted enemies to come and punish them. When they turned again to Yahweh, he raised up a deliverer, and after the deliverance the land had rest such or such a number of years. The ancient documents which he quotes are important sources of information. The editorial setting may frequently be disregarded.

There has been much discussion as to how long a time the period of the Judges covered. Clearly it was a longer time than that covered by the book of *Judges*, for it lasted until the rise of King Saul. If now we add up the numbers which the author of the book of *Judges* assigns to the various oppressions and judgeships, allowing forty years for Samuel,

to whom he assigns no period, they amount to 429 years. This includes, however, the years assigned to five judges by a later priestly writer, who, in *Judges* 10:1-5 and 12:8-15, personifies certain clans and cities as men and conceives them as judges who succeeded one another regularly like the kings of a dynasty. This is, of course, all a mistake. If we deduct the 70 years assigned to these imaginary judges, we have 359 years left; or, in round numbers, 360 years. If Saul became king about 1020 B.C., as is probable, 360 years before that would be 1380 B.C., or just the time when we have evidence that the Habiri began to invade Palestine. The author's conception of the length of the period is, then, correct. It is only those who insist that there was but one settlement of Hebrews in Canaan, and that that occurred about 1200 B.C., who find the Biblical chronology too long.

The book of *Judges* records in chapters 3-16 the doughty deeds of several heroes; then in chapters 17-21 he recounts two undated stories of events which took place during the period, and which illustrate the disordered life of the times. The second of these stories (that recorded in chapters 19-21) relates how in the tribe of Benjamin a great sin was committed, how in avenging it the tribe was nearly blotted out, and the means that were taken to perpetuate it. The account has been expanded by later writers and is too long to quote here. It will be remembered that it was suggested earlier, in chapter II, that the tribe of Benjamin was not separated from Ephraim until after the settlement in Palestine. We suspect that it was some such event as that recorded in the chapters under consideration, which first gave the Benjaminites a consciousness of separateness from their brethren the Ephraimites, which led to their being regarded as a distinct tribe. If this suspicion is right, this story should be dated not many decades after 1200 B.C.

Six of the judges mentioned in the book of *Judges* may be regarded as historical characters. Four of these expelled invasions from tribes which, according to the hypothesis of this book, entered Palestine with the first invasion of the Hebrews about 1380-1370 B.C. The two who delivered Rachel-tribes cannot be supposed to have lived until after those tribes had entered the country, about 1200 B.C. There is also reason to believe that Jephthah and Samson did not live earlier than about 1100 B.C. Othniel and Deborah belonged, in our judgment, to the time before 1200. It cannot, however, be too strongly emphasized that with our present information no certainty is possible on this point.

THE EDMITE (?) OPPRESSION, *Jud.* 3:7-11

Jud. 3. 7] And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and forgot the LORD their God,

and served the Baalim and ¹the Ashe-
8] roth. Therefore the anger of the LORD
was kindled against Israel, and he sold

¹ See *Ex.* 34: 13.

them into the hand of Cushan-rishathaim king of ² Mesopotamia: and the children of Israel served Cushan-rishathaim 9] eight years. And when the children of Israel cried unto the LORD, the LORD raised up a saviour to the children of Israel, who saved them, even Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger 10] brother. And the spirit of the LORD

came upon him, and he judged Israel; and he went out to war, and the LORD delivered Cushan-rishathaim king of ³ Mesopotamia into his hand: and his hand prevailed against Cushan-rishathaim. And the land had rest forty years. And Othniel the son of Kenaz died.

This passage, which is the free composition of the Deuteronomic editor, seems to state that a king of Mesopotamia, named Cushan, invaded Judah. Had a king of Mesopotamia come into the land, his hand would have been felt by the tribes in the far north long before he reached Judah. Some scholars have accordingly refused to believe that there is any historical kernel in it. Others have pointed out that in Hebrew characters Edom and Aram (the Hebrew for "Mesopotamia") are easily confused, and that in Edom there was a King Husham (*Gen.* 36: 34, 35), whose name might easily be corrupted to Cushan. An invasion of Judah by the Edomites, who lived to the southeast of Judah, is very probable. We know that centuries later they did this very thing. Probably, therefore, the passage gives us a bit of history from the period 1350-1300 B.C.

THE CANAANITE OPPRESSION

Another invasion which occurred in this period affected Galilee and the Plain of Jezreel. Sisera was the oppressor and the deliverer was Deborah, a sort of prophetess who, sitting under a palm tree, gave oracles. Two accounts of the deliverance are preserved in the book of *Judges*: the older and more historical is a poem written not long after the event, which we find in *Judges* 5; the other is from the E Document, written about 750 B.C., and gives quite a different representation. They are as follows:

THE POETICAL ACCOUNT

Jud. 5. Then sang Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam on that day, saying,

2] For that the leaders took the lead in Israel,

For that the people offered themselves willingly,

Bless ye the LORD.

3] Hear, O ye kings; give ear, O ye princes;

I, even I, will sing unto the LORD;

² Heb. *Aramnaharaim*.

³ Heb. *Aram*.

THE LATER E-DOCUMENT ACCOUNT

Jud. 4. And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, when Ehud was dead.

2] And the LORD sold them into the hand of Jabin king of Canaan, that reigned in Hazor; the captain of whose host was Sisera, which dwelt in Harosheth

3] of the ⁴ Gentiles. And the children of Israel cried unto the LORD: for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and

⁴ Or, *nations*.

I will sing praise to the LORD, the God of Israel.

4] LORD, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,

When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,

The earth trembled, the heavens also dropped,

Yea, the clouds dropped water.

5] The mountains ⁵ flowed down at the presence of the LORD,

Even yon Sinai at the presence of the LORD, the God of Israel.

6] In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath,

In the days of Jael ⁶ the high ways were unoccupied,

And the travellers walked through ⁷ byways.

7] ⁸ The rulers ceased in Israel, they ceased,

Until that I Deborah arose,

That I arose a mother in Israel.

8] They chose new gods;

Then was war in the gates:

Was there a shield or spear seen

Among forty thousand in Israel?

9] My heart is toward the governors of Israel,

⁹ That offered themselves willingly among the people:

Bless ye the LORD.

10] Tell of it, ye that ride on white asses,

Ye that sit on rich carpets,

And ye that walk by the way.

11] ¹⁰ Far from the noise of archers, in the places of drawing water,

There shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the LORD,

Even the righteous acts ¹¹ of his rule in Israel.

Then the people of the LORD went down to the gates.

12] Awake, awake, Deborah;

Awake, awake, utter a song:

Arise, Barak, and lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam.

twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel.

4] Now Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth, she judged Israel at

5] that time. And she ¹² dwelt under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah

and Beth-el in the hill country of Ephraim: and the children of Israel

6] came up to her for judgement. And she sent and called Barak the son of Abinoam out of Kedesh-naphtali, and

said unto him, Hath not the LORD, the God of Israel, commanded, *saying*, Go

and draw unto mount Tabor, and take with thee ten thousand men of the chil-

dren of Naphtali and of the children of 7] Zebulun? And I will draw unto thee

to the river Kishon Sisera, the captain of Jabin's army, with his chariots and

his multitude; and I will deliver him 8] into thine hand. And Barak said unto

her, If thou wilt go with me, then I will go: but if thou wilt not go with me,

9] I will not go. And she said, I will surely go with thee: notwithstanding the

journey that thou takest shall not be for thine honour; for the LORD shall

sell Sisera into the hand of a woman. And Deborah arose, and went with

10] Barak to Kedesh. And Barak called Zebulun and Naphtali together to Ke-

desh; and there went up ten thousand men at his feet: and Deborah went up

11] with him. Now Heber the Kenite had severed himself from ¹³ the Kenites,

even from the children of Hobab the ¹⁴ brother in law of Moses, and had

pitched his tent as far as the ¹⁵ oak in ¹⁵ Zaanannim, which is by Kedesh.

12] And they told Sisera that Barak the son of Abinoam was gone up to mount

13] Tabor. And Sisera gathered together all his chariots, even nine hundred char-

lots of iron, and all the people that were with him, from Harosheth of the ¹⁷ Gen-

14] tiles, unto the river Kishon. And Deborah said unto Barak, Up; for this

is the day in which the LORD hath de-

⁵ Or, *quaked*.

⁶ Or, *the caravans ceased*.

⁷ Heb. *crooked ways*.

⁸ Or, *The villages were unoccupied*.

⁹ Or, *Ye that offered yourselves willingly among the people, bless &c.*

¹⁰ Or, *Because of the voice of the archers . . . there let them rehearse.*

¹¹ Or, *toward his villages*.

¹² Or, *sat*.

¹³ Heb. *Kain*. See Num. 24: 22.

¹⁴ Or, *father in law*.

¹⁵ Or, *terebinth*.

¹⁶ See Josh. 19: 33.

¹⁷ Or, *nations*.

13] ¹⁸ Then came down a remnant of the nobles ¹⁹ and the people; The LORD came down for me ²⁰ against the mighty.

14] Out of Ephraim came down ²¹ they whose root is in Amalek; After thee, Benjamin, among thy people;

Out of Machir came down ²² governors, And out of Zebulun they that handle ²³ the marshal's staff.

15] And ²⁴ the princes of Issachar were with Deborah;

As was Issachar, so was Barak; Into the valley they rushed forth at his feet.

By the watercourses of Reuben There were great resolves of heart.

16] Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,

To hear the pipings for the flocks? At the watercourses of Reuben

There were great searchings of heart. 17] Gilead abode beyond Jordan:

And Dan, why did he remain in ships? Asher sat still at the ²⁵ haven of the sea,

And abode by his creeks.

18] Zebulun was a people that jeopardized their lives unto the death,

And Naphtali, upon the high places of the field.

19] The kings came and fought; Then fought the kings of Canaan,

In Taanach by the waters of Megiddo: They took no gain of money.

20] They fought from heaven, The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.

21] The river Kishon swept them away,

That ancient river, the river Kishon. O my soul, ²⁶ march on with strength.

22] Then did the horsehoofs stamp By reason of the pransings, the pransings of their strong ones.

livered Sisera into thine hand: is not the LORD gone out before thee? So Barak went down from mount Tabor, and ten ^{15]} thousand men after him. And the LORD discomfited Sisera, and all his chariots, and all his host, with the edge of his sword before Barak; and Sisera lighted down from his chariot, and fled ^{16]} away on his feet. But Barak pursued after the chariots, and after the host, unto Harosheth of the ^{17]} Gentiles: and all the host of Sisera fell by the edge of the sword; there was not a man left.

17] Howbeit Sisera fled away on his feet to the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite: for there was peace between Jabin the king of Hazor and the house

18] of Heber the Kenite. And Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, Turn in, my lord, turn in to me; fear not.

And he turned in unto her into the tent, and she covered him with a rug.

19] And he said unto her, Give me, I pray thee, a little water to drink; for I am thirsty. And she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him drink, and covered

20] him. And he said unto her, Stand in the door of the tent, and it shall be, when any man doth come and inquire of thee, and say, Is there any man here? that

21] thou shalt say, No. Then Jael Heber's wife took a tent-pin, and took an hammer in her hand, and went softly unto him, and smote the pin into his temples, and it pierced through into the ground; for he was ^{27]} in a deep sleep;

22] so he swooned and died. And, behold, as Barak pursued Sisera, Jael came out to meet him, and said unto him, Come, and I will shew thee the man whom thou seekest. And he came unto her; and, behold, Sisera lay dead, and

23] the tent-pin was in his temples. So God subdued on that day Jabin the king of Canaan before the children of Israel.

24] And the hand of the children of

¹⁸ Or, *Then made he a remnant to have dominion over the nobles and the people; the LORD made me have dominion over the mighty.*

¹⁹ Or, as otherwise read, *the people of the LORD came down for me against (or, among) the mighty.*

²⁰ Or, *among.*

²¹ See ch. 12: 15.

²² Or, *lawgivers.*

²³ Or, *the staff of the scribe.*

²⁴ Or, *my princes in Issachar.*

²⁵ Or, *shore.*

²⁶ Or, *thou hast trodden down strength.*

²⁷ Or, *in a deep sleep and weary; so he died.*

23] Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the LORD,
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof;
Because they came not to the help of the LORD,
To the help of the LORD ¹³ against the mighty.
24] Blessed ²⁸ above women shall Jael be,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Blessed shall she be ²⁸ above women in the tent.
25] He asked water, *and* she gave him milk;
She brought him butter in a lordly dish.
26] She put her hand to the ²⁹ nail,
And her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
And with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote through his head,
Yea, she pierced and struck through his temples.
27] At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay:
At her feet he bowed, he fell:
Where he bowed, there he fell down ³⁰ dead.

Israel prevailed more and more against Jabin the king of Canaan, until they had destroyed Jabin king of Canaan.

28] Through the window she looked forth, and cried,
The mother of Sisera *cried* through the lattice,
Why is his chariot so long in coming?
Why tarry the ³¹ wheels of his chariots?
29] Her wise ladies answered her,
³² Yea, she returned answer to herself,
30] Have they not found, have they not divided the spoil?
A damsel, two damsels to every man;
To Sisera a spoil of ³³ divers colours,
A spoil of ³³ divers colours of embroidery,
Of ³³ divers colours of embroidery on both sides, on the necks of the spoil?
31] So let all thine enemies perish, O LORD:
But let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might.
And the land had rest forty years.

As might be anticipated, in narratives written at dates so far apart and in different localities, there are some important differences. The poem assumes that the oppressor was Sisera, who seems to have had a predecessor named Shamgar (*Jud.* 5:6)—names that suggest connection with the Hurri or Hittite peoples; while the prose account makes the real oppressor Jabin, king of Hazor, a king said by the book of *Joshua* (ch. 11) to have been overthrown at the time of the conquest, the commander of whose army was Sisera. If this be true, the episode was historically connected with the settlement of the Leah-tribes in Palestine. In any event the poem cannot have been written until about 1150 B.C., for the tribe of Ephraim is represented as taking part in the war. In reality we do not know with certainty the identity of the oppressor nor the portion of the period of the judges in which the events occurred. The battle itself by the river Kishon in the great Plain of Jezreel and the decisive victory are, however, undoubted historic facts. The death of Sisera is differently portrayed in the two sources. In the poem Jael, the wife of a nomadic Kenite who was camping in the land, struck down Sisera, like

²⁸ Or, *of*.

²⁹ Or, *tent-pin*.

³⁰ Or, *overpowered*.

³¹ Heb. *steps*.

³² Or, (*Yet she repeateth her words unto herself*).

³³ Or, *dyed garments*.

a good Amazon, while he was standing drinking the milk she had given him; in the later prose narrative she treacherously drives the tent-peg into his head while he sleeps. The one thing certain is that she killed him. Even in modern times different reports of such events circulate.

This deliverance established the reputation of Deborah, and as long as she lived cases were brought to her to settle.

THE MOABITE OPPRESSION

Another episode of the period of the judges was the oppression of the tribe of Benjamin by Eglon, king of Moab. Moab lay east of the Jordan and south of the Arnon, but its king had apparently subdued the tribe of Reuben, pushed across the Jordan near Jericho, and exacted tribute of the Benjaminites. How Ehud, a Benjaminite, delivered his people from this oppressor is told in *Judges* 3: 12-30. The opening of the story (verses 12-15) is from the hand of the compiler of the book; the account of the deliverance (verses 16-30) is probably from the J source. The account is as follows:

Jud. 3. 12] And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: and the LORD strengthened Eglon the king of Moab against Israel, because they had done that which was evil in the sight of the LORD. **13]** And he gathered unto him the children of Ammon and Amalek; and he went and smote Israel and they possessed **14]** the city of palm trees. And the children of Israel served Eglon the king **15]** of Moab eighteen years. But when the children of Israel cried unto the LORD, the LORD raised them up a saviour, Ehud the son of Gera, the Benjamite, a man left-handed: and the children of Israel sent a present by him unto **16]** Eglon the king of Moab. And Ehud made him a sword which had two edges, of a cubit length; and he girded it under **17]** his raiment upon his right thigh. And he offered the present unto Eglon king of Moab: now Eglon was a very fat **18]** man. And when he had made an end of offering the present, he sent away **19]** the people that bare the present. But he himself turned back from the ³⁴ quarries that were by Gilgal, and said, I have a secret errand unto thee, O king. And he said, Keep silence. And all that stood

20] by him went out from him. And Ehud came unto him; and he was sitting by himself alone in his ³⁵ summer parlour. And Ehud said, I have a message from God unto thee. And he arose **21]** out of his seat. And Ehud put forth his left hand, and took the sword from his right thigh, and thrust it into his **22]** belly: and the haft also went in after the blade; and the fat closed upon the blade, for he drew not the sword out of his belly; and ³⁶ it came out behind. **23]** Then Ehud went forth into the porch, and shut the doors of the parlour **24]** upon him, and locked them. Now when he was gone out, his servants came; and they saw, and, behold, the doors of the parlour were locked; and they said, Surely he covereth his feet in his summer chamber. And they tarried till they were ashamed: and, behold, he opened not the doors of the parlour; therefore they took the key, and opened *them*: and, behold, their lord was fallen **26]** down dead on the earth. And Ehud escaped while they tarried, and passed beyond the ³⁴ quarries, and escaped unto **27]** Seirah. And it came to pass, when he was come, that he blew a trumpet in the hill country of Ephraim, and the chil-

³⁴ Or, *graven images*.

³⁵ Heb. *upper chamber of cooling*.

³⁶ Or, *he went out into the ante-chamber*.

dren of Israel went down with him from the hill country, and he before them. 28] And he said unto them, Follow after me: for the LORD hath delivered your enemies the Moabites into your hand. And they went down after him, and took the fords of Jordan ³⁷ against the Moabites, and suffered not a man to pass

29] over. And they smote of Moab at that time about ten thousand men, every lusty man, and every man of valour; 30] and there escaped not a man. So Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest fourscore years.

This story reveals the low moral level of the Hebrews of the period. Ehud at first led no army; he engaged in no war. By an act of cold-blooded treachery he murdered the oppressor and so delivered his people. War may be regarded as murder, but, when two bodies of men in open combat kill one another, men have always regarded it as more excusable than to kill treacherously and without warning. Because they were relieved of the oppression, however, the countrymen of Ehud regarded him as a hero; they treasured the memory of his deed and passed the story on as one of the heroic exploits of their race.

THE OPPRESSION OF THE MIDIANITES AND THE JUDGESHIP OF GIDEON

The next oppression of this period was inflicted on the tribes whose territory bordered on the Plain of Jezreel, by the nomadic Midianites. These wanderers of the Arabian desert would, as the crops of the Hebrews were ripe and the harvest drew near, rush in from the desert on their camels in hordes, cross the Jordan, reap the crops, and depart with the grain for their booty as they came. The story of their overthrow by a man of Manasseh whose name was Jerubbaal, but who, because of this victory, was given the name Gideon, which means "Tree-feller" or "Cutter-down" (just as Oliver Cromwell was, for his victories, called "Ironsides"), and how Gideon became a judge, is told in *Judges* 6-8. Its main thread is as follows.

Jud. 6. And the children of Israel did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: and the LORD delivered them into 2] the hand of Midian seven years. And the hand of Midian prevailed against Israel: and because of Midian the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and the caves, and 3] the strong holds. And so it was, when Israel had sown, that the Midianites came up, and the Amalekites, and the children of the east; they came up 4] against them; and they encamped against them, and destroyed the increase

of the earth, till thou come unto Gaza, and left no sustenance in Israel, neither 5] sheep, nor ox, nor ass. For they came up with their cattle and their tents, they came in as locusts for multitude; both they and their camels were without number: and they came into the land to de- 6] stroy it. And Israel was brought very low because of Midian; and the children of Israel cried unto the LORD.

11] And the angel of the LORD came, and sat under the ³⁸ oak which was in Ophrah, that pertained unto Joash the

³⁷ Or, toward Moab.

³⁸ Or, terebinth.

Abiezrite: and his son Gideon was beating out wheat in the winepress, to hide 12] it from the Midianites. And the angel of the LORD appeared unto him, and said unto him, The LORD is with thee, 13] thou mighty man of valour. And Gideon said unto him, Oh my lord, if the LORD be with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all his wondrous works which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not the LORD bring us up from Egypt? but now the LORD hath cast us off, and delivered us into the 14] hand of Midian. And the LORD ³⁹ looked upon him, and said, Go in this thy might, and save Israel from the hand of Midian: have not I sent thee? 15] And he said unto him, Oh Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold, my ⁴⁰ family is the poorest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house. 16] And the LORD said unto him, Surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite 17] the Midianites as one man. And he said unto him, If now I have found grace in thy sight, then shew me a sign that it 18] is thou that talkest with me. Depart not hence, I pray thee, until I come unto thee, and bring forth my ⁴¹ present, and lay it before thee. And he said, I will 19] tarry until thou come again. And Gideon went in, and made ready a kid, and unleavened cakes of an ephah of meal: the flesh he put in a basket, and he put the broth in a pot, and brought it out unto him under the ³⁸ oak, and presented it. And the angel of God said unto him, Take the flesh and the unleavened cakes, and lay them upon this rock, 21] and pour out the broth. And he did so. Then the angel of the LORD put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand, and touched the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and there went up fire out of the rock, and consumed the flesh and the unleavened cakes; and the angel of the 22] LORD departed out of his sight. And Gideon saw that he was the angel of the LORD; and Gideon said, Alas, O LORD GOD! forasmuch as I have seen the 23] angel of the LORD face to face. And

the LORD said unto him, Peace be unto thee; fear not: thou shalt not die. 24] Then Gideon built an altar there unto the LORD, and called it ⁴² Jehovah-shalom: unto this day it is yet in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

33] Then all the Midianites and the Amalekites and the children of the east assembled themselves together; and they passed over, and pitched in the valley of 34] Jezreel. But the spirit of the LORD ¹³ came upon Gideon; and he blew a trumpet; and Abiezer was gathered together after him. And he sent messengers throughout all Manasseh; and they also were gathered together after him: and he sent messengers unto Asher, and unto Zebulun, and unto Naphtali; 36] and they came up to meet them. And Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast spoken, 37] behold, I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor; if there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the ground, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou 38] hast spoken. And it was so: for he rose up early on the morrow, and pressed the fleece together, and wringed the dew out of the fleece, a bowlful of water. 39] And Gideon said unto God, Let not thine anger be kindled against me, and I will speak but this once: let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew. 40] And God did so that night: for it was dry upon the fleece only, and there was dew on all the ground.

7. Then Jerubbaal, who is Gideon, and all the people that were with him, rose up early, and pitched beside the spring of ⁴³ Harod: and the camp of Midian was on the north side of them, ⁴⁴ by the hill of Moreh, in the valley.

2] And the LORD said unto Gideon, The people that are with thee are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hand, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, Mine own hand hath

³⁹ Or, *turned towards*.

⁴⁰ Heb. *thousand*.

⁴¹ Or, *offering*.

⁴² That is, *The LORD is peace*.

⁴³ That is, *Trembling*. See ver. 3.

⁴⁴ Or, *from the hill of Morch onwards in the valley*.

3] saved me. Now therefore go to, proclaim in the ears of the people saying, Whosoever is fearful and trembling, let him return and ⁴⁵depart from mount Gilead. And there returned of the people twenty and two thousand; and there remained ten thousand.

4] And the LORD said unto Gideon, The people are yet too many; bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there: and it shall be, that of whom I say unto thee, This shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This shall not go with thee, the same shall 5] not go. So he brought down the people unto the water: and the LORD said unto Gideon, Every one that lappeth of the water with his tongue, as a dog lappeth, him shalt thou set by himself; likewise every one that boweth down upon 6] his knees to drink. And the number of them that lapped, putting their hand to their mouth, was three hundred men: but all the rest of the people bowed down upon their knees to drink water. 7] And the LORD said unto Gideon, By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand: and let all the people go 8] every man unto his place. ⁴⁶ So the people took victuals in their hand, and their trumpets: and he sent all the men of Israel every man unto his tent, but retained the three hundred men: and the camp of Midian was beneath him in the valley.

9] And it came to pass the same night, that the LORD said unto him, Arise, get thee down ⁴⁷into the camp; for I have 10] delivered it into thine hand. But if thou fear to go down, go thou with Purah thy servant down to the camp: 11] and thou shalt hear what they say: and afterward shall thine hands be strengthened to go down ⁴⁷into the camp. Then went he down with Purah his servant unto the outermost part of the armed men that were in the camp. 12] And the Midianites and the Amalekites and all the children of the east lay

along in the valley like locusts for multitude; and their camels were without number, as the sand which is upon the 13] sea shore for multitude. And when Gideon was come, behold, there was a man that told a dream unto his fellow, and said, Behold, I dreamed a dream, and, lo, a cake of barley bread tumbled into the camp of Midian, and came unto the tent, and smote it that it fell, and turned it upside down, that the tent lay 14] along. And his fellow answered and said, This is nothing else save the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, a man of Israel: into his hand God hath delivered Midian, and all the host.

15] And it was so, when Gideon heard the telling of the dream, and the interpretation thereof, that he worshipped; and he returned into the camp of Israel, and said, Arise; for the LORD hath delivered into your hand the host of Midian. 16] And he divided the three hundred men into three companies, and he put into the hands of all of them trumpets, and empty pitchers, with torches within 17] the pitchers. And he said unto them, Look on me, and do likewise: and, behold, when I come to the outermost part of the camp, it shall be that, as I do, so 18] shall ye do. When I blow the trumpet, I and all that are with me, then blow ye the trumpets also on every side of all the camp, and say, For the LORD and for Gideon.

19] So Gideon, and the hundred men that were with him, came unto the outermost part of the camp in the beginning of the middle watch, when they had but newly set the watch: and they blew the trumpets, and brake in pieces the pitchers that were in their hands. And the three companies blew the trumpets, and brake the pitchers, and held the torches in their left hands, and the trumpets in their right hands to blow withal: and they cried, ⁴⁸ The sword of the LORD 21] and of Gideon. And they stood every man in his place round about the camp: and all the host ran; and they shouted, 22] and ⁴⁹put them to flight. And they

⁴⁵ Or, *go round about*.

⁴⁶ According to some ancient versions, *So they took the victuals of the people*.

⁴⁷ Or, *against*.

⁴⁸ Or, *A sword for &c.*

⁴⁹ Another reading is, *fled*.

blew the three hundred trumpets, and the LORD set every man's sword against his fellow, and against all the host: and

the host fled as far as Beth-shittah toward Zerah, as far as the ⁵⁰ border of Abel-meholah, by Tabbath.

From this point onward two different narratives of the pursuit and capture of the Midianites have been woven into the book of *Judges*. According to the story of *Judges* 7: 23—8: 3 men of the tribe of Ephraim captured the Midianite chieftains at the ford of the Jordan and slew them. In this account the names of the Midianite chiefs were Oreb and Zeeb. This story is from the E Document. The other story, from the J Document, is preserved in *Judges* 8: 4—21. According to it Gideon himself captured the Midianite chiefs, after a long pursuit, at Karkor, east of the Jordan, and killed them with his own hand. In this account the defeated chiefs are named Zebah and Zalmunna. Here are the two stories in parallel columns.

THE J ACCOUNT, *Jud.* 8: 4—21

Jud. 8. 4] And Gideon came to Jordan, ⁵¹and passed over, he, and the three hundred men that were with him, 5] faint, yet pursuing. And he said unto the men of Succoth, Give, I pray you, loaves of bread unto the people that follow me; for they be faint, and I am pursuing after Zebah and Zalmunna, the kings of Midian. And the princes of Succoth said, Are the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna now in thine hand, that we should give bread unto 7] thine army? And Gideon said, Therefore when the LORD had delivered Zebah and Zalmunna into mine hand, then I will ⁵²tear your flesh with the thorns of 8] the wilderness and with briers. And he went up thence to Penuel, and spake unto them in like manner: and the men of Penuel answered him as the men of 9] Succoth had answered. And he spake also unto the men of Penuel, saying, When I come again in peace, I will break down this tower.

10] Now Zebah and Zalmunna were in Karkor, and their hosts with them, about fifteen thousand men, all that were left of all the host of the children of the east: for there fell an hundred and twenty thousand men that drew sword.

THE E ACCOUNT, *Jud.* 7: 23—8: 3

Jud. 7: 23. And the men of Israel were gathered together out of Naphtali, and out of Asher, and out of all Manas-24] seh, and pursued after Midian. And Gideon sent messengers throughout all the hill country of Ephraim, saying, Come down against Midian, and take before them the waters, as far as Beth-barah, ⁵³even Jordan. So all the men of Ephraim were gathered together, and took the waters as far as Beth-barah, 25] ⁵³even Jordan. And they took the two princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb; and they slew Oreb at the rock of Oreb, and Zeeb they slew at the winepress of Zeeb, and pursued Midian: and they brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to Gideon beyond Jordan.

8. And the men of Ephraim said unto him, Why hast thou served us thus, that thou calledst us not, when thou wentest to fight with Midian? And they did 2] chide with him sharply. And he said unto them, What have I now done in comparison of you? Is not the gleanings of the grapes of Ephraim better than 3] the vintage of Abiezer? God hath delivered into your hand the princes of Midian, Oreb and Zeeb: and what was I able to do in comparison of you? Then

⁵⁰ Heb. *kîp*.

⁵¹ Or, *to pass*.

⁵² Heb. *thresh*.

⁵³ Or, *and also*.

11] And Gideon went up by the way of them that dwelt in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah, and smote the 12] host; for the host was secure. And Zebah and Zalmunna, fled; and he pursued after them; and he took the two kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, 13] and ⁵⁴ discomfited all the host. And Gideon the son of Joash returned from the battle from the ascent of Heres. 14] And he caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and inquired of him: and he ⁵⁵ described for him the princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, sev- 15] enty and seven men. And he came unto the men of Succoth, and said, Behold Zebah and Zalmunna, concern- ing whom ye did taunt me, saying, Are the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna now in thine hand, that we should give bread unto thy men that are 16] weary? And he took the elders of the city, and thorns of the wilderness and briers, and with them he ⁵⁶ taught

their ⁵⁷ anger was abated toward him, when he had said that.

17] the men of Succoth. And he brake down the tower of Penuel, and slew the 18] men of the city. Then said he unto Zebah and Zalmunna, What manner of men were they whom ye slew at Tabor? And they answered, As thou art, so were they; each one resembled the children 19] of a king. And he said, They were my brethren, the sons of my mother: as the LORD liveth, if ye had saved them 20] alive, I would not slay you. And he said unto Jether his firstborn, Up, and slay them. But the youth drew not his sword: for he feared, because he was 21] yet a youth. Then Zebah and Zalmunna said, Rise thou, and fall upon us: for as the man is, so is his strength. And Gideon arose, and slew Zebah and Zalmunna, and took the crescents that were on their camels' necks.

It is probable that the J account, in which Gideon kills the oppressors, is most in accordance with the facts. Only on this supposition can we account for the nickname Gideon, "Cutter-down," and for the wealth which he acquired and the judgeship which followed. The E writer, who lived in the tribe of Ephraim, naturally modified the original story, in which his tribe played no part, so as to glorify his auditors.

GIDEON'S JUDGESHIP, *Jud. 8: 22-32*

Jud. 8. 22] Then the men of Israel said unto Gideon, Rule thou over us, both thou, and thy son, and thy son's son also: for thou hast saved us out of the 23] hand of Midian. And Gideon said unto them, I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the 24] LORD shall rule over you. And Gideon said unto them, I would desire a request of you, that ye would give me every man the ⁵⁸ earrings of his spoil. (For they had golden earrings, because 25] they were Ishmaelites.) And they answered, We will willingly give them. And they spread a garment, and did cast therein every man the earrings of his

26] spoil. And the weight of the golden earrings that he requested was a thousand and seven hundred *shekels* of gold; beside the crescents, and the pendants, and the purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian, and beside the chains that were about their camels' necks. 27] And Gideon made an ephod thereof, and put it in his city, even in Ophrah: and all Israel went a whoring after it there: and it became a snare unto Gid- 28] eon, and to his house. So Midian was subdued before the children of Israel, and they lifted up their heads no more. And the land had rest forty years in the days of Gideon.

⁵⁴ Heb. *terrified*.

⁵⁵ Or, *wrote down*.

⁵⁶ Some ancient authorities read, *threshed*. See ver. 7.

⁵⁷ Heb. *spirit*.

⁵⁸ Or, *nose-rings*.

29] And Jerubbaal the son of Joash went and dwelt in his own house.
30] And Gideon had threescore and ten sons of his body begotten: for he had
31] many wives. And his concubine that was in Shechem, she also bare him a

son, and he ⁵⁹ called his name Abimelech. And Gideon the son of Joash died in a good old age, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joash his father, in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

ISRAEL'S FIRST EXPERIMENT IN KINGSHIP

The preceding narrative has described how Gideon became great and rich, how during the rest of his life he was the first citizen or "judge" of his section of Palestine, and how he organized a more ornate and imposing ritual for the worship of Yahweh. Naturally his sons were influential. It is not surprising, therefore that one of them tried to be king. He persuaded the people of Shechem in the tribe of Ephraim to make him their sovereign, and ruled over a small territory around the city for three years. What appear to be the ruins of the palace which he occupied and the ruins of the temple of Elberith have been uncovered at Balata just east of the modern city of Nablous. The complete story is as follows: ⁶⁰

Jud. 9. And Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal went to Shechem unto his mother's brethren, and spake with them, and with all the family of the house of his
2] mother's father, saying, Speak, I pray you, in the ears of all the men of Shechem, Whether is better for you, that all the sons of Jerubbaal, which are threescore and ten persons, rule over you, or that one rule over you? remember also that I am your bone and your
3] flesh. And his mother's brethren spake of him in the ears of all the men of Shechem all these words: and their hearts inclined to follow Abimelech; for
4] they said, He is our brother. And they gave him threescore and ten *pieces* of silver out of the house of Baal-berith, wherewith Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, which followed him.
5] And he went unto his father's house at Ophrah, and slew his brethren the sons of Jerubbaal, being threescore and ten persons, upon one stone: but Jotham the youngest son of Jerubbaal was left; for he hid himself.

6] And all the men of Shechem assem-

bled themselves together, and all ⁶¹ the house of Millo, and went and made Abimelech king, by the ⁶² oak of the
7] ⁶³ pillar that was in Shechem And when they told it to Jotham, he went and stood in the top of mount Gerizim, and lifted up his voice, and cried, and said unto them, Hearken unto me, ye men of Shechem, that God may hearken unto
8] you. The trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over them; and they said unto the olive tree, Reign thou over us.
9] But the olive tree said unto them, Should I leave my fatness, ⁶⁴ wherewith by me they honour God and man, and go to wave to and fro over the trees?
10] And the trees said to the fig tree,
11] Come thou, and reign over us. But the fig tree said unto them, Should I leave my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to wave to and fro over the
12] trees? And the trees said unto the vine, Come thou, and reign over us.
13] And the vine said unto them, Should I leave my wine, which cheereth God and man, and go to wave to and fro over
14] the trees? Then said all the trees

⁵⁹ Heb. *set*.

⁶⁰ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 549 f. and Figs. 314, 315.

⁶¹ Or, *Bethmillo*.

⁶² Or, *terebinth*.

⁶³ Or, *garrison*.

⁶⁴ Or, *which God and man honour in me*.

unto the ⁶⁵ bramble, Come thou, and 15] reign over us. And the ⁶⁵ bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the ⁶⁵ bramble, and 16] devour the cedars of Lebanon. Now therefore, if ye have dealt truly and uprightly, in that ye have made Abimelech king, and if ye have dealt well with Jerubbaal and his house, and have done unto him according to the deserving of his hands; (for my father fought for you, and ⁶⁶ adventured his life, and delivered you out of the hand 18] of Midian: and ye are risen up against my father's house this day, and have slain his sons, threescore and ten persons, upon one stone, and have made Abimelech, the son of his maidservant, king over the men of Shechem, because 19] he is your brother;) if ye then have dealt truly and uprightly with Jerubbaal and with his house this day, then rejoice ye in Abimelech, and let him also 20] rejoice in you: but if not, let fire come out from Abimelech, and devour the men of Shechem, and the house of Millo; and let fire come out from the men of Shechem, and from the house 21] of Millo, and devour Abimelech. And Jotham ran away, and fled, and went to Beer, and dwelt there, for fear of Abimelech his brother.

22] And Abimelech was prince over 23] Israel three years. And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech: that the violence done to the threescore and ten sons of Jerubbaal might come, and that their blood might be laid upon Abimelech their brother, which slew them, and upon the men of Shechem, which strengthened his hands 25] to slay his brethren. And the men of Shechem set liers in wait for him on the tops of the mountains, and they robbed all that came along that way

by them: and it was told Abimelech.

26] And Gaal the son of Ebed came with his brethren, and went over to Shechem: and the men of Shechem put 27] their trust in him. And they went out into the field, and gathered their vineyards, and trode *the grapes*, and ⁶⁷ held festival, and went into the house of their god, and did eat and drink, and cursed 28] Abimelech. And Gaal the son of Ebed said, Who is Abimelech, and who is Shechem, that we should serve him? is not he the son of Jerubbaal? and Zebul his officer? serve ye the men of Hamor the father of Shechem: but why should 29] we serve him? And would to God this people were under my hand! then would I remove Abimelech. And he said ⁶⁸ to Abimelech, Increase thine army, 30] and come out. And when Zebul the ruler of the city heard the words of Gaal the son of Ebed, his anger was kindled. And he sent messengers unto Abimelech ⁶⁹ craftily, saying, Behold, Gaal the son of Ebed and his brethren are come to Shechem; and, behold, they ⁷⁰ constrain the city to take part against 32] thee. Now therefore, up by night, thou and the people that is with thee, 33; and lie in wait in the field: and it shall be, that in the morning, as soon as the sun is up, thou shalt rise early, and set upon the city: and, behold, when he and the people that is with him come out against thee, then mayest thou do to them ⁷¹ as thou shalt find occasion.

34] And Abimelech rose up, and all the people that were with him, by night, and they laid wait against Shechem in 35] four companies. And Gaal the son of Ebed went out, and stood in the entering of the gate of the city: and Abimelech rose up, and the people that were with him, from the ambushment. 36] And when Gaal saw the people, he said to Zebul, Behold, there come people down from the tops of the mountains. And Zebul said unto him, Thou seest the shadow of the mountains as if they

⁶⁵ Or, *thorn*.

⁶⁶ Heb. *cast his life before him*.

⁶⁷ Or, *offered a praise offering*.

⁶⁸ Or, *of*.

⁶⁹ Or, *in Tormah*.

⁷⁰ Or, *oppress the city on thy account*.

⁷¹ Heb. *as thine hand shall find*.

37] were men. And Gaal spake again and said, See, there come people down by the ⁷²middle of the land, and one company cometh by the way of ⁷³the 38] oak of Meonenim. Then said Zebul unto him, Where is now thy mouth, that thou saidst, Who is Abimelech, that we should serve him? is not this the people that thou hast despised? go out now, I 39] pray, and fight with them. And Gaal went out before the men of Shechem, 40] and fought with Abimelech. And Abimelech chased him, and he fled before him, and there fell many wounded, even unto the entering of the gate. 41] And Abimelech dwelt at Arumah: and Zebul drave out Gaal and his brethren, that they should not dwell in She- 42] chem. And it came to pass on the morrow, that the people went out into the field; and they told Abimelech. 43] And he took the people, and divided them into three companies, and laid wait in the field; and he looked, and, behold, the people came forth out of the city; and he rose up against them, and smote 44] them. And Abimelech, and the companies that were with him, rushed forward, and stood in the entering of the gate of the city: and the two companies rushed upon all that were in the field, 45] and smote them. And Abimelech fought against the city all that day; and he took the city, and slew the people that was therein: and he beat down the city, and sowed it with salt.

46] And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard thereof, they entered into the hold of the house of ⁷⁴El-berith. 47] And it was told Abimelech that all the men of the tower of Shechem were 48] gathered together. And Abimelech gat him up to mount Zalmon, he and all

the people that were with him; and Abimelech took ⁷⁵an axe in his hand, and cut down a bough from the trees, and took it up, and laid it on his shoulder: and he said unto the people that were with him, What ye have seen me do, make haste, and do as I have done. 49] And all the people likewise cut down every man his bough, and followed Abimelech, and put them to the hold, and set the hold on fire upon them; so that all the men of the tower of Shechem died also, about a thousand men and women.

50] Then went Abimelech to Thebez, and encamped against Thebez, and took 51] it. But there was a strong tower within the city, and thither fled all the men and women, and all they of the city, and shut themselves in, and gat them up 52] to the roof of the tower. And Abimelech came unto the tower, and fought against it, and went hard unto the door of the tower to burn it with 53] fire. And a certain woman cast an upper millstone upon Abimelech's head, 54] and brake his skull. Then he called hastily unto the young man his armour-bearer, and said unto him, Draw thy sword, and kill me, that men say not of me, A woman slew him. And his young man thrust him through, and he died. 55] And when the men of Israel saw that Abimelech was dead, they departed every 56] man unto his place. Thus God requited the wickedness of Abimelech, which he did unto his father, in slaying 57] his seventy brethren: and all the wickedness of the men of Shechem did God requite upon their heads: and upon them came the curse of Jotham the son of Jerubbaal.

Thebez, the modern Tubas,⁷⁶ a town twelve or fifteen miles northeast of Shechem, where Abimelech met his death, was outside his territory, and he tried in vain to conquer it. From this fact the diminutive size of his short-lived kingdom may be inferred.

⁷² Heb. *navel*.

⁷³ That is, *the augurs' oak* or *terebinth*.

⁷⁶ For a picture of the modern town, see G. A. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 173.

⁷⁴ See ch. 8: 33.

⁷⁵ Heb. *the axes*.

THE JUDGESHIP OF JEPHTHAH

The book of *Judges*, when next it gives us historical material, takes us to the land of Gilead, east of the Jordan—the home of the tribe of Gad. Between the Hebrews and the desert, along the eastern border of the watered land, lived the Ammonites, who were for two or three hundred years a thorn in the side of the Hebrews. Jephthah was remembered because of his victory over them. The parts of the story which have to do with this war are as follows:

Jud. 11. Now Jephthah the Gileadite was a mighty man of valour, and he was the son of an harlot: and Gilead be-
2] gat Jephthah. And Gilead's wife bare him sons; and when his wife's sons grew up, they drave out Jephthah, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house; for thou art the son of
3] another woman. Then Jephthah fled from his brethren, and dwelt in the land of Tob: and there were gathered vain fellows to Jephthah, and they went out with him.

4] And it came to pass after a while, that the children of Ammon made war
5] against Israel. And it was so, that when the children of Ammon made war against Israel, the elders of Gilead went to fetch Jephthah out of the land of
6] Tob: and they said unto Jephthah, Come and be our chief, that we may fight with the children of Ammon.
7] And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, Did not ye hate me, and drive me out of my father's house? and why are ye come unto me now when ye are
8] in distress? And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, Therefore are we turned again to thee now, that thou mayest go with us, and fight with the children of Ammon, and thou shalt be our head over all the inhabitants of
9] Gilead. And Jephthah said unto the elders of Gilead, If ye bring me home again to fight with the children of Ammon, and the LORD deliver them before
10] me, shall I be your head? And the elders of Gilead said unto Jephthah, The LORD shall be ⁷⁷ witness between us; surely according to thy word so will we

11] do. Then Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and the people made him head and chief over them: and Jephthah spake all his words before the LORD in Mizpah.

29] Then the spirit of the LORD came upon Jephthah, and he passed over Gilead and Manasseh, and passed over Mizpeh of Gilead, and from Mizpeh of Gilead he passed over unto the children
30] of Ammon. And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the LORD, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver the children of Ammon
31] into mine hand, then it shall be, that ⁷⁸ whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, it shall be the LORD's, and I will offer
32] it up for a burnt offering. So Jephthah passed over unto the children of Ammon to fight against them; and the LORD delivered them into his hand.
33] And he smote them from Aroer until thou come to Minnith, even twenty cities, and unto ⁷⁹ Abel-cheramim, with a very great slaughter. So the children of Ammon were subdued before the children of Israel.

34] And Jephthah came to Mizpah unto his house, and behold, his daughter came out to meet him with timbrels and with dances: and she was his only child; beside her he had neither son nor daughter.
35] And it came to pass, when he saw her, that he rent his clothes, and said, Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me: for I have opened my mouth unto the LORD, and I

⁷⁷ Heb. *hearer*.
⁷⁸ Or, *whosoever*.

⁷⁹ That is, *The meadow of vineyards*.

36] cannot go back. And she said unto him, My father, thou hast opened thy mouth unto the LORD; do unto me according to that which hath proceeded out of thy mouth; forasmuch as the LORD hath taken vengeance for thee of thine enemies, even of the children of Ammon. 37] And she said unto her father, Let this thing be done for me: let me alone two months, that I may depart and go down upon the mountains, and bewail my virginity, I and my companions. 38] And he said, Go. And he sent her away for two months: and she departed, she and her companions, and bewailed her virginity upon the mountains. 39] And it came to pass at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father, who did with her according to his vow which he had vowed: and she had not known man. And it was ⁸⁰a 40] custom in Israel, that the daughters of Israel went yearly to ⁸¹celebrate the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a year.

12. And the men of Ephraim were gathered together, and passed ⁸²northward: and they said unto Jephthah, Wherefore passedst thou over to fight against the children of Ammon, and didst not call us to go with thee? we will burn 2] thine house upon thee with fire. And Jephthah said unto them, I and my peo-

ple were at great strife with the children of Ammon; and when I called you, ye 3] saved me not out of their hand. And when I saw that ye saved me not, I put my life in my hand, and passed over against the children of Ammon, and the LORD delivered them into my hand: wherefore then are ye come up unto me 4] this day, to fight against me? Then Jephthah gathered together all the men of Gilead, and fought with Ephraim: and the men of Gilead smote Ephraim, because they said, Ye are fugitives of Ephraim, ye Gileadites, in the midst of Ephraim, and in the midst of Manasseh. 5] And the Gileadites took the fords of Jordan ⁸³against the Ephraimites: and it was so, that when *any* of the fugitives of Ephraim said, Let me go over, the men of Gilead said unto him, Art thou 6] an Ephraimite? If he said, Nay; then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth; and he said Sibboleth; for he could not frame to pronounce it right; then they laid hold on him, and slew him at the fords of Jordan: and there fell at that time of Ephraim forty and two thousand.

7] And Jephthah judged Israel six years. Then died Jephthah the Gileadite, and was buried in *one* of the cities of Gilead.

Besides giving us a glimpse of the history of Transjordan at this early time, it gives evidence of the ambition of the tribe of Ephraim to dominate their neighbors—a tendency which produced serious consequences, as we shall see, at a later stage of the history. It also reveals the existence of dialectical differences of pronunciation between different tribes (the Ephraimites pronounced *sh* as *s*), and throws light on the conception which they entertained of their God. It was thought that Yahweh would be pleased to have Jephthah keep his vow even at the cost of taking the life of his daughter, rather than break his vow by sparing her life.

SAMSON AND THE PHILISTINES

About 1200 B.C. a people whom the Bible calls Philistines came from over the sea and tried to invade Egypt. Unsuccessful in this attempt,

⁸⁰ Or, an ordinance.
⁸¹ Or, lament.

⁸² Or, to Zaphon.
⁸³ Or, toward Ephraim.

they gained a foothold along the seacoast of Palestine. Here they multiplied, and toward the end of the period of the judges they began to try to push their way into the hill country of the central mountain range. This created friction between them and the tribe of Dan, which lived in the neighborhood of Beth-shemesh, where now the railroad to Jerusalem enters the hill-country. The book of *Judges* has preserved for us some episodes of this friction in the stories of Samson, a champion who in single combat frequently worsted the Philistines. Samson never led an army and, as he died in captivity, it is difficult to see in what sense he could be said to have "judged" Israel. The tales of his exploits were, however, too popular to suppress, so, though they have no religious content, the compiler of the book of *Judges* included them. They are valuable documents since they reveal to us something of the manners of a rough and crude age. The important parts of the narrative are as follows:

Jud. 13. And the children of Israel again did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD; and the LORD delivered them into the hand of the Philistines forty years.

2] And there was a certain man of Zorah, of the family of the Danites, whose name was Manoah; and his wife 3] was barren, and bare not. And the angel of the LORD appeared unto the woman, and said unto her, Behold now, thou art barren, and bearest not: but thou shalt conceive, and bear a son.

24] And the woman bare a son, and called his name ⁸⁴Samson: and the child grew, and the LORD blessed him. 25] And the spirit of the LORD began to move him in ⁸⁵Mahaneh-dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol.

14. And Samson went down to Timnah, and saw a woman in Timnah of 2] the daughters of the Philistines. And he came up, and told his father and his mother, and said, I have seen a woman in Timnah of the daughters of the Philistines: now therefore get her for me to 3] wife. Then his father and his mother said unto him, Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me; for she pleaseth 4] me well. But his father and his mother

knew not that it was of the LORD; for he sought an occasion against the Philistines. Now at that time the Philistines had rule over Israel.

5] Then went Samson down, and his father and his mother, to Timnah, and came to the vineyards of Timnah: and, behold, a young lion roared against him. 6] And the spirit of the LORD came mightily upon him, and he rent him as he would have rent a kid, and he had nothing in his hand: but he told not his father 7] or his mother what he had done. And he went down, and talked with the woman; and she pleased Samson well. 8] And after a while he returned to take her, and he turned aside to see the carcase of the lion: and behold, there was a swarm of bees in the body 9] of the lion, and honey. And he took it into his hands, and went on, eating as he went, and he came to his father and mother, and gave unto them, and they did eat: but he told them not that he had taken the honey out of the body of 10] the lion. And his father went down unto the woman: and Samson made there a feast; for so used the young men 11] to do. And it came to pass, when they saw him, that they brought thirty companions to be with him. And Samson said unto them, Let me now put forth a riddle unto you: if ye can declare it me within the seven days of the feast, and find it out, then I will give you

⁸⁴ Heb. *Shimshon*.

⁸⁵ That is, *The camp of Dan*. See ch. 18: 12.

thirty linen garments and thirty changes
13] of raiment: but if ye cannot declare
it me, then shall ye give me thirty linen
garments and thirty changes of raiment.
And they said unto him, Put forth
14] thy riddle, that we may hear it. And
he said unto them,

Out of the eater came forth meat,
And out of the strong came forth
sweetness.

And they could not in three days declare
15] the riddle. And it came to pass on
the ⁸⁶ seventh day, that they said unto
Samson's wife, Entice thy husband, that
he may declare unto us the riddle, lest
we burn thee and thy father's house with
fire: have ye called us to ⁸⁷ impoverish
16] us? is it not *so*? And Samson's wife
wept before him, and said, Thou dost
but hate me, and lovest me not: thou
hast put forth a riddle unto the children
of my people, and hast not told it me.
And he said unto her, Behold, I have not
told it my father nor my mother, and
17] shall I tell thee? And she wept be-
fore him the seven days, while their
feast lasted: and it came to pass on the
seventh day, that he told her, because she
pressed him sore: and she told the rid-
18] dle to the children of her people. And
the men of the city said unto him on
the seventh day before the sun went
down, What is sweeter than honey? and
what is stronger than a lion? And he said
unto them.

If ye had not plowed with my heifer,

Ye had not found out my riddle.

19] And the spirit of the LORD came
mightily upon him, and he went down
to Ashkelon, and smote thirty men of
them, and took their ⁸⁸ spoil, and gave
the changes of raiment unto them that
declared the riddle. And his anger was
kindled, and he went up to his father's
20] house. But Samson's wife was *given*
to his companion, whom he had used as
his friend.

15. But it came to pass after a while,
in the time of wheat harvest, that Sam-
son visited his wife with a kid; and he
said, I will go in to my wife into the

chamber. But her father would not suf-
2] fer him to go in. And her father said,
I verily thought that thou hadst utterly
hated her; therefore I gave her to thy
companion: is not her younger sister
fairer than she? take her, I pray thee,
3] instead of her. And Samson said unto
them, This time ⁸⁹ shall I be blameless
in regard of the Philistines, when I do
4] them a mischief. And Samson went
and caught three hundred ⁹⁰ foxes, and
took ⁹¹ firebrands, and turned tail to
tail, and put a firebrand in the midst be-
5] tween every two tails. And when he
had set the brands on fire, he let them
go into the standing corn of the Philis-
tines, and burnt up both the shocks and
the standing corn, and also the olive-
6] yards. Then the Philistines said, Who
hath done this? And they said, Samson,
the son in law of the Timnite, because
he hath taken his wife, and given her to
his companion. And the Philistines came
up, and burnt her and her father with
7] fire. And Samson said unto them, If
ye do after this manner, surely I will
be avenged of you, and after that I will
8] cease. And he smote them hip and
thigh with a great slaughter: and he went
down and dwelt in the cleft of the rock
of Etam.

9] Then the Philistines went up, and
pitched in Judah, and spread themselves
10] in Lehi. And the men of Judah said,
Why are ye come up against us? And
they said, To bind Samson are we come
up, to do to him as he hath done to us.
11] Then three thousand men of Judah
went down to the cleft of the rock of
Etam, and said to Samson, Knowest
thou not that the Philistines are rulers
over us? what then is this that thou hast
done unto us? And he said unto them,
As they did unto me, so have I done
12] unto them. And they said unto him,
We are come down to bind thee, that
we may deliver thee into the hand of the
Philistines. And Samson said unto them,
Swear unto me, that ye will not fall
13] upon me yourselves. And they spake
unto him, saying, No; but we will bind

⁸⁶ The Sept. and Syriac have, *fourth*,

⁸⁷ Or, *take that we have*.

⁸⁸ Or, *apparel*.

⁸⁹ Or, *shall I be quits with*.

⁹⁰ Or, *jackals*.

⁹¹ Or, *torches*.

thee fast, and deliver thee into their hand: but surely we will not kill thee. And they bound him with two new ropes, and brought him up from the 14] rock. When he came unto Lehi, the Philistines shouted as they met him: and the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the ropes that were upon his arms became as flax that was burnt with fire, and his bands ⁹² dropped from 15] off his hands. And he found a new jawbone of an ass, and put forth his hand, and took it, and smote a thousand 16] men therewith. And Samson said,

With the jawbone of an ass, ⁹³ heaps upon heaps,

With the jawbone of an ass have I smitten a thousand men.

17] And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking, that he cast away the jawbone out of his hand; and ⁹⁴ that place was called ⁹⁵ Ramath-lehi. 18] And he was sore athirst, and called on the Lord, and said, Thou hast given this great deliverance by the hand of thy servant: and now shall I die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the un- 19] circumcised. But God clave the hollow place that is in ⁹⁶ Lehi, and there came water thereout; and when he had drunk, his spirit came again, and he revived: wherefore ⁹⁷ the name thereof was called ⁹⁸ En-hakkore, which is in 20] Lehi, unto this day. And he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years.

16. And Samson went to Gaza, and saw there an harlot, and went in unto 2] her. *And it was told* the Gazites, saying, Samson is come hither. And they compassed him in, and laid wait for him all night in the gate of the city, and were quiet all the night, saying, ⁹⁹ *Let be* till morning light, then we will kill him. 3] And Samson lay till midnight, and arose at midnight, and laid hold of the doors of the gate of the city, and the two posts, and plucked them up, bar and all, and put them upon his shoulders,

and carried them up to the top of the mountain that is before Hebron.

4] And it came to pass afterward, that he loved a woman ¹⁰⁰ in the valley of 5] Sorek, whose name was Delilah. And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said unto her, Entice him, and see wherein his great strength lieth, and by what means we may prevail against him, that we may bind him to ¹⁰¹ afflict him: and we will give thee every one of us eleven hundred *pieces* of 6] silver. And Delilah said to Samson, Tell me, I pray thee, wherein thy great strength lieth, and wherewith thou 7] mightest be bound to afflict thee. And Samson said unto her, If they bind me with seven ¹⁰² green withes that were never dried, then shall I become weak, 8] and be as another man. Then the lords of the Philistines brought up to her seven green withes which had not been dried, and she bound him with them. 9] Now she had liers in wait abiding in the inner chamber. And she said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he brake the withes, as a string of tow is broken when it ¹⁰³ toucheth the fire. So his strength was not known. 10] And Delilah said unto Samson, Behold, thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: now tell me, I pray thee, wherewith 11] thou mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If they only bind me with new ropes wherewith no work hath been done, then shall I become weak, and be 12] as another man. So Delilah took new ropes, and bound him therewith, and said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And the liers in wait were abiding in the inner chamber. And he brake them from off his arms like a 13] thread. And Delilah said unto Samson, Hitherto thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: tell me wherewith thou mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks 14] of my head with the web. And she fastened it with the pin, and said unto

⁹² Heb. *were melted*.

⁹³ Heb. *an heap, two heaps*.

⁹⁴ Or, *he called that place*.

⁹⁵ That is, *The hill of the jawbone*.

⁹⁶ Or, *the jawbone*.

⁹⁷ Or, *he called the name thereof*.

⁹⁸ That is, *The spring of him that called*.

⁹⁹ Or, *When (or Before) the morning is light*.

¹⁰⁰ Or, *by the brook*.

¹⁰¹ Or, *humble*.

¹⁰² Or, *new bow strings*.

¹⁰³ Heb. *smelleth*.

him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he awaked out of his sleep, and plucked away the pin of the beam, 15] and the web. And she said unto him, How canst thou say, I love thee, when thine heart is not with me? thou hast mocked me these three times, and hast not told me wherein thy great strength 16] lieth. And it came to pass, when she pressed him daily with her words, and urged him, that his soul was vexed unto 17] death. And he told her all his heart, and said unto her. There hath not come a razor upon mine head: for I have been a Nazirite unto God from my mother's womb: if I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become 18] weak, and be like any other man. And when Delilah saw that he had told her all his heart, she sent and called for the lords of the Philistines, saying, Come up this once, for ¹⁰⁴ he hath told me all his heart. Then the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and 19] brought the money in their hand. And she made him sleep upon her knees; and she called for ¹⁰⁵ a man, and shaved off the seven locks of his head; and she began to afflict him, and his strength went 20] from him. And she said, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he awoke out of his sleep, and said, I will go out as at other times, and shake myself. But he wist not that the LORD was 21] departed from him. And the Philistines laid hold on him, and put out his eyes; and they brought him down to Gaza, and bound him with fetters of brass; and he did grind in the prison 22] house. Howbeit the hair of his head began to grow again after he was shaven.

23] And the lords of the Philistines gathered them together for to offer a great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice: for they said, Our god

hath delivered Samson our enemy into 24] our hand. And when the people saw him, they praised their god: for they said, Our god hath delivered into our hand our enemy, and the destroyer of our country, which hath slain many of 25] us. And it came to pass, when their hearts were merry, that they said, Call for Samson, that he may make us sport. And they called for Samson out of the prison house; and he made sport before them: and they set him between the pillars. And Samson said unto the lad that held him by the hand, Suffer me that I may feel the pillars whereupon the house resteth, that I may lean upon 27] them. Now the house was full of men and women; and all the lords of the Philistines were there; and there were upon the roof about three thousand men and women, that beheld while 28] Samson made sport. And Samson called unto the LORD, and said, O Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me, I pray thee, only this once, O God, that I may ¹⁰⁶ be at once avenged of the Philistines for my two 29] eyes. And Samson took hold of the two middle pillars upon which the house rested, and leaned upon them, the one with his right hand, and the other with 30] his left. And Samson said, Let me die with the Philistines. And he bowed himself with all his might; and the house fell upon the lords, and upon all the people that were therein. So the dead which he slew at his death were more 31] than they which he slew in his life. Then his brethren and all the house of his father came down, and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Eshtaol in the burying-place of Manoah his father. And he judged Israel twenty years.

These graphic descriptions of the life of the age of Samson are in the main historical, though there are probably exaggerations here and there. For example, the story that Samson killed a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass is, perhaps, a story which grew up to explain the place-name Lehi, which was understood to mean jaw-bone. Again, the

¹⁰⁴ Or, according to another reading, *he had told her.*

¹⁰⁵ Or, *the men.*

¹⁰⁶ Or, *be avenged . . . for one of my two eyes.*

story that Samson carried off the city-gates of Gaza and carried them up to Hebron some forty miles away and over 3,000 feet higher than Gaza, carrying them over precipitous cliffs up which there were no roads, is incredible. It is easy to see how it arose, however. Samson's name means "little sun." On many engraved objects from western Asia the sun-god is pictured stepping out of the gates of the underground tunnel by which it was thought the sun at night went from west to east. The meaning of Samson's name probably led some Hebrew to take this for a picture of Samson, and the story that he carried off the gates of Gaza grew up to explain it.

The manner of Samson's death is doubtless correctly told. The excavation of Gezer brought to light a building the roof of which seems to have been supported as the temple of Dagon is said to have been.¹⁰⁷

THE MIGRATION OF THE DANITES, AND THE FORTUNES OF MOSES' GRANDSON

Following the stories of Samson, there is preserved in the book of *Judges* a story of how Jonathan the son of Gershom the son of Moses, who was born apparently in Bethlehem in Judah, started out to seek his fortune. He was called a Levite, which we have seen probably meant "adherer"—a name given in a religious crisis to those who with Moses stood faithful to Yahweh. Jonathan was employed by an Ephraimite named Micah, who had a private temple to Yahweh on his estate, to be his priest, but later was persuaded to run away with some Danites who were migrating to the sources of the Jordan, just under Mount Hermon, to be their priest; and, when he went, he stole the equipment of Micah's temple and carried it with him. He thus became the ancestor of the priests at the sanctuary of Dan, who through him, traced their ancestry back to Moses. The narrative is as follows:

Jud. 17. And there was a man of the hill country of Ephraim, whose name 2] was Micah. And he said unto his mother, The eleven hundred *pieces* of silver that were taken from thee, about which thou didst utter ¹⁰⁸a curse, and didst also speak it in mine ears, behold, the silver is with me; I took it. And his mother said, Blessed be my son of 3] the LORD. And he restored the eleven hundred *pieces* of silver to his mother, and his mother said, I verily ¹⁰⁹dedicate the silver unto the LORD from my hand

for my son, to make a graven image and a molten image: now therefore I will 4] restore it unto thee. And when he restored the money unto his mother, his mother took two hundred *pieces* of silver, and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image and a molten image: and it was in the house 5] of Micah. And the man Micah had an house of ¹¹⁰gods, and he made an ephod, and teraphim, and ¹¹¹consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest. 6] In those days there was no king in

¹⁰⁷ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 192 and Fig. 220.

¹⁰⁸ Or, *an adjuration*.

¹⁰⁹ Or, *had dedicated*.

¹¹⁰ Or, *God*.

¹¹¹ Heb. *filled the hand of*.

Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes.

7] And there was a young man out of Beth-lehem-judah, of the family of Judah, who was a Levite, and he so-8] journed there. And the man departed out of the city, out of Beth-lehem-judah, to sojourn where he could find a *place*: and he came to the hill country of Ephraim to the house of Micah, as he 9] journeyed. And Micah said unto him, Whence comest thou? And he said unto him, I am a Levite of Beth-lehem-judah, and I go to sojourn where I may find a 10] *place*. And Micah said unto him, Dwell with me, and be unto me a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten *pieces* of silver by the year, and a suit 11] of apparel, and thy victuals. So the Levite went in. And the Levite was content to dwell with the man; and the young man was unto him as one of his sons. 12] And Micah consecrated the Levite, and the young man became his priest, 13] and was in the house of Micah. Then said Micah, Now know I that the LORD will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest.

18. In those days there was no king in Israel: and in those days the tribe of the Danites sought them an inheritance to dwell in; for unto that day *their* inheritance had not fallen unto them 2] among the tribes of Israel. And the children of Dan sent of their family five men from their whole number, men of valour, from Zorah, and from Eshtaol, to spy out the land, and to search it; and they said unto them, Go, search the land: and they came to the hill country of Ephraim, unto the house of Micah, and 3] lodged there. When they were by the house of Micah, they knew the voice of the young man the Levite: and they turned aside thither, and said unto him, Who brought thee hither? and what doest thou in this place? and what hast 4] thou here? And he said unto them, Thus and thus hath Micah dealt with me, and he hath hired me, and I am be-5] come his priest. And they said unto him, Ask counsel, we pray thee, of God,

that we may know whether our way 6] which we go shall be prosperous. And the priest said unto them, Go in peace: before the LORD is your way wherein ye go.

7] Then the five men departed, and came to Laish, and saw the people that were therein, how they dwelt in security, after the manner of the Zidonians, quiet and secure: for there was none in the land, possessing ¹¹² authority, ¹¹³ that might put *them* to shame in any thing, and they were far from the Zidonians, and had no dealings with any man. 8] And they came unto their brethren to Zorah and Eshtaol: and their brethren 9] said unto them, What *say* ye? And they said, Arise, and let us go up against them: for we have seen the land, and, behold, it is very good: and are ye still? be not slothful to go and to enter in to 10] possess the land. When ye go, ye shall come unto a people secure, and the land is large: for God hath given it into your hand; a place where there is no want of any thing that is in the earth.

11] And there set forth from thence of the family of the Danites, out of Zorah and out of Eshtaol, six hundred 12] men girt with weapons of war. And they went up, and encamped in Kiriath-jearim, in Judah: wherefore they called that place ¹¹⁴ Mahaneh-dan, unto this day: behold, it is behind Kiriath-jearim. 13] And they passed thence unto the hill country of Ephraim, and came unto 14] the house of Micah. Then answered the five men that went to spy out the country of Laish, and said unto their brethren, Do ye know that there is in these houses an ephod, and teraphim, and a graven image, and a molten image? now therefore consider what ye have to 15] do. And they turned aside thither, and came to the house of the young man the Levite, even unto the house of Micah, 16] and asked him of his welfare. And the six hundred men girt with their weapons of war, who were of the children of Dan, stood by the entering of 17] the gate. And the five men that went

¹¹² Heb. *power of restraint*.

¹¹³ Or, *that might do any hurt*.

¹¹⁴ See ch. 13: 25.

to spy out the land went up, and came in thither, and took the graven image, and the ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten image: and the priest stood by the entering of the gate with the six hundred men girt with weapons of war. 18] And when these went into Micah's house, and fetched the graven image, the ephod, and the teraphim, and the molten image, the priest said unto them, What 19] do ye? And they said unto him, Hold thy peace, lay thine hand upon thy mouth, and go with us, and be to us a father and a priest: is it better for thee to be priest unto the house of one man, or to be priest unto a tribe and a family in 20] Israel? And the priest's heart was glad, and he took the ephod, and the teraphim, and the graven image, and 21] went in the midst of the people. So they turned and departed, and put the little ones and the cattle and the goods 22] before them. When they were a good way from the house of Micah, the men that were in the houses near to Micah's house were gathered together, and over- 23] took the children of Dan. And they cried unto the children of Dan. And they turned their faces, and said unto Micah, What aileth thee, ¹¹⁵ that thou comest 24] with such a company? And he said, Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest, and are gone away, and what have I more? and how then say

25] ye unto me, What aileth thee? And the children of Dan said unto him, Let not thy voice be heard among us, lest ¹¹⁶ angry fellows fall upon you, and thou lose thy life, with the lives of thy 26] household. And the children of Dan went their way: and when Micah saw that they were too strong for him, he turned and went back unto his house. 27] And they took that which Micah had made, and the priest which he had, and came unto Laish, unto a people quiet and secure, and smote them with the edge of the sword; and they burnt the city 28] with fire. And there was no deliverer, because it was far from Zidon, and they had no dealings with any man; and it was in the valley that lieth by Beth-rehob. And they built the city, and 29] dwelt therein. And they called the name of the city Dan, after the name of Dan their father, who was born unto Israel: howbeit the name of the city was 30] Laish at the first. And the children of Dan set up for themselves the graven image: and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of ¹¹⁷ Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of 31] the land. So they set them up Micah's graven image which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh.

This account, which so clearly reflects the religious conditions of the period, makes it obvious that the elaborate religious organization of the books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers* was unknown. All that, as we shall see, came much later. While it was thought better to have a Levite for a priest, Micah, the Ephraimite, acted as his own priest without consciousness of wrongdoing. The temple of Micah contained a "graven image," apparently of Yahweh, which Jonathan stole and carried off to Dan, where apparently it adorned the temple of the Danites.

This was in accord with that form of the Decalogue which we have with probability traced back to Moses. That Decalogue prohibited only molten gods. It was in the time of Micah and Jonathan still thought quite proper to employ an idol cut out of wood to aid the imagination in worship.

The migration of a part of the Danites was caused by the pressure of

¹¹⁵ Heb. *that thou art gathered together*.

¹¹⁶ Heb. *bitter of soul*.

¹¹⁷ Another reading is, *Manasseh*.

the Philistines. As time passed the Danites multiplied. The Philistines had so filled up the maritime plain that there was no room for the Danites to expand in that direction. Judah and other powerful tribes occupied the hill country which bordered on their original home. The details of this migration remind us of many analogous migrations of people in the settlement and early history of America. In consequence of it there were two groups of Danites during later periods of Hebrew history.

THE JUDGESHIP OF ELI

The next judge of a part of the Hebrews was not a warrior, like Gideon or Jephthah, nor an assassin like Ehud, nor a champion heavy-weight like Samson; he was a priest. Eli, the priest of a temple at Shiloh in the southern part of the tribe of Ephraim, gained his influence because of his sacred office, his saintly life, and his long service. While there is no evidence that his influence was felt by all the tribes, Ephraimites, Benjaminites, and the tribes nearest to them, brought their differences to him for settlement. He became the leading citizen of this part of the country. The story of his time begins with some charming scenes of religious and personal life; it then passes on to describe a war with the Philistines, who, as in the time of Samson, were trying to push up from the maritime plain into the hill country. The Bible tells the story thus:

1 Sam. 1. Now there was a certain man of Ramathaim-zophim, of the hill country of Ephraim, and his name was Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, the son of Elihu, the son of Tohu, the son of 2] Zuph, an Ephraimite: and he had two wives; the name of the one was Hannah, and the name of the other Peninnah: and Peninnah had children, but 3] Hannah had no children. And this man went up out of his city from year to year to worship and to sacrifice unto the LORD of hosts in Shiloh. And the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, priests unto the LORD, were there. 4] And when the day came that Elkanah sacrificed, he gave to Peninnah his wife, and to all her sons and her daughters, 5] portions: but unto Hannah gave ¹¹⁸ a double portion: for he loved Hannah, but the LORD had shut up her womb. 6] And her rival provoked her sore, for to make her fret, because the LORD had 7] shut up her womb. And as he did so

year by year, when she went up to the house of the LORD, so she provoked her; therefore she wept, and did not eat. 8] And Elkanah her husband said unto her, Hannah, why weepest thou? and why eatest thou not? and why is thy heart grieved? am not I better to thee 9] than ten sons? So Hannah rose up after they had eaten in Shiloh, and after they had drunk. Now Eli the priest sat upon his seat by the door post of the 10] temple of the LORD. And she was in bitterness of soul, and prayed unto the 11] LORD, and wept sore. And she vowed a vow, and said, O LORD of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid ¹¹⁹ a man child, then I will give him unto the LORD all the days of his life, and there shall no 12] razor come upon his head. And it came to pass, as she continued praying before the LORD, that Eli marked her

¹¹⁸ The Sept. reads, *a single portion, because she had no child; howbeit Elkanah loved &c.*

¹¹⁹ Heb. *seed of men.*

13] mouth. Now Hannah, she spake in her heart; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard: therefore Eli 14] thought she had been drunken. And Eli said unto her. How long wilt thou be drunken? put away thy wine from 15] thee. And Hannah answered and said, No, my lord, I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit: I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but I poured out 16] my soul before the LORD. Count not thine handmaid for ¹²⁰a daughter of ¹²¹Belial: for out of the abundance of my complaint and my provocation have I 17] spoken hitherto. Then Eli answered and said, Go in peace: and the God of Israel grant thy petition that thou hast 18] asked of him. And he said, Let thy servant find grace in thy sight. So the woman went her way, and did eat, and her countenance was no more *sad*. 19] And they rose up in the morning early, and worshipped before the LORD, and returned, and came to their house to Ramah: and Elkanah knew Hannah his wife; and the LORD remembered her. 20] And it came to pass, when the time was come about, that Hannah conceived, and bare a son; and she called his name Samuel, *saying*, Because I have asked

21] him of the LORD. And the man Elkanah, and all his house, went up to offer unto the LORD the yearly sacrifice, 22] and his vow. But Hannah went not up; for she said unto her husband, *I will not go up until the child be weaned*, and then I will bring him, that he may appear before the LORD, and there abide 23] for ever. And Elkanah her husband said unto her, Do what seemeth thee good; tarry until thou have weaned him; only the LORD establish his word. So the woman tarried and gave her son 24] suck, until she weaned him. And when she had weaned him, she took him up with her, with ¹²²three bullocks, and one ephah of meal, and a ¹²³bottle of wine, and brought him unto the house of the LORD in Shiloh: and the child was 25] young. And they slew the bullock, 26] and brought the child to Eli. And she said, Oh my lord, as thy soul liveth, my lord, I am the woman that stood by 27] thee here, praying unto the LORD. For this child I prayed; and the LORD hath given me my petition which I asked of 28] him: therefore I also have ¹²⁴granted him to the LORD; as long as he liveth he is granted to the LORD. And ¹²⁵he worshipped the LORD there.

In this passage we have an interesting picture of a religious festival-sacrifice in the interest of the worshipers, of a kind quite unprovided for in the Levitical law. The way the priests obtained their share of the sacrifice (by striking a three-pronged fork into the kettle when the meat was boiling) is quite unlike the provisions of that law. The unhappiness caused by polygamy is artlessly portrayed, as well as the simple piety of Hannah—a piety that, when sincere, is much the same in every land and age.

The narrative then describes the conditions of the service and personnel of the temple at Shiloh while Samuel served there as a neophyte.

1 Sam. 2. ¹²⁶2] And Elkanah went to Ramah to his house. And the child did minister unto the LORD before Eli the priest.

12] Now the sons of Eli were ¹²⁷sons of ¹²⁸Belial; ¹²⁹they knew not the LORD. 13] And the custom of the priests with the people was, that when any man of-

¹²⁰ Or, *a wicked woman*.

¹²¹ That is, *worthlessness*.

¹²² The Sept. and Syriac have, *a bullock of three years old*.

¹²³ Or, *skin*.

¹²⁴ Or, *lent*.

¹²⁵ According to several ancient authorities, *they*.

¹²⁶ A later poet composed a poem called "The Song of Hannah" which now forms verses 1-10 of the second chapter of 1 Samuel.

¹²⁷ Or, *wicked men*.

¹²⁸ That is, *worthlessness*.

¹²⁹ Or, *they knew not the LORD, nor the due of the priests from the people. When any man &c.*

fered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a fleshhook of three teeth in his hand; 14] and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, or pot; all that the fleshhook brought up the priest took ¹³⁰ therewith. So they did in Shiloh unto all the Israelites that came thither. 15] Yea, before they burnt the fat, the priest's servant came, and said to the man that sacrificed, Give flesh to roast for the priest; for he will not have sod- 16] den flesh of thee, but raw. And if the man said unto him, They will surely burn the fat ¹³¹ presently, and then take as much as thy soul desireth; then ¹³² he would say, Nay, but thou shalt give it me now: and if not, I will take it by 17] force. And the sin of the young men was very great before the LORD: for ¹³³ men abhorred the offering of the LORD.

18] But Samuel ministered before the LORD, being a child, girded with a linen 19] ephod. Moreover his mother made him a little robe, and brought it to him from year to year, when she came up with her husband to offer the yearly

20] sacrifice. And Eli blessed Elkanah and his wife, and said, The LORD give thee seed of this woman ¹³⁴ for the loan which was lent to the LORD. And they 21] went unto their own home. ¹³⁵ And the LORD visited Hannah, and she conceived, and bare three sons and two daughters. And the child Samuel grew before the LORD.

22] Now Eli was very old; and he heard all that his sons did unto all Israel, and how that they lay with women that ¹³⁶ did service at the door of the tent 23] of meeting. And he said unto them, Why do ye such things? for I hear of your evil dealings from all this people. 24] Nay, my sons; for it is no good report ¹³⁷ that I hear: ye make the LORD's 25] people to transgress. If one man sin against another, ¹³⁸ God shall judge him: but if a man sin against the LORD, who shall intreat for him? Notwithstanding they hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the LORD would 26] slay them. And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the LORD, and also with men.

Conduct like that of Eli's sons always leads to disaster of one sort or another. The story of the call of Samuel to be a prophet is told in the following words:

1 Sam. 3. And the child Samuel ministered unto the LORD before Eli. And the word of the LORD was ¹³⁹ precious in those days; there was no ¹⁴⁰ open vision. 2] And it came to pass at that time, when Eli was laid down in his place, (now his eyes had begun to wax dim, that he 3] could not see,) and the lamp of God was not yet gone out, and Samuel was laid down *to sleep*, in the temple of the LORD, where the ark of God was; 4] that the LORD called Samuel: and he 5] said, Here am I. And he ran unto Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And he said, I called not;

lie down again. And he went and lay 6] down. And the LORD called yet again, Samuel. And Samuel arose and went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And he answered, I called not, 7] my son; lie down again. Now Samuel did not yet know the LORD, neither was the word of the LORD yet revealed unto 8] him. And the LORD called Samuel again the third time. And he arose and went to Eli, and said, Here am I; for thou calledst me. And Eli perceived that 9] the LORD had called the child. Therefore Eli said unto Samuel, Go, lie down: and it shall be, if he call thee, that thou

¹³⁰ Some ancient authorities read *for himself*.

¹³¹ Or, *first*.

¹³² Another reading is, *he would say unto him, Thou &c.*

¹³³ Or, *the men despised*.

¹³⁴ Or, *for the petition which was asked for the LORD*.

¹³⁵ The Heb. has. *For*.

¹³⁶ See *Ex.* 38: 8.

¹³⁷ Or, *which I hear the LORD's people do spread abroad*.

¹³⁸ Or, *the judge*.

¹³⁹ Or, *rare*.

¹⁴⁰ Or, *frequent* Heb. *widely spread*.

shalt say, Speak, LORD; for thy servant heareth. So Samuel went and lay down 10] in his place. And the LORD came, and stood, and called as at other times, Samuel, Samuel. Then Samuel said, 11] Speak; for thy servant heareth. And the LORD said to Samuel, Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one that heareth it shall 12] tingle. In that day I will perform against Eli all that I have spoken concerning his house, from the beginning 13] even unto the end. For I have told him that I will judge his house for ever, for the iniquity which he knew, because his sons ¹⁴¹ did bring a curse upon themselves, and he restrained them not. 14] And therefore I have sworn unto the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be ¹⁴² purged with 15] sacrifice nor offering for ever. And Samuel lay until the morning, and opened the doors of the house of the LORD.

And Samuel feared to shew Eli the 16] vision. Then Eli called Samuel, and said, Samuel, my son. And he said, Here 17] am I. And he said, What is the thing that *the Lord* hath spoken unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me: God do so to thee, and more also, if thou hide any thing from me of all the things 18] that he spake unto thee. And Samuel told him every whit, and hid nothing from him. And he said, It is the LORD: let him do what seemeth him good. 19] And Samuel grew, and the LORD was with him, and did let none of his 20] words fall to the ground. And all Israel from Dan even to Beersheba knew that Samuel was established to be a 21] prophet of the LORD. And the LORD appeared again in Shiloh: for the LORD revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by 4. the word of the LORD. And the word of Samuel came to all Israel.

For the true history of religious worship the story of Samuel's call is important. The author of the P Document thought Moses made an elaborate "Tabernacle" in the wilderness and that this was used as the only legitimate house of worship until Solomon built his Temple. Samuel served, however, in a real temple. It had doors and it was a part of Samuel's duty to open them each morning. Samuel, too, slept in the temple "where the ark of God was," but, according to *Leviticus* 16, the ark of God was to be in a holy of holies, into which no one could enter except the high priest, and he only once a year. The ark in the temple at Shiloh was the one made by Moses in the wilderness. It contained a sacred stone—probably a volcanic stone from the sacred mountain in Arabia. It symbolized Yahweh's presence. The magical power which was attributed to it is shown by the following story.

THE DEFEAT BY THE PHILISTINES, 1 Sam. 4: 1b-22

1 Sam. 4. Now Israel went out against the Philistines to battle, and pitched beside ¹⁴³ Eben-ezer: and the Philistines 2] pitched in Aphek. And the Philistines put themselves in array against Israel: and when ¹⁴⁴ they joined battle, Israel was smitten before the Philistines: and they slew of the ¹⁴⁵ army in the field

3] about four thousand men. And when the people were come into the camp, the elders of Israel said. Wherefore hath the LORD smitten us to-day before the Philistines? Let us fetch the ark of the covenant of the LORD out of Shiloh unto us, that it may come among us, and save us out of the hand of our enemies.

¹⁴¹ The Sept. has, *speak evil of God.*

¹⁴² Or, *expiated.*

¹⁴³ See ch. 7: 12.

¹⁴⁴ Or, *the battle was spread.*

¹⁴⁵ Heb. *array.*

4] So the people sent to Shiloh, and they brought from thence the ark of the covenant of the LORD of hosts, which ¹⁴⁶sitteth upon the cherubim: and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were there with the ark of the covenant 5] of God. And when the ark of the covenant of the LORD came into the camp, all Israel shouted with a great shout, so 6] that the earth rang again. And when the Philistines heard the noise of the shout, they said, What meaneth the noise of this great shout in the camp of the Hebrews? And they understood that the ark of the LORD was come into the 7] camp. And the Philistines were afraid, for they said, God is come into the camp. And they said, Woe unto us! for there hath not been such a thing here- 8] tofore. Woe unto us! who shall deliver us out of the hand of these mighty gods? these are the gods that smote the Egyptians with all manner of ¹⁴⁷plagues 9] in the wilderness. Be strong, and quit yourselves like men, O ye Philistines, that ye be not servants unto the Hebrews, as they have been to you: quit 10] yourselves like men, and fight. And the Philistines fought and Israel was smitten, and they fled every man to his tent: and there was a very great slaughter; for there fell of Israel thirty thou- 11] sand footmen. And the ark of God was taken; and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were slain. 12] And there ran a man of Benjamin out of the ¹⁴⁸army, and came to Shiloh the same day with his clothes rent, and 13] with earth upon his head. And when he came, lo, Eli sat upon his seat ¹⁴⁹by the way side watching: for his heart trembled for the ark of God. And when

the man came into the city, and told it, 14] all the city cried out. And when Eli heard the noise of the crying, he said, What meaneth the noise of this tumult? And the man hastened, and came and told 15] Eli. Now Eli was ninety and eight years old; and his eyes were ¹⁵⁰set, that 16] he could not see. And the man said unto Eli, I am he that came out of the ¹⁴⁸army, and I fled to-day out of the ¹⁴⁸army. And he said, How went the 17] matter, my son? And he that brought the tidings answered and said, Israel is fled before the Philistines, and there hath been also a great slaughter among the people, and thy two sons also, Hophni and Phinehas, are dead, and the ark of 18] God is taken. And it came to pass, when he made mention of the ark of God, that he fell from off his seat backward by the side of the gate, and his neck brake, and he died: for he was an old man, and heavy. And he had judged 19] Israel forty years. And his daughter in law, Phinehas' wife, was with child, near to be delivered: and when she heard the tidings that the ark of God was taken, and that her father in law and her husband were dead, she bowed herself and brought forth; for her pains 20] came upon her. And about the time of her death the women that stood by her said unto her, Fear not; for thou hast brought forth a son. But she answered 21] not, neither did she regard it. And she named the child ¹⁵¹Ichabod, saying, The glory is departed from Israel: because the ark of God was taken, and because of her father in law and her husband. And she said, The glory is departed from Israel; for the ark of God is taken.

Thus Eli's life and leadership ended in disaster. The Philistines had defeated Israel and were pushing up into her territory.

THE JUDGESHIP OF SAMUEL

Samuel in due time became a seer or prophet of note. He was apparently a priest also, having been trained to this calling in the temple at

¹⁴⁶ Or, *dwelleth between*.

¹⁴⁷ Heb. *smiting*.

¹⁴⁸ Heb. *array*.

¹⁴⁹ The Sept. has, *beside the gate, watching the way*.

¹⁵⁰ See *I Kings* 14: 4.

¹⁵¹ That is, *There is no glory*.

Shiloh. He removed to Ramah, about five miles north of Jerusalem, to live, and frequently officiated as a priest in a circuit of near-by cities. He became the first citizen of his part of the country and people looked to him for justice and leadership. The first part of his judgeship is occupied with the fortunes of the ark of God, which had been captured by the Philistines. The bubonic plague broke out among them and they attributed the affliction to the presence of the ark, so they sent it from city to city, but the plague followed. Finally they sent it back to Hebrew territory. The story, which so graphically portrays the religious ideas and superstitions of the time, is as follows:

1 Sam. 5. Now the Philistines had taken the ark of God, and they brought 2] it from Eben-ezer unto Ashdod. And the Philistines took the ark of God, and brought it into the house of Dagon, and 3] set it by Dagon. And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen ¹⁵² upon his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD. And they took Dagon, and set 4] him in his place again. And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen ¹⁵² upon his face to the ground before the ark of the LORD; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands *lay* cut off upon the threshold; only *the stump of* Dagon 5] was left to him. Therefore neither the priests of Dagon, nor any that come into Dagon's house, tread on the threshold of Dagon in Ashdod, unto this day.

6] But the hand of the LORD was heavy upon them of Ashdod, and he destroyed them, and smote them with ¹⁵³ tumours, ¹⁵⁴ even Ashdod and the borders thereof. 7] And when the men of Ashdod saw that it was so, they said, The ark of the God of Israel shall not abide with us: for his hand is sore upon us, and upon 8] Dagon our god. They sent therefore and gathered all the lords of the Philistines unto them, and said, What shall we do with the ark of the God of Israel? And they answered, Let the ark of the God of Israel be carried about unto Gath. And they carried the ark of the

9] God of Israel about *thither*. And it was so, that, after they had carried it about, the hand of the LORD was against the city with a very great discomfiture: and he smote the men of the city, both small and great, and tumours brake out 10] upon them. So they sent the ark of God to Ekron. And it came to pass, as the ark of God came to Ekron, that the Ekronites cried out, saying, They have brought about the ark of the God of Israel to us, to slay us and our people. 11] They sent therefore and gathered together all the lords of the Philistines, and they said, Send away the ark of the God of Israel, and let it go again to its own place, that it slay us not, and our people: for there was a deadly discomfiture throughout all the city; the hand 12] of God was very heavy there. And the men that died not were smitten with the tumours: and the cry of the city went up to heaven.

6. And the ark of the LORD was in the ¹⁵⁵ country of the Philistines seven 2] months. ¹⁵⁶ And the Philistines called for the priests and the diviners, saying, What shall we do with the ark of the LORD? shew us wherewith we shall send 3] it to its place. And they said, If ye send away the ark of the God of Israel, send it not empty; but in any wise return him a ¹⁵⁷ guilt offering: then ye shall be healed, and it shall be known to you why his hand is not removed from 4] you. Then said they, What shall be

and there was a great and deadly destruction in the city.

¹⁵⁵ Heb. field.

¹⁵⁶ The Sept. adds, and their land swarmed with mice.

¹⁵⁷ Or, trespass offering.

¹⁵² Or, before it.

¹⁵³ Or, plague boils. As read by the Jews, emerods.

¹⁵⁴ The Sept. has instead, and in the midst of the land thereof mice were brought forth,

the guilt offering which we shall return to him? And they said, Five golden tumours, and five golden mice, *according to* the number of the lords of the Philistines: for one plague was on ¹⁵⁸you all, 5] and on your lords. Wherefore ye shall make images of your tumours, and images of your mice that mar the land; and ye shall give glory unto the God of Israel: peradventure he will lighten his hand from off you, and from off your 6] gods, and from off your land. Wherefore then do ye harden your hearts, as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? when he had ¹⁵⁹wrought wonderfully among them, did they not let ¹⁶⁰the people go, and they departed? 7] Now therefore take and prepare you a new cart, and two milch kine, on which there hath come no yoke, and tie the kine to the cart, and bring their 8] calves home from them: and take the ark of the LORD, and lay it upon the cart; and put the jewels of gold, which ye return him for a guilt offering, in a coffer by the side thereof; and send it away, 9] that it may go. And see, if it goeth up by the way of its own border to Beth-shemesh, then he hath done us this great evil: but if not, then we shall know that it is not his hand that smote us; it was a chance that happened to us. 10] And the men did so; and took two milch kine, and tied them to the cart, and shut up their calves at home: 11] and they put the ark of the LORD upon the cart, and the coffer with the mice of gold and the images of their tumours. 12] And the kine took the straight way by the way to Beth-shemesh; they went along ¹⁶¹the high way, lowing as they went, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left; and the lords of the Philistines went after them unto the 13] border of Beth-shemesh. And they of Beth-shemesh were reaping their wheat harvest in the valley: and they lifted up their eyes, and saw the ark, 14] and rejoiced to see it. And the cart

came into the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite, and stood there, where there was a great stone: and they clave the wood of the cart, and offered up the kine for a burnt offering unto the LORD. 15] And the Levites took down the ark of the LORD, and the coffer that was with it, wherein the jewels of gold were, and put them on the great stone: and the men of Beth-shemesh offered burnt offerings and sacrificed sacrifices the same day 16] unto the LORD. And when the five lords of the Philistines had seen it, they returned to Ekron the same day.

17] And these are the golden tumours which the Philistines returned for a guilt offering unto the LORD; for Ashdod one, for Gaza one, for Ashkelon one, for Gath one, for Ekron one; 18] and the golden mice, according to the number of all the cities of the Philistines belonging to the five lords, both of fenced cities and country villages: even unto the great ¹⁶²stone, whereon they set down the ark of the LORD, *which stone remaineth* unto this day in the field of 19] Joshua the Beth-shemite. ¹⁶³And he smote of the men of Beth-shemesh, because they had looked into the ark of the LORD, even he smote of the people seventy men, *and* fifty thousand men: and the people mourned, because the LORD had smitten the people with a great 20] slaughter. And the men of Beth-shemesh said, Who is able to stand before the LORD, this holy God? and to 21] whom shall he go up from us? And they sent messengers to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim, saying, The Philistines have brought again the ark of the LORD; come ye down, and fetch it up to you.

7. And the men of Kiriath-jearim came, and fetched up the ark of the LORD, and brought it into the house of Abinadab in ¹⁶⁴the hall, and sanctified Eleazar his son to keep the ark of the LORD.

¹⁵⁸ Heb. *them*.

¹⁵⁹ Or, *made a mock of*.

¹⁶⁰ Heb. *them*.

¹⁶¹ Heb. *one raised way*.

¹⁶² So the Sept. and Targum. The Hebrew text has, *Abel* (that is, *a meadow*).

¹⁶³ The Sept. has, *And the sons of Jeconiah rejoiced not among the men of Bethshemesh, because they saw the ark of the LORD; and he smote among them seventy men, and fifty thousand men*.

¹⁶⁴ Or, *Gibeah*.

The judgeship of Samuel is summarized in *1 Sam. 7: 2-17* as follows:

1 *Sam. 7. 2*] And it came to pass, from the day that the ark abode in Kiriath-jearim, that the time was long; for it was twenty years: and all the house of Israel ¹⁶⁵ lamented after the
3] LORD. And Samuel spake unto all the house of Israel, saying, If ye do return unto the LORD with all your heart, then put away the strange gods and the Ashtaroth from among you, and ¹⁶⁶ prepare your hearts unto the LORD, and serve him only: and he will deliver you out
4] of the hand of the Philistines. Then the children of Israel did put away the Baalim and the Ashtaroth, and served the LORD only.

5] And Samuel said, Gather all Israel to Mizpah, and I will pray for you
6] unto the LORD. And they gathered together to Mizpah, and drew water, and poured it out before the LORD, and fasted on that day, and said there, We have sinned against the LORD. And Samuel judged the children of Israel in Miz-
7] pah. And when the Philistines heard that the children of Israel were gathered together to Mizpah, the lords of the Philistines went up against Israel. And when the children of Israel heard it, they were afraid of the Philistines.
8] And the children of Israel said to Samuel, Cease not to cry unto the LORD our God for us, that he will save us out
9] of the hand of the Philistines. And Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered

it for a whole burnt offering unto the LORD: and Samuel cried unto the LORD for Israel; and the LORD answered him.
10] And as Samuel was offering up the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the LORD thundered with a great ¹⁶⁷ thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them; and they were smitten
11] down before Israel. And the men of Israel went out of Mizpah, and pursued the Philistines, and smote them, until
12] they came under Beth-car. Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpah and Shen, and called the name of it ¹⁶⁸ Eben-ezer, saying, Hitherto
13] hath the LORD helped us. So the Philistines were subdued, and they came no more within the border of Israel: and the hand of the LORD was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel.
14] And the cities which the Philistines had taken from Israel were restored to Israel, from Ekron even unto Gath; and the border thereof did Israel deliver out of the hand of the Philistines. And there was peace between Israel and the Amor-
15] ites. And Samuel judged Israel all
16] the days of his life. And he went from year to year in circuit to Beth-el, and Gilgal, and Mizpah; and he judged
17] Israel in all those places. And his return was to Ramah, for there was his house; and there he judged Israel: and he built there an altar unto the LORD.

At this point we may conclude our chapter on the period of the judges, for, although Samuel lived on, the rest of the facts recorded of him have to do with the time of King Saul. With Samuel the period of the judges merges into the time of the united kingdom.

The time of the judges was the formative period of the nation's history. The tribes had settled in Palestine and were gradually assimilating its previous population. They were unorganized; they had no central government; they were held together only by a general alliance under the name of kinship. They were the prey of enemies, from whom they were delivered by the initiative of public-spirited citizens. During the first part of the period the attacks of these enemies were fitful and sporadic, but, with the coming of the Philistines into the coastal plain,

¹⁶⁵ Or, *was drawn together*.

¹⁶⁶ Or, *direct*.

¹⁶⁷ Heb. *voice*.

¹⁶⁸ That is, *The stone of help*.

conditions changed. An energetic and hostile people, which quickly multiplied, was hemmed in between the Hebrews and the sea. There was no room for it to expand except into the Hebrews' country. There was thus begun a prolonged and mortal struggle between Israel and these wanderers from across the sea. The exigencies of this struggle produced in Israel a national consciousness and led to the establishment of the kingdom.

CHAPTER IX

THE REIGN OF KING SAUL

THE narrative of the first book of *Samuel* leads us gradually from the judgeship of Samuel to the reign of King Saul by telling us

HOW SAUL BECAME KING

Two accounts of how this was accomplished are woven together in these chapters. The earlier of these is from the hand of J or some kindred writer; the later has more the point of view of the E Document. We present them here side by side.

THE J STORY, 1 *Sam.* 9: 1—10: 16, 11: 1—15

1 *Sam.* 9. Now there was a man of Benjamin, whose name was Kish, the son of Abiel, the son of Zeror, the son of Becorath, the son of Aphiah, the son of a Benjamite, a mighty man of ¹val-
2] our. And he had a son, whose name was Saul, a ²young man and a goodly: and there was not among the children of Israel a goodlier person than he: from his shoulders and upward he was higher
3] than any of the people. And the asses of Kish Saul's father were lost. And Kish said to Saul his son, Take now one of the servants with thee, and arise, go
4] seek the asses. And he passed through the hill country of Ephraim, and passed through the land of Shalishah, but they found them not: then they passed through the land of Shaalim, and there they were not: and he passed through the land of the Benjamites, but they
5] found them not. When they were come to the land of Zuph, Saul said to his servant that was with him, Come and let us return; lest my father leave caring for the asses, and take thought for
6] us. And he said unto him, Behold now, there is in this city a man of God,

THE E STORY, 1 *Sam.* 8: 1—22, 10: 17—27, 12: 1—25

1 *Sam.* 8. And it came to pass, when Samuel was old, that he made his sons
2] judges over Israel. Now the name of his firstborn was Joel; and the name of his second, Abijah: they were judges
3] in Beer-sheba. And his sons walked not in his ways, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment.

4] Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to
5] Samuel unto Ramah: and they said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.
6] But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us. And Samuel prayed unto the LORD.
7] And the LORD said unto Samuel, Harken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee: for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not be king
8] over them. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt even unto this day, in that they have forsaken me, and served other gods, so do they

1 Or, *wealth*.

2 Or, *choice*.

and he is a man that is held in honour; all that he saith cometh surely to pass: now let us go thither; peradventure he can tell us concerning our journey 7] whereon we go. Then said Saul to his servant, But, behold, if we go, what shall we bring the man? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God: what 8] have we? And the servant answered Saul again, and said, Behold, I have in my hand the fourth part of a shekel of silver: that will I give to the man of 9] God, to tell us our way. (Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he said, Come and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a Prophet was beforetime called a Seer.) 10] Then said Saul to his servant, Well said; come, let us go. So they went unto the city where the man of God was. 11] As they went up the ascent to the city, they found young maidens going out to draw water, and said unto them, 12] Is the seer here? And they answered them, and said, He is; behold, *he is* before thee: make haste now, for he is come to-day into the city; for the people have a sacrifice to-day in the high 13] place: as soon as ye be come into the city, ye shall straightway find him, before he go up to the high place to eat: for the people will not eat until he come, because he doth bless the sacrifice; *and* afterwards they eat that he bidden. Now therefore get you up; for at 14] this time ye shall find him. And they went up to the city; *and* as they came within the city, behold, Samuel came out against them, for to go up to the high place.

15] Now the LORD had ³ revealed unto Samuel a day before Saul came, saying, 16] To-morrow about this time I will send thee a man out of the land of Benjamin, and thou shalt anoint him to be ⁴ prince over my people Israel, and he shall save my people out of the hand of the Philistines: for I have looked upon my people, because their cry is come 17] unto me. And when Samuel saw

9] also unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice: howbeit thou shalt protest solemnly unto them, and shalt shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them.

10] And Samuel told all the words of the LORD unto the people that asked of 11] him a king. And he said, This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons, and appoint them unto him, ⁵ for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and they shall run before his chariots: 12] and he will appoint them unto him for captains of thousands, and captains of fifties; and *he will set some* to plow his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and 13] the instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be ⁶ confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be 14] bakers. And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your oliveyards, even the best of them, and give them to 15] his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his ⁷ officers, and to 16] his servants. And he will take your menservants, and your maidservants, and your goodliest ⁸ young men, and your asses, and put them to his work. 17] He will take the tenth of your flocks: and ye shall be his servants. 18] And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen you; and the LORD will not answer you in that day. But the people refused to hearken unto the voice of Samuel; and they said, Nay; but we 20] will have a king over us; that we also may be like all the nations; and that our king may judge us, and go out 21] before us, and fight our battles. And Samuel heard all the words of the people, and he rehearsed them in the ears 22] of the LORD. And the LORD said to Samuel, Harken unto their voice, and make them a king. And Samuel said unto the men of Israel, Go ye every man unto his city.

10. 17] And Samuel called the people

³ Heb. *uncovered the ear of Samuel.*

⁴ Or, *leader.*

⁵ Or, *over his chariots, and over his horses.*

⁶ Or, *perfumers.* See *Ex.* 30: 25.

⁷ Or, *eunuchs.*

⁸ The Sept. has, *herds,*

Saul, the LORD ⁹ said unto him, Behold the man ¹⁰ of whom I spake to thee! this same shall have authority over my 18] people. Then Saul drew near to Samuel in the gate, and said, Tell me, I pray thee, where the seer's house is. 19] And Samuel answered Saul, and said, I am the seer; go up before me unto the high place, for ye shall eat with me to-day: and in the morning I will let thee go, and will tell thee all that is 20] in thine heart. And as for thine asses that were lost three days ago, set not thy mind on them; for they are found. And ¹¹ for whom is all that is desirable in Israel? Is it not for thee, and 21] for all thy father's house? And Saul answered and said, Am not I a Benjamite, of the smallest of the tribes of Israel? and my family the least of all the families of the ¹² tribe of Benjamin? wherefore then speakest thou to me after 22] this manner? And Samuel took Saul and his servant, and brought them into the guest-chamber, and made them sit in the chiefest place among them that were bidden, which were about thirty 23] persons. And Samuel said unto the cook, Bring the portion which I gave thee, of which I said unto thee, Set it 24] by thee. And the cook took up the ¹³ thigh, and that which was upon it, and set it before Saul. And Samuel said, Behold that which hath been reserved! set it before thee and eat; because unto the appointed time hath it been kept for thee, ¹⁴ for I said, I have invited the people. So Saul did eat with Samuel that 25] day. And when they were come down from the high place into the city, ¹⁵ he communed with Saul upon the house- 26] top. And they arose early: and it came to pass about the spring of the day, that Samuel called to Saul on the housetop, saying, Up, that I may send thee away. And Saul arose, and they

together unto the LORD to Mizpah; 18] and he said unto the children of Israel, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, I brought up Israel out of Egypt, and I delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of all the kingdoms that oppressed you: 19] but ye have this day rejected your God, who himself saveth you out of all your calamities and your distresses; and ye have said unto him, Nay, but set a king over us. Now therefore present yourselves before the LORD by your 20] tribes, and by your thousands. So Samuel brought all the tribes of Israel near, and the tribe of Benjamin was 21] taken. And he brought the tribe of Benjamin near by their families, and the family of the Matrites was taken ¹⁶; and Saul the son of Kish was taken; but when they sought him, he could not 22] be found. Therefore they asked of the LORD further, ¹⁷ Is there yet a man to come hither? And the LORD answered, Behold, he hath hid himself among the 23] stuff. And they ran and fetched him thence; and when he stood among the people, he was higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward. 24] And Samuel said to all the people, See ye him whom the LORD hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people? And all the people shouted, and said, ¹⁸ God save the king.

25] Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in ¹⁹ a book, and laid it up before the LORD. And Samuel sent all the people 26] away, every man to his house. And Saul also went to his house to Gibeah; and there went with him the ²⁰ host, 27] whose hearts God had touched. But certain ²¹ sons of ²² Belial said, How shall this man save us? And they despised him, and brought him no present. ²³ But he held his peace.

⁹ Heb. answered him.

¹⁰ Or, of whom I said unto thee, This same &c.

¹¹ Or, on whom is all the desire of Israel? Is it not on thee, and on all &c.?

¹² Heb. tribes.

¹³ Or, shoulder.

¹⁴ Heb. saying.

¹⁵ The Sept. has, they spread a couch for Saul on the housetop, and he lay down. And it came to pass &c.

¹⁶ The Sept. adds, and the family of the Matrites was brought near man by man.

¹⁷ Or, Is the man yet come hither?

¹⁸ Heb. Let the king live.

¹⁹ Or, the.

²⁰ Or, men of valour.

²¹ Or, base fellows.

²² That is, worthlessness.

²³ Or, But he was as though he had been deaf. The Sept. has, And it came to pass after about a month, that Nahash &c.

went out both of them, he and Samuel, 27] abroad. As they were going down at the end of the city, Samuel said to Saul, Bid the servant pass on before us, (and he passed on,) but stand thou still at this time, that I may cause thee to hear the word of God.

10. Then Samuel took the vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not that the LORD hath anointed thee to be prince over his 2] inheritance? When thou art departed from me to-day, then thou shalt find two men by Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah; and they will say unto thee, The asses which thou wentest to seek are found: and, lo, thy father hath left the care of the asses, and taketh thought for you, saying, 3] What shall I do for my son? Then shalt thou go on forward from thence, and thou shalt come to the ²⁴ oak of Tabor, and there shall meet thee there three men going up to God to Beth-el, one carrying three kids, and another carrying three loaves of bread, and another carrying a ²⁵ bottle of wine: 4] and they will salute thee, and give thee two loaves of bread; which thou 5] shalt receive of their hand. After that thou shalt come to ²⁶ the hill of God, where is the garrison of the Philistines: and it shall come to pass, when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a timbrel, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall be prophesying: 6] and the spirit of the LORD will come mightily upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned 7] into another man. And ²⁷ let it be, when these signs are come unto thee, ²⁸ that thou do as occasion serve thee; 8] for God is with thee. And thou shalt go down before me to Gilgal; and, behold, I will come down unto thee, to offer burnt offerings, and to sacrifice sacrifices of peace offerings: seven days

12. And Samuel said unto all Israel, Behold, I have hearkened unto your voice in all that ye said unto me, and 2] have made a king over you. And now, behold, the king walketh before you: and I am old and grayheaded; and, behold, my sons are with you: and I have walked before you from my youth unto 3] this day. Here I am: witness against me before the LORD, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I taken a ²⁹ ransom ³⁰ to blind mine eyes therewith? 4] and I will restore it you. And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor oppressed us, neither hast thou taken 5] aught of any man's hand. And he said unto them, The LORD is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found aught in my hand. And they said, He is witness. 6] And Samuel said unto the people, It is the LORD that ³¹ appointed Moses and Aaron, and that brought your fathers up 7] out of the land of Egypt. Now therefore stand still, that I may plead with you before the LORD concerning all the righteous acts of the LORD, which he did 8] to you and to your fathers. When Jacob was come into Egypt, and your fathers cried unto the LORD, then the LORD sent Moses and Aaron, who brought forth your fathers out of Egypt, and 9] made them to dwell in this place. But they forgot the LORD their God, and he sold them into the hand of Sisera, captain of the host of Habor, and into the hand of the Philistines, and into the hand of the king of Moab, and they 10] fought against them. And they cried unto the LORD, and said, We have sinned, because we have forsaken the LORD, and have served the Baalim and the Ashtaroth: but now deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, and we will serve thee. 11] And the LORD sent Jerubbaal, and ³² Bedan, and Jephthah, and Samuel,

²⁴ Or, *terebinth*.

²⁵ Or, *skin*.

²⁶ Or, *Gibeah*.

²⁷ Heb. *it shall come to pass, that when these signs &c.*

²⁸ Heb. *do for thee as thine hand shall find.*

²⁹ Or, *bribe*.

³⁰ Or, *that I should hide mine eyes at him.* The Sept. has, *even a pair of shoes? answer against me and I will &c.* See *Ecclus.* 46: 19.

³¹ Or, *made*.

³² Some ancient authorities read, *Barak*.

shalt thou tarry, till I come unto thee, and shew thee what thou shalt do. 9] And it was so, that when he had turned his back to go from Samuel, God ⁸³ gave him another heart: and all those signs came to pass that day.

10] And when they came thither to ⁸⁴ the hill, behold, a band of prophets met him; and the spirit of God came mightily upon him, and he prophesied among 11] them. And it came to pass, when all that knew him beforetime saw that, behold, he prophesied with the prophets, then the people said one to another, What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the proph- 12] ets? And one of the same place answered and said, And who is their father? Therefore it became a proverb, Is 13] Saul also among the prophets? And when he had made an end of prophesying, he came to the high place.

14] And Saul's uncle said unto him and to his servant, Whither went ye? And he said, To seek the asses: and when we saw that they were not found, 15] we came to Samuel. And Saul's uncle said, Tell me, I pray thee, what Sam- 16] uel said unto you. And Saul said unto his uncle, He told us plainly that the asses were found. But concerning the matter of the kingdom, whereof Samuel spake, he told him not.

11. Then Nahash the Ammonite came up, and encamped against Jabesh-gilead: and all the men of Jabesh said unto Nahash, Make a covenant with us, and we 2] will serve thee. And Nahash the Ammonite said unto them, On this condition will I make it with you, that all your right eyes be put out; and I will lay it for a reproach upon all Israel. 3] And the elders of Jabesh said unto him, Give us seven days' respite, that we may send messengers unto all the borders of Israel: and then, if there be none to save us, we will come out to thee. 4] Then came the messengers to Gibeah of Saul, and spake these words in the ears of the people: and all the people

and delivered you out of the hand of your enemies on every side, and ye 12] dwelled in safety. And when ye saw that Nahash the king of the children of Ammon came against you, ye said unto me, Nay, but a king shall reign over us: when the LORD your God was your king. 13] Now therefore behold the king whom ye have chosen, and whom ye have asked for: and, behold, the LORD 14] hath set a king over you. If ye will fear the LORD, and serve him, and hearken unto his voice, and not rebel against the commandment of the LORD, ⁸⁵ and both ye and also the king that reigneth over you be followers of the LORD your 15] God, *well*: but if ye will not hearken unto the voice of the LORD, but rebel against the commandment of the LORD, then shall the hand of the LORD be against you, ⁸⁶ as it was against your fathers. 16] Now therefore stand still and see this great thing, which the LORD will do 17] before your eyes. Is it not wheat harvest to-day? I will call unto the LORD, that he may send thunder and rain; and ye shall know and see that your wickedness is great, which ye have done in the sight of the LORD, in asking you a king. So Samuel called unto the LORD; and the LORD sent thunder and rain that day: and all the people greatly feared 19] the LORD and Samuel. And all the people said unto Samuel, Pray for thy servants unto the LORD thy God, that we die not: for we have added unto all our 20] sins *this* evil, to ask us a king. And Samuel said unto the people, Fear not: ye have indeed done all this evil: yet turn not aside from following the LORD, but serve the LORD with all your heart; 21] ⁸⁷ and turn ye not aside: for *then should ye go* after vain things which cannot profit nor deliver, for they are vain. 22] For the LORD will not forsake his people for his great name's sake: because it hath pleased the LORD to make 23] you a people unto himself. Moreover as for me, God forbid that I should sin against the LORD in ceasing to pray

⁸³ Heb. *turned*.

⁸⁴ Or, *Gibeah*.

⁸⁵ Or, *then shall both ye . . . the LORD your God but &c.*

⁸⁶ The Sept. has, *and against your king*.

⁸⁷ The Sept. has, *and turn ye not aside after the vanities which &c.*

5] lifted up their voice, and wept. And, behold, Saul came following the oxen out of the field; and Saul said, What aileth the people that they weep? And they told him the words of the men of 6] Jabesh. And the spirit of God came mightily upon Saul when he heard those words, and his anger was kindled 7] greatly. And he took a yoke of oxen, and cut them in pieces, and sent them throughout all the borders of Israel by the hand of messengers, saying, Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen. And ³⁸ the dread of the LORD fell on the people, and they came out as 8] one man. And he numbered them in Bezek; and the children of Israel were three hundred thousand, and the men of 9] Judah thirty thousand. And they said unto the messengers that came, Thus shall ye say unto the men of Jabesh-gilead, To-morrow, by the time the sun is hot, ye shall have deliverance. And the messengers came and told the men of Jabesh; and they were glad. 10] Therefore the men of Jabesh said, To-morrow we will come out unto you, and ye shall do with us all that seem- 11] eth good unto you. And it was so on the morrow, that Saul put the people in

for you: but I will instruct you in the 24] good and the right way. Only fear the LORD, and serve him in truth with all your heart: for consider how great 25] things he hath done for you. But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your king.

three companies; and they came into the midst of the camp in the morning watch, and smote the Ammonites until the heat of the day: and it came to pass, that they which remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left 12] together. And the people said unto Samuel, Who is he that said, Shall Saul reign over us? bring the men, that we 13] may put them to death. And Saul said, There shall not a man be put to death this day: for to-day the LORD hath wrought ³⁹ deliverance in Israel.

14] Then said Samuel to the people, Come and let us go to Gilgal, and re- 15] new the kingdom there. And all the people went to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the LORD in Gilgal; and there they sacrificed sacrifices of peace offerings before the LORD; and there Saul and all the men of Israel rejoiced greatly.

Of these two accounts the older, which we have called the J story, is undoubtedly the more historical. Perhaps in the account of Saul's anointing by Samuel there may be some legendary elements, but it is quite in accord with probability that a young man like Saul, encouraged by a prophet like Samuel, should raise a force of men and go as a knight errant to deliver the besieged city of Jabesh in Gilead, on the east of the Jordan, from the straits into which their enemies the Ammonites (whom we have met before in the story of Jephthah) had brought it, that he should gain in that way a military reputation, and that a people harassed by enemies on every side should appreciate the value of having such a military leader and make Saul its king. In analogous ways other military leaders and kings have been elevated to command.

The other story was written by one who had lost the historical point of view. He was keenly alive to the disadvantages of the monarchy and far removed from the exigencies which called it into being. His point of view was exceedingly religious. All these things combined to make him regard the desire for a king as a sinful wish to be like other nations, and

³⁸ Or, a terror from the LORD.

³⁹ Heb. *salvation*.

the choice of the monarch to have been made by casting lots. Kings are not chosen in that way in real life, at least among peoples of the grade of culture which the Hebrews had reached, but because of demonstrated fitness for leadership. The speech which this writer puts into the mouth of Samuel in *1 Samuel* 12 was probably intended by the compiler of the book to form a suitable conclusion to the story of the times of the judges.

Saul's reign, as *1 Samuel* reveals it to us, embraced three periods of war with the Philistines, and a war with the Amalekites. Considerable space is also given to the details of his efforts to capture the outlaw David.

SAUL'S FIRST WAR WITH THE PHILISTINES, *1 Sam.* 13-14

1 Sam. 13. Saul was [⁴⁰ *thirty*] years old when he began to reign; and he 2] reigned two years over Israel. And Saul chose him three thousand men of Israel; whereof two thousand were with Saul in Michmash and in the mount of Beth-el, and a thousand were with Jonathan in Gibeah of Benjamin: and the rest of the people he sent every man to 3] his tent. And Jonathan smote the garrison of the Philistines that was in Geba, and the Philistines heard of it. And Saul blew the trumpet throughout all the land, 4] saying, Let the Hebrews hear. And all Israel heard say that Saul had smitten the garrison of the Philistines, and that Israel also was had in abomination with the Philistines. And the people were gathered together after Saul to Gilgal.

5] And the Philistines assembled themselves together to fight with Israel, thirty thousand chariots, and six thousand horsemen, and people as the sand which is on the sea shore in multitude: and they came up, and pitched in Mich- 6] mash eastward of Beth-aven. When the men of Israel saw that they were in a strait, (for the people were distressed,) then the people did hide themselves in caves, and in thickets, and in rocks, and in ⁴¹ holds, and in ⁴² pits. 7] Now some of the Hebrews had gone over Jordan to the land of Gad and Gilead; but as for Saul, he was yet in

Gilgal, and all the people followed him trembling.

8] And he tarried seven days, according to the set time that Samuel *had appointed*: but Samuel came not to Gilgal; and the people were scattered from him. 9] And Saul said, Bring hither the burnt offering to me, and the peace offerings. And he offered the burnt offering. 10] And it came to pass that, as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, behold, Samuel came; and Saul went out to meet him, that he 11] might ⁴³ salute him. And Samuel said, What hast thou done? and Saul said, Because I saw that the people were scattered from me, and that thou camest not within the days appointed, and that the Philistines assembled themselves 12] together at Michmash; therefore said I, Now will the Philistines come down upon me to Gilgal, and I have not intreated the favour of the LORD: I forced myself therefore, and offered 13] the burnt offering. And Samuel said to Saul, Thou hast done foolishly: thou has not kept the commandment of the LORD thy God, which he commanded thee: for now would the LORD have established thy kingdom upon Israel for 14] ever. But now thy kingdom shall not continue: the LORD hath sought him a man after his own heart, and the LORD hath appointed him to be prince over his

⁴⁰ The Hebrew text has *Saul was a year old*. The whole verse is omitted in the unrevised Sept. but in a later recension the number *thirty* is inserted.

⁴¹ Or, *holes*.

⁴² Or, *cisterns*.

⁴³ Or, *bless*.

people, because thou hast not kept that which the LORD commanded thee.

15] And Samuel arose, and gat him up from Gilgal unto Gibeah of Benjamin. And Saul numbered the people that were present with him, about six 16] hundred men. And Saul, and Jonathan his son, and the people that were present with them, abode in Geba of Benjamin: but the Philistines encamped 17] in Michmash. And the spoilers came out of the camp of the Philistines in three companies: one company turned unto the way that leadeth to Ophrah, 18] unto the land of Shual: and another company turned the way to Beth-horon: and another company turned the way of the border that looketh down upon the valley of Zeboim toward the wilderness.

19] Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel: for the Philistines said, Lest the Hebrews 20] make them swords or spears: but all the Israelites went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his share, and his coulter, and his axe, and his mattock; ⁴⁴ yet they had a file for the mattocks, and for the coulters, and for the forks, and for the axes; and to set 22] the goads. So it came to pass in the day of battle, that there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan: but with Saul and with Jonathan his son was there found. 23] And the garrison of the Philistines went out unto the pass of Michmash.

14. Now it fell upon a day, that Jonathan the son of Saul said unto the young man that bare his armour, Come and let us go over to the Philistines' garrison, that is on yonder side. But he told not 2] his father. And Saul abode in the uttermost part of Gibeah under the pomegranate tree which is in Migron: and the people that were with him were about 3] six hundred men; and Ahijah, the son of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest of the LORD in Shiloh, wearing an ephod. And the people knew not that Jonathan

4] was gone. And between the passes, by which Jonathan sought to go over unto the Philistines' garrison, there was a rocky crag on the one side, and a rocky crag on the other side: and the name of the one was Bozez, and the 5] name of the other Seneh. The one crag rose up on the north in front of Michmash, and the other on the south 6] in front of Geba. And Jonathan said to the young man that bare his armour, Come and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised: it may be that the LORD will work for us: for there is no restraint to the LORD to save 7] by many or by few. And his armourbearer said unto him, Do all that is in thine heart: turn thee, behold I am with 8] thee according to thy heart. Then said Jonathan, Behold, we will pass over unto the men, and we will discover ourselves unto them. If they say thus unto us, Tarry until we come to you; then we will stand still in our place, and 10] will not go up unto them. But if they say thus, Come up unto us; then we will go up: for the LORD hath delivered them into our hand: and this 11] shall be the sign unto us. And both of them discovered themselves unto the garrison of the Philistines: and the Philistines said, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the holes where they had 12] hid themselves. And the men of the garrison answered Jonathan and his armourbearer, and said, Come up to us, and we will shew you a thing. And Jonathan said unto his armourbearer, Come up after me: for the LORD hath delivered them into the hand of Israel. 13] And Jonathan climbed up upon his hands and upon his feet, and his armourbearer after him: and they fell before Jonathan; and his armourbearer slew 14] them after him. And that first slaughter, which Jonathan and his armourbearer made, was about twenty men, within as it were ⁴⁵ half a furrow's 15] length in an acre of land. And there was a trembling in the camp, in the field, and among all the people; the garrison, and the spoilers, they also trembled: and

⁴⁴ Or, *when the edges of the mattocks . . . and of the axes were blunt*. The Hebrew text is obscure.

⁴⁵ Or, *half an acre of land*.

the earth quaked; so there was ⁴⁶an ex-16] ceeding great trembling. And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah of Benjamin looked; and, behold, the multitude melted away, and they went *hither* and *thither*.

17] Then said Saul unto the people that were with him, Number now, and see who is gone from us. And when they had numbered, behold, Jonathan and his armourbearer were not there. 18] And Saul said unto Ahijah, ⁴⁷Bring *hither* the ark of God. For the ark of God was *there* at that time ⁴⁸with the 19] children of Israel. And it came to pass, while Saul talked unto the priest, that the tumult that was in the camp of the Philistines went on and increased: and Saul said unto the priest, Withdraw 20] thine hand. And Saul and all the people that were with him were gathered together, and came to the battle: and, behold, every man's sword was against his fellow, *and there was* a very 21] great discomfiture. Now the Hebrews that were with the Philistines as beforetime, which went up with them ⁴⁹into the camp ⁵⁰*from the country* round about; even they also *turned* to be with the Israelites that were with Saul 22] and Jonathan. Likewise all the men of Israel which had hid themselves in the hill country of Ephraim, when they heard that the Philistines fled, even they also followed hard after them in the bat- 23] tle. So the LORD saved Israel that day: and the battle passed over by Beth-aven. And the men of Israel were distressed that day: but Saul adjured the people, saying, Cursed be the man that eateth any food until it be evening, and I be avenged on mine enemies. So none 25] of the people tasted food. And all ⁵¹the people came into the forest; and there was honey upon the ground. 26] And when the people were come unto the forest, behold, ⁵²the honey dropped: but no man put his hand to his mouth; 27] for the people feared the oath. But Jonathan heard not when his father charged the people with the oath: where-

fore he put forth the end of the rod that was in his hand and dipped it in the honeycomb, and put his hand to his mouth; and his eyes were enlightened. 28] Then answered one of the people, and said, Thy father straitly charged the people with an oath, saying, Cursed be the man that eateth food this day. And 29] the people were faint. Then said Jonathan, My father hath troubled the land: see, I pray you, how mine eyes have been enlightened, because I tasted 30] a little of this honey. How much more, if haply the people had eaten freely to-day of the spoil of their enemies which they found? ⁵³for now hath there been no great slaughter among the Phi- 31] listines. And they smote of the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon: and the people were very faint. 32] And the people flew upon the spoil, and took sheep, and oxen, and calves, and slew them on the ground: and the people did eat them with the blood. 33] Then they told Saul, saying, Behold, the people sin against the LORD, in that they eat with the blood. And he said, Ye have dealt treacherously: roll a 34] great stone unto me this day. And Saul said, Disperse yourselves among the people, and say unto them, Bring me *hither* every man his ox, and every man his sheep, and slay them here, and eat; and sin not against the LORD in eating with the blood. And all the people brought every man his ox with him that 35] night, and slew them there. And Saul built an altar unto the LORD: the same was the first altar that he built unto the LORD.

36] And Saul said, Let us go down after the Philistines by night, and spoil them until the morning light, and let us not leave a man of them. And they said, Do whatsoever seemeth good unto thee. Then said the priest, Let us draw 37] near *hither* unto God. And Saul asked counsel of God, Shall I go down after the Philistines? wilt thou deliver them into the hand of Israel? But he

⁴⁶ Heb. *trembling of God*.

⁴⁷ The Sept. has, *Bring hither the ephod*. For he wore the ephod at that time before Israel.

⁴⁸ Heb. *and*.

⁴⁹ Or, *in the camp, round about*.

⁵⁰ The Sept. has, *they also turned to be &c*.

⁵¹ Heb. *the land*.

⁵² Or, *a stream of honey*.

⁵³ Or, *for had there not been now a much greater slaughter &c.?*

38] answered him not that day. And Saul said, Draw nigh hither, all ye ⁵⁴ chiefs of the people: and know and see wherein 39] this sin hath been this day. For, as the LORD liveth, which saveth Israel, though it be in Jonathan my son, he shall surely die. But there was not a man among all the people that answered him. 40] Then said he unto all Israel, Be ye on one side, and I and Jonathan my son will be on the other side. And the people said unto Saul, Do what seemeth 41] good unto thee. Therefore Saul said unto the LORD, the God of Israel, ⁵⁵ Shew the right. And Jonathan and Saul were 42] taken *by lot*: but the people escaped. And Saul said, Cast *lots* between me and Jonathan my son. And Jonathan was 43] taken. Then Saul said to Jonathan, Tell me what thou hast done. And Jonathan told him, and said, I did certainly taste a little honey with the end of the rod that was in mine hand; and, lo, I 44] must die. And Saul said, God do so and more also: for thou shalt surely die, 45] Jonathan. And the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid: as the LORD liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground; for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people ⁵⁶ rescued Jona-

46] than, that he died not. Then Saul went up from following the Philistines: and the Philistines went to their own place.

47] Now when Saul had taken the kingdom over Israel, he fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines: and whithersoever he turned himself, ⁵⁷ he vexed *them*. And he did valiantly, and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them.

49] Now the sons of Saul were Jonathan, and Ishvi, and Malchi-shua: and the names of his two daughters were these; the name of the firstborn Merab, and the name of the younger Michal: 50] and the name of Saul's wife was Ahinoam the daughter of Ahimaaz: and the name of the captain of his host was Abner the son of Ner, Saul's uncle. 51] ⁵⁸ And Kish was the father of Saul; and Ner the father of Abner was the son of Abiel.

52] And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul: and when Saul saw any mighty man, or any valiant man, he ⁵⁹ took him unto him.

The story of this battle is from the older source which we call J. It is doubtless historical. It shows that the Philistines had penetrated to the midst of the hill country, and were pressing Saul hard not far from his capital city. The simple character of the warfare of the period is made clear by the story of Jonathan, the crown prince, and his armor-bearer. The deep valley between Geba and Michmash is still there and bears witness to the probability of the story. The crude religious ideas of the time are exhibited by the danger into which Jonathan's life was brought by his innocently having violated a vow that Saul had made. The situation which was thus created was analogous to that which caused the sacrifice of the daughter of Jephthah. In this instance, however, the army's sense of justice prevailed over their superstition. They refused to let the life of Jonathan, who had initiated the victory, be sacrificed for such a really trivial cause.

⁵⁴ Heb. *corners*.

⁵⁵ Or, *Give a perfect lot*.

⁵⁶ Heb. *ransomed*.

⁵⁷ Or, *he put them to the worse*. The Sept. has, *he was victorious*.

⁵⁸ According to some ancient authorities, *And Kish the father of Saul and Ner . . . were the sons of Abiel*.

⁵⁹ Heb. *gathered*.

For a time the Philistines were repulsed and Saul had leisure to make an attempt to exterminate the Amalekites, ancient enemies of Israel on whom it was believed Moses had pronounced a curse. The account of this war comes from the later source E. It is largely colored by somewhat later religious views.

THE WAR WITH AMALEK, 1 Sam. 15

1 Sam. 15. And Samuel said unto Saul, the LORD sent me to anoint thee to be king over his people, over Israel: now therefore hearken thou unto the voice 2] of the words of the LORD. Thus saith the LORD of hosts, I ⁶⁰ have marked that which Amalek did to Israel, how he set himself against him in the way, 3] when he came up out of Egypt. Now go and smite Amalek, and ⁶¹ utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass.

4] And Saul summoned the people, and numbered them in Telaim, two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand 5] men of Judah. And Saul came to the city of Amalek, and ⁶² laid wait in the 6] valley. And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them: for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites. 7] And Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah as thou goest to Shur, that is 8] before Egypt. And he took Agag the king of the Amalekites alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the 9] edge of the sword. But Saul and the people spared Agag, and the best of the sheep, and of the oxen, and of the fatlings, and the lambs, and all that was good, and would not ⁶¹ utterly destroy them: but every thing that was vile and refuse, that they destroyed utterly.

10] Then came the word of the LORD 11] unto Samuel, saying, It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king:

for he is turned back from following me, and hath not performed my commandments. And Samuel was wroth; and he cried unto the LORD all night. 12] And Samuel rose early to meet Saul in the morning; and it was told Samuel, saying Saul came to Carmel, and, behold, he set him up a ⁶³ monument, and is gone about, and passed on, and gone 13] down to Gilgal. And Samuel came to Saul: and Saul said unto him, Blessed be thou of the LORD: I have performed 14] the commandment of the LORD. And Samuel said, What meaneth then this bleating of the sheep in mine ears, and the lowing of the oxen which I hear? 15] And Saul said, They have brought them from the Amalekites: for the people spared the best of the sheep and of the oxen, to sacrifice unto the LORD thy God; and the rest we have ⁶⁴ utterly destroyed. 16] Then Samuel said unto Saul, Stay, and I will tell thee what the LORD hath 17] said unto me this night, and he said unto him, Say on. And Samuel said, ⁶⁵ Though thou wast little in thine own sight, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel? And the LORD 18] anointed thee king over Israel; and the LORD sent thee on a journey, and said, Go and utterly destroy the sinners the Amalekites, and fight against them 19] until they be consumed. Wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the LORD, but didst fly upon the spoil, and didst that which was evil in the sight of 20] the LORD? And Saul said unto Samuel, Yea, I have obeyed the voice of the LORD, and have gone the way which the LORD sent me, and have brought Agag the king of Amalek, and have ⁶⁶ utterly

⁶⁰ Or, *will visit*.

⁶¹ Heb. *devote*.

⁶² Or, *strove*.

⁶³ Heb. *hand*.

⁶⁴ Heb. *devoted*.

⁶⁵ Or, *though thou be little . . . art thou not head of the tribes of Israel?*

⁶⁶ Heb. *devoted*.

21] destroyed the Amalekites. But the people took of the spoil, sheep and oxen, the chief of the devoted things, to sacrifice unto the LORD thy God in Gilgal. 22] And Samuel said, Hath the LORD as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the LORD? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of 23] rams. For rebellion is as the sin of ⁶⁷ witchcraft, and stubbornness is as ⁶⁸ idolatry and ⁶⁹ teraphim. Because thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, he hath also rejected thee from being king. 24] And Saul said unto Samuel, I have sinned: for I have transgressed the commandment of the LORD, and thy words: because I feared the people, and obeyed 25] their voice. Now therefore, I pray thee, pardon my sin, and turn again with me, that I may worship the LORD. 26] And Samuel said unto Saul, I will not return with thee: for thou hast rejected the word of the LORD, and the LORD hath rejected thee from being king 27] over Israel. And as Samuel turned about to go away, he laid hold upon the 28] skirt of his robe, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, The LORD hath

rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbour 29] of thine, that is better than thou. And also the ⁷⁰ Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent; for he is not a man, that 30] he should repent. Then he said, I have sinned: yet honour me now, I pray thee, before the elders of my people, and before Israel, and turn again with me, that I may worship the LORD thy God. 31] So Samuel turned again after Saul; and Saul worshipped the LORD.

32] Then said Samuel, Bring ye hither to me Agag the king of the Amalekites. And Agag came unto him ⁷¹ delicately. And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of 33] death is past. And Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the LORD in Gilgal.

34] Then Samuel went to Ramah; and Saul went up to his house to Gibeah of 35] Saul. And Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death; ⁷² for Samuel mourned for Saul: and the LORD repented that he had made Saul king over Israel.

Two things of importance stand out in this story. One is the cruel and barbarous nature which the Hebrews believed Yahweh to possess, and the other the reason why they thought the kingdom was not continued in the family of Saul.

Yahweh was thought to be angry with Saul for not having given the Amalekites with their children and cattle to slaughter, and to be pleased with Samuel for hewing Agag, the Amalekite king, in pieces in the sanctuary. It was a hard age and the religion of Samuel, the best man of the period, was also hard. Later, as we shall see, Saul was attacked by fits of melancholia and insanity. This was explained by the supposition that, because he had displeased Yahweh in not mercilessly exterminating all the Amalekites, Yahweh had taken his good spirit from him and sent an evil spirit into him (1 Sam. 16:14).

A SECOND WAR WITH THE PHILISTINES AND THE COMING OF DAVID

After a time another war with the Philistines broke out—a war in which David by his valor became a popular hero. Two accounts of this are

⁶⁷ Heb. *divination*.

⁶⁸ Or, *iniquity*.

⁶⁹ See Gen. 31:19, 34.

⁷⁰ Or, *Victory*. Or, *Glory*.

⁷¹ Or, *cheerfully*.

⁷² Or, *but*.

woven together in *1 Samuel*. According to the older (J) account, David came to Saul's court as a musician, became after a time Saul's armour-bearer, and then a commander, who in the war won more victories than any one else. When the war was over he was the popular hero and Saul was jealous. According to the later (E) account, David, a little shepherd boy, was sent to the Hebrew camp by his father with some provisions for his brothers, and arrived just as Goliath, a Philistine, was challenging some Hebrew to single combat. As no Hebrew dared to accept the challenge, David volunteered and killed Goliath with a stone from his sling. In this account David was unknown to Saul until after this deed, but Saul then took him into his service and he became a popular hero. We give the two accounts in parallel columns.

THE YOUNGER (E) STORY, *1 Sam.*

17: 1-51, 55-58; 18: 1-4, 6-9

1 Sam. 17. Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and they were gathered together at Socoh, which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Socoh and Azekah, in Ephes-2] dammim. And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched in the vale of ⁷³ Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. 3] And the Philistines stood on the mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on the mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them. 4] And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six 5] cubits and a span. And he had an helmet of brass upon his head, and he was clad with a coat of mail; and the weight of the coat was five thousand 6] shekels of brass. And he had greaves of brass upon his legs, and a ⁷⁴ javelin 7] of brass between his shoulders. And the ⁷⁵ staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam; and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron: and his 8] shield-bearer went before him. And he stood and cried unto the ⁷⁶ armies of Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye come out to set your battle in array? am

THE OLDER (J) STORY, *1 Sam.*

16: 14-23; 18: 5, 30; *2 Sam.* 21: 19; *1 Sam.* 17: 52-54; 18: 10-16

1 Sam. 16. 14] Now the spirit of the LORD had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD ⁷⁷ troubled him. 15] And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold now, an evil spirit from God 16] troubleth thee. Let our lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man who is a cunning player on the harp: and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his 17] hand, and thou shalt be well. And Saul said unto his servants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring 18] him to me. Then answered one of the young men, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty man of valour, and a man of war, and ⁷⁸ prudent in ⁷⁹ speech, and a comely person, and the LORD is with him. 19] Wherefore Saul sent messengers unto Jesse, and said, Send me David thy 20] son, which is with the sheep. And Jesse took an ass laden with bread, and a ⁸⁰ bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent them by David his son unto Saul. 21] And David came to Saul, and stood before him: and he loved him greatly; and he became his armourbearer.

⁷³ Or, *the terebinth*.

⁷⁴ The Sept. and Vulgate have, *target*.

⁷⁵ Or, according to another reading, *blade*.

⁷⁶ Heb. *ranks* and in vv. 10, 21, 22, 26, &c.

⁷⁷ Or, *terrified*.

⁷⁸ Or, *skillful*.

⁷⁹ Or, *business*.

⁸⁰ Or, *skin*.

not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul? choose you a man for you, and 9] let him come down to me. If he be able to fight with me, and kill me, then will we be your servants: but if I prevail against him, and kill him, then shall 10] ye be our servants, and serve us. And the Philistine said, I ⁸¹ defy the armies of Israel this day; give me a man, that 11] we may fight together. And when Saul and all Israel heard those words of the Philistine, they were dismayed, and greatly afraid.

12] ⁸² Now David was the son of that Ephrathite of Beth-lehem-judah, whose name was Jesse; and he had eight sons: and the man was an old man in the days of Saul, stricken in years among men. 13] And the three eldest sons of Jesse had gone after Saul to the battle: and the names of his three sons that went to the battle were Eliab the firstborn, and next unto him Abinadab, and the 14] third Shammah. And David was the youngest: and the three eldest followed 15] Saul. Now David went to and fro from Saul to feed his father's sheep at 16] Beth-lehem. And the Philistine drew near morning and evening, and presented himself forty days.

17] And Jesse said unto David his son, Take now for thy brethren an ephah of this parched corn, and these ten loaves, and carry them *quickly* to the camp to thy brethren; and bring these ten cheeses unto the captain of their thousand, and look how thy brethren 19] fare, and take their pledge. Now Saul, and they, and all the men of Israel, ⁸³ were in the vale of Elah, fighting with 20] the Philistines. And David rose up early in the morning, and left the sheep with a keeper, and took, and went, as Jesse had commanded him; and he came to the ⁸⁴ place of the wagons, as the host which was going forth to the 21] ⁸⁵ fight shouted for the battle. And Israel and the Philistines put the battle

22] And Saul sent to Jesse, saying, Let David, I pray thee, stand before me; for he hath found favour in my sight. 23] And it came to pass, when the *evil* spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took the harp, and played with his hand: so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him.

18: 5. And David ⁸⁶ went out whithersoever Saul sent him, and ⁸⁷ behaved himself wisely: and Saul set him over the men of war, and it was good in the sight of all the people, and also in the sight of Saul's servants.

30] Then the princes of the Philistines went forth: and it came to pass, as often as they went forth, that David ⁸⁸ behaved himself more wisely than all the servants of Saul; so that his name was much ⁸⁹ set by.

2 Sam. 21: 19. And Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite slew ⁹⁰ Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.

1 Sam. 17: 52. And the men of Israel and of Judah arose, and shouted, and pursued the Philistines, until thou comest to ⁹¹ Gai, and to the gates of Ekron. And the wounded of the Philistines fell down by the way to ⁹² Shaaraim, even 53] unto Gath, and unto Ekron. And the children of Israel returned from chasing after the Philistines, and they 54] spoiled their camp. And David took the head of the Philistine, and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armour in his tent.

18. 10] And it came to pass on the morrow, that an evil spirit from God came mightily upon Saul, and he ⁹³ prophesied in the midst of the house: and David played with his hand, as he did day by day: and Saul had his spear 11] in his hand. And Saul cast the spear; for he said, I will smite David even to the wall. And David avoided out of his 12] presence twice. And Saul was afraid

81 Or, *reproach*.

82 The Sept. omits vv. 12-31 and 55-ch. 18: 5.

83 Or, *are*.

84 Or, *barricade*.

85 Or, *battle ground*.

86 Or, *went out*; *whithersoever Saul sent him, he &c.*

87 Or, *prospered*.

88 Or, *prospered more than*.

89 Heb. *precious*.

90 In 1 Chr. 20: 5, *the brother of Goliath*.

91 The Sept. has, *Gath*.

92 Or, *the two gates*.

93 Or, *raved*.

22] in array, army against army. And David left his baggage in the hand of the keeper of the baggage, and ran to the army, and came and saluted his brethren. 23] And as he talked with them, behold, there came up the champion, the Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, out of the ranks of the Philistines, and spake according to the same words: and David 24] heard them. And all the men of Israel, when they saw the man, fled from 25] him, and were sore afraid. And the men of Israel said, Have ye seen this man that is come up? surely to ⁸¹ defy Israel is he come up: and it shall be, that the man who killeth him, the king will enrich him with great riches, and will give him his daughter, and make 26] his father's house free in Israel. And David spake to the men that stood by him, saying, What shall be done to the man that killeth this Philistine, and taketh away the reproach from Israel? for who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should ⁸¹ defy the armies 27] of the living God? And the people answered him after this manner, saying, So shall it be done to the man 28] that killeth him. And Eliab his eldest brother heard when he spake unto the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David, and he said, Why art thou come down? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart; for thou art come down that thou mightest see the 29] battle. And David said, What have I now done? ⁹⁴ Is there not a cause? 30] And he turned away from him toward another, and spake after the same manner: and the people answered him 31] again after the former manner. And when the words were heard which David spake, they rehearsed them before 32] Saul; and he sent for him. And David said to Saul, Let no man's heart fail ⁹⁵ because of him; thy servant will go 33] and fight with this Philistine. And Saul said to David, Thou are not able

of David, because the LORD was with him, and was departed from Saul. 13] Therefore Saul removed him from him, and made him his captain over a thousand; and he went out and came in 14] before the people. And David ⁹⁶ behaved himself wisely in all his ways; 15] and the LORD was with him. And when Saul saw that he behaved himself very wisely, he stood in awe of him. 16] But all Israel and Judah loved David; for he went out and came in before them.

to go against this Philistine to fight with him: for thou art but a youth, and he a 34] a man of war from his youth. And David said unto Saul, Thy servant kept his father's sheep; ⁹⁷ and when there came a lion, or a bear, and took a lamb 35] out of the flock, I went out after him, and smote him, and delivered it out of his mouth: and when he arose against me, I caught him by his beard, and 36] smote him, and slew him. Thy servant smote both the lion and the bear: and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them, seeing he hath ⁹⁸ defied the armies of the living God. And David said, The LORD that delivered me out of the paw of the lion, and out of the paw of the bear, he will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine. And Saul said unto David, Go, and the LORD 38] shall be with thee. And Saul clad David with his apparel, and he put an helmet of brass upon his head, and he 39] clad him with a coat of mail. And David girded his sword upon his apparel, and he assayed to go; for he had not proved it. And David said unto Saul, I cannot go with these; for I have not proved them. And David put them off 40] him. And he took his staff in his hand, and chose him five smooth stones out of the ⁹⁹ brook, and put them in the shepherd's bag which he had, even in his scrip; and his sling was in his hand: and he drew near to the Philistine.

⁹⁴ Or, *Was it not but a word?*

⁹⁵ Or, *within him.*

⁹⁶ Or, *prospered.*

⁹⁷ Or, *and there came a lion and a bear . . . and I went out &c.*

⁹⁸ Or, *reproached.*

⁹⁹ Or, *torrent bed.*

41] And the Philistine came on and drew near unto David; and the man that bare 42] the shield went before him. And when the Philistine looked about, and saw David, he disdained him: for he was but a youth, and ruddy, and withal 43] of a fair countenance. And the Philistine said unto David, Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves? And the Philistine cursed David by his 44] gods. And the Philistine said to David, Come to me, and I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to 45] the beasts of the field. Then said David to the Philistine, Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a javelin: but I come to thee in the name of the LORD of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, which thou hast 46] ⁹⁸ defied. This day will the LORD deliver thee into mine hand; and I will smite thee, and take thine head from off thee; and I will give the carcases of the host of the Philistines this day unto the fowls of the air, and to the wild beasts of the earth; that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel: 47] and that all this assembly may know that the LORD saveth not with sword and spear: for the battle is the LORD's, and 48] he will give you into our hand. And it came to pass, when the Philistine arose, and came and drew nigh to meet David, that David hastened, and ran toward the army to meet the Philistine. 49] And David put his hand in his bag, and took thence a stone, and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead; and the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell upon his face to the 50] earth. So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and with a stone, and smote the Philistine, and slew him; but there was no sword in the hand of 51] David. Then David ran, and stood over the Philistine, and took his sword, and drew it out of the sheath thereof, and slew him, and cut off his head therewith. And when the Philistines saw that

their ¹⁰⁰ champion was dead, they fled.

55] And when Saul saw David go forth against the Philistine, he said unto Abner, the captain of the host, Abner, whose son is this youth? And Abner said, As thy soul liveth, O king, I cannot tell. And the king said, Inquire 57] thou whose son the stripling is. And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him, and brought him before Saul with the head 58] of the Philistine in his hand. And Saul said to him, Whose son art thou, thou young man? And David answered, I am the son of thy servant Jesse the Beth-lehemite.

18. And it came to pass, when he had made an end of speaking unto Saul, that the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved 2] him as his own soul. And Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house. 3] Then Jonathan and David made a covenant, because he loved him as his 4] own soul. And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his apparel, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.

6] And it came to pass as they came, when David returned from the slaughter of the ¹⁰¹ Philistine, that the women came out of all the cities of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet king Saul, with timbrels, with joy, and with ¹⁰² instruments of music. And the women ¹⁰³ sang one to another in their play, and said,

Saul hath slain his thousands,

And David his ten thousands.

8] And Saul was very wroth, and this saying displeased him; and he said, They have ascribed unto David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed but thousands: and what can he have more 9] but the kingdom? And Saul eyed David from that day and forward.

¹⁰⁰ Or, *mighty man*.

¹⁰¹ Or, *Philistines*.

¹⁰² Or, *triangles*. Or, *three-stringed instruments*.

¹⁰³ Or, *answered one another*.

These two accounts of how David came into Saul's service, how he won a decisive victory over the Philistines, how in consequence he became an object of Saul's enmity, differ in all points except the three essential facts that he defeated the Philistines, that he was in Saul's service, and that Saul became jealous of him and sought his death. According to J he went to Saul's court as a musician to charm away by his playing Saul's fits of melancholy. At the time he was already a man of military age. He became Saul's armor-bearer, then a commander, and one of his men killed Goliath. Afterward Saul, in his insanity, turned against him. According to E, David was a shepherd boy who came to camp by chance just in time to volunteer to fight Goliath with his sling. His almost miraculous victory, because of the exaggerated praise given it in popular song, awakened Saul's jealousy and prompted him to seek David's life. In all probability the J story is nearer to the actual facts.

TWO STORIES CONCERNING DAVID'S MARRIAGE TO SAUL'S DAUGHTER

E: 1 Sam. 18: 20-29

1 Sam. 18. 20] And Michal Saul's daughter loved David: and they told 21] Saul, and the thing pleased him. And Saul said, I will give him her, that she may be a snare to him, and that the hand of the Philistines may be against him. Wherefore Saul said to David, Thou shalt this day be my son in law a second 22] time. And Saul commanded his servants, saying, Commune with David secretly, and say, Behold, the king hath delight in thee, and all his servants love thee: now therefore be the king's son in 23] law. And Saul's servants spake those words in the ears of David. And David said, Seemeth it to you a light thing to be the king's son in law, seeing that I am a poor man, and lightly esteemed? 24] And the servants of Saul told him, saying, On this manner spake David. 25] And Saul said, Thus shall ye say to David, The king desireth not any dowry, but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines, to be avenged of the king's enemies. Now Saul thought to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines. 26] And when his servants told David these words, it pleased David well to be the king's son in law. And the days were

J: 1 Sam. 18: 17-19

1 Sam. 18. 17] And Saul said to David, Behold, my elder daughter Merab, her will I give thee to wife: only be thou valiant for me, and fight the LORD's battles. For Saul said, Let not mine hand be upon him, but let the hand of the 18] Philistines be upon him. And David said unto Saul, Who am I, and ¹⁰⁴ what is my life, or my father's family in Israel, that I should be son in law to the 19] king? But it came to pass at the time when Merab Saul's daughter should have been given to David, that she was given unto Adriel the Meholahite to wife.

27] not expired; and David arose and went, he and his men, and slew of the Philistines two hundred men; and David brought their foreskins, and they gave them in full tale to the king, that he might be the king's son in law. And Saul gave him Michal his daughter to wife. 28] And Saul saw and knew that the LORD was with David; and Michal Saul's 29] daughter loved him. And Saul was yet the more afraid of David; and Saul was David's enemy continually.

¹⁰⁴ Or, *who are my kinsfolk.*

Perhaps both of these accounts are historical. That Michal was actually David's wife is asserted by two other passages, one from J and one from E.

DAVID'S ESCAPE, I Sam. 19

1 Sam. 19. And Saul spake to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that 2] they should slay David. But Jonathan Saul's son delighted much in David. And Jonathan told David, saying, Saul my father seeketh to slay thee: now therefore, I pray thee, take heed to thyself in the morning, and abide in a secret 3] place, and hide thyself: and I will go out and stand beside my father in the field where thou art, and I will commune with my father of thee; and if 4] I see aught, I will tell thee. And Jonathan spake good of David unto Saul his father, and said unto him, Let not the king sin against his servant, against David; because he hath not sinned against thee, and because his works have been to thee-ward very good: for he put 5] his life in his hand, and smote the Philistine, and the LORD wrought a great ¹⁰⁵ victory for all Israel: thou sawest it, and didst rejoice: wherefore then wilt thou sin against innocent blood, to slay 6] David without a cause? And Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan: and Saul sware, As the LORD liveth, he 7] shall not be put to death. And Jonathan called David, and Jonathan shewed him all those things. And Jonathan brought David to Saul, and he was in his presence, as beforetime.

8] And there was war again: and David went out, and fought with the Philistines, and slew them with a great slaughter; and they fled before him. 9] And ¹⁰⁶ an evil spirit from the LORD was upon Saul, as he sat in his house with his spear in his hand; and David 10] played with his hand. And Saul sought to smite David even to the wall with the spear; but he slipped away out of Saul's presence, and he smote the spear into the wall: and David fled, and

11] escaped that night. And Saul sent messengers unto David's house, to watch him, and to slay him in the morning: and Michal David's wife told him, saying, If thou save not thy life to-night, to- 12] morrow thou shalt be slain. So Michal let David down through the window: and he went, and fled, and escaped. 13] And Michal took the teraphim, and laid it in the bed, and put a ¹⁰⁷ pillow of goats' hair at the head thereof, and covered it with the clothes. And when Saul sent messengers to take David, she 15] said, He is sick. And Saul sent the messengers to see David, saying, Bring him up to me in the bed, that I may 16] slay him. And when the messengers came in, behold, the teraphim was in the bed, with the ¹⁰⁷ pillow of goats' 17] hair at the head thereof. And Saul said unto Michal, Why hast thou deceived me thus, and let mine enemy go, that he is escaped? And Michal answered Saul, He said unto me, Let me go; why should I kill thee?

18] Now David fled, and escaped, and came to Samuel to Ramah, and told him all that Saul had done to him. And he and Samuel went and dwelt in Naioth. 19] And it was told Saul, saying, Behold, 20] David is at Naioth in Ramah. And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, the spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul, and 21] they also prophesied. And when it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they also prophesied. And Saul sent messenger's again the third time, and they 22] also prophesied. Then went he also to Ramah, and came to ¹⁰⁸ the great ¹⁰⁹ well that is in Secu: and he asked and said, Where are Samuel and David?

¹⁰⁵ Heb. *salvation*.

¹⁰⁶ Or, *the spirit of the LORD was evil toward Saul*.

¹⁰⁷ Or, *quilt*. Or, *network*.

¹⁰⁸ The Sept. has, *the well of the threshing-floor that is &c.*

¹⁰⁹ Or, *cistern*.

And one said, Behold, they be at Naioth 23] in Ramah. And he went thither to Naioth in Ramah: and the spirit of God came upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in

24] Ramah. And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and ¹¹⁰ lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?

DAVID'S FLIGHT, 1 Sam. 20: 1a; 21: 1—22: 2; 2 Sam. 23: 13—17;
1 Sam. 22: 3—5

1 Sam. 20. And David fled from Naioth in Ramah,

21. Then came David to Nob to Ahimelech the priest: and Ahimelech came to meet David trembling, and said unto him, Why art thou alone, and no man 2] with thee? And David said unto Ahimelech the priest, The king hath commanded me a business, and hath said unto me, Let no man know any thing of the business whereabout I send thee, and what I have commanded thee: and I have appointed the young men to such 3] and such a place. Now therefore what is under thine hand? give me five loaves of bread in mine hand, or whatsoever 4] there is present. And the priest answered David, and said, There is no common bread under mine hand, but there is holy bread; if only the young men have 5] kept themselves from women. And David answered the priest, and said unto him, Of a truth women have been kept from us about these three days; when I came out, the vessels of the young men were holy, ¹¹¹ though it was but a common journey; how much more then to- 6] day shall their vessels be holy? So the priest gave him holy bread: for there was no bread there but the shewbread, that was taken from before the LORD, to put hot bread in the day when it was 7] taken away. Now a certain man of the servants of Saul was there that day, detained before the LORD; and his name was Doeg the Edomite, the ¹¹² chiefest of the herdmen that belonged to Saul. 8] And David said unto Ahimelech, And is there not here under thine hand spear or sword? for I have neither brought my

sword nor my weapons with me, because 9] the king's business required haste. And the priest said, The sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom thou slewest in the vale of ¹¹³ Elah, behold, it is here wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod: if thou wilt take that, take it: for there is no other save that here. And David said, There is none like that; give it me.

10] And David arose, and fled that day for fear of Saul, and went to Achish 11] the king of Gath. And the servants of Achish said unto him, Is not this David the king of the land? did they not sing one to another of him in dances, saying,

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands?

12] And David laid up these words in his heart, and was sore afraid of Achish 13] the king of Gath. And he changed his behaviour before them, and feigned himself mad in their hands, and ¹¹⁴ scrambled on the doors of the gate, and let his 14] spittle fall down upon his beard. Then said Achish unto his servants, Lo ye see the man is mad: wherefore then have ye 15] brought him to me? Do I lack mad men, that ye have brought this fellow to play the mad man in my presence? shall this fellow come into my house?

22. David therefore departed thence, and escaped to the cave of Adullam: and when his brethren and all his father's house heard it, they went down thither 2] to him. And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was ¹¹⁵ discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became captain over them: and there were with him about four hundred men.

¹¹⁰ Or, fell.

¹¹¹ Or, and it may be used as common bread; and especially since today it will be holy in respect of their vessels.

¹¹² Or, mightiest.

¹¹³ Or, the terebinth.

¹¹⁴ Or, made marks.

¹¹⁵ Heb. bitter of soul.

2 Sam. 23. 13] And three of the thirty chief went down, and came to David in the harvest time unto the cave of Adullam; and the troop of the Philistines were encamped in the valley of Rephaim. 14] And David was then in the hold, and the garrison of the Philistines was then 15] in Beth-lehem. And David longed, and said, Oh that one would give me water to drink of the well of Beth-lehem, 16] which is by the gate! And the three mighty men brake through the host of the Philistines, and drew water out of the well of Beth-lehem, that was by the gate, and took it, and brought it to David: but he would not drink thereof, 17] but poured it out unto the LORD. And he said, Be it far from me, O LORD, that

I should do this: *shall I drink* the blood of the men that went ¹¹⁶ in jeopardy of their lives? therefore he would not drink it. These things did the three mighty men.

1 Sam. 22. 3] And David went thence to Mizpeh of Moab: and he said unto the king of Moab, Let my father and my mother, I pray thee, come forth, *and be* with you, till I know what God will do 4] for me. And he brought them before the king of Moab: and they dwelt with him all the while that David was in the 5] hold. And the prophet Gad said unto David, Abide not in the hold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah. Then David departed, and came into the forest of Hereth.

The section of *Samuel* just quoted brings vividly to our view the danger of David's flight, how by a ruse he obtained food and a sword, how his life was in danger in the Philistine city of Gath from which he escaped by feigning madness (insane people were thought to be possessed of a supernatural spirit), and how he hid in the Cave of Adullam in the territory of Judah, to which his kinsmen and all discontented people came, forming a band of outlaws of which David became the captain. Thereupon David took his parents away from Saul's dominions into the territory of Moab for safety, and there put them under the protection of the king of Moab.

DAVID AS AN OUTLAW

The first book of *Samuel*, from the sixth verse of chapter 22 to the thirty-first of chapter 30, is occupied with detailed stories of David's life as an outlaw, Saul's pursuits of him, and various attacks of the Philistines upon the territory of the Hebrews. We have first the vengeance of Saul upon the priests of Nob for having aided David's escape.

SAUL'S VENGEANCE ON THE PRIESTS OF NOB, 1 Sam. 22: 6-23

1 Sam. 22. 6] And Saul heard that David was discovered, and the men that were with him: now Saul was sitting in Gibeah, under the tamarisk tree ¹¹⁷ in Ramah, with his spear in his hand, and all his servants were standing about him. 7] And Saul said unto his servants that stood about him, Hear now ye Ben-

jamites; will the son of Jesse give every one of you fields and vineyards, will he make you all captains of thousands and 8] captains of hundreds; that all of you have conspired against me, and ¹¹⁸ there is none that discloseth to me when my son maketh a league with the son of Jesse, and there is none of you that is

¹¹⁶ Heb. *with their lives*.

¹¹⁷ Or, *on the height*.

¹¹⁸ Or, *there was none that disclosed it to me when my son made &c.*

sorry for me, or discloseth unto me that my son hath stirred up my servant against 9] me, to lie in wait, as at this day? Then answered Doeg the Edomite, which ¹¹⁹ stood by the servants of Saul, and said, I saw the son of Jesse coming to Nob, to Ahimelech the son of Ahitub. 10] And he inquired of the LORD for him, and gave him victuals, and gave him the sword of Goliath the Philistine. 11] Then the king sent to call Ahimelech the priest, the son of Ahitub, and all his father's house, the priests that were in Nob: and they came all of them 12] to the king. And Saul said, Hear now, thou son of Ahitub. And he answered, 13] Here I am, my lord. And Saul said unto him, Why have ye conspired against me, thou and the son of Jesse, in that thou hast given him bread, and a sword, and hast inquired of God for him, that he should rise against me, 14] to lie in wait, as at this day? Then Ahimelech answered the king, and said, And who among all thy servants is so faithful as David, which is the king's son in law, and is taken into thy council, and is honourable in thine house? 15] Have I to-day begun to inquire of God for him? be it far from me: let not the king impute any thing unto his servant, nor to all the house of my father: for thy servant knoweth nothing of all

16] this, less or more. And the king said, Thou shalt surely die, Ahimelech, thou, 17] and all thy father's house. And the king said unto the ¹²⁰ guard that stood about him, Turn, and slay the priests of the LORD; because their hand also is with David, and because they knew that he fled, and did not disclose it to me. But the servants of the king would not put forth their hand to fall upon the priests 18] of the LORD. And the king said to Doeg, Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and he slew on that day fourscore and five persons 19] that did wear a linen ephod. And Nob, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen and asses and sheep, with the edge of the 20] sword. And one of the sons of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub, named Abiathar escaped, and fled after David. 21] And Abiathar told David that Saul 22] had slain the LORD's priests. And David said unto Abiathar, I knew on that day, when Doeg the Edomite was there, that he would surely tell Saul: I have occasioned *the death* of all the persons 23] of thy father's house. Abide thou with me, fear not; for he that seeketh my life seeketh thy life: for with me thou shalt be in safeguard.

The vengeance of an absolute monarch in a crude age is well illustrated by the preceding story. Probably any government would, however, regard an act like that of Ahimelech as treason and mete out to its doer capital punishment, but only after a regular trial.

DAVID AND THE MEN OF KEILAH

David was now commander of a band of outlaws without visible means of support. There were two ways in which they could live: by stealing from their fellow Hebrews, or by inducing their countrymen to give them food in return for helpful service. David preferred the latter of the two methods. The following story tells how he aided the citizens of Keilah, a town in northwestern Judah, in repelling an attack of the Philistines, how he fled from that town when convinced that its people would deliver him into the hands of Saul, and how Saul pursued him.

¹¹⁹ Or, *was set over*.

¹²⁰ Heb. *runners*.

1 Sam. 23. And they told David, saying, Behold, the Philistines are fighting against Keilah, and they rob the thresh-
2] ing-floors. Therefore David inquired of the LORD, saying, Shall I go and smite these Philistines? And the LORD said unto David, Go and smite the Philis-
3] tines, and save Keilah. And David's men said unto him, Behold, we be afraid here in Judah: how much more then if we go to Keilah against the armies of
4] the Philistines? Then David inquired of the LORD yet again. And the LORD answered him and said, Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines
5] into thine hand. And David and his men went to Keilah, and fought with the Philistines, and brought away their cattle, and slew them with a great slaughter. So David saved the inhabitants of Keilah.

6] And it came to pass, when Abiathar the son of Ahimelech fled to David to Keilah, that he came down with an
7] ephod in his hand. And it was told Saul that David was come to Keilah. And Saul said, God hath ¹²¹ delivered him into mine hand; for he is shut in, by entering into a town that hath gates
8] and bars. And Saul summoned all the people to war, to go down to Keilah, to
9] besiege David and his men. And David knew that Saul devised mischief against him; and he said to Abiathar the priest,
10] Bring hither the ephod. Then said David, O LORD, the God of Israel, thy

servant hath surely heard that Saul seeketh to come to Keilah, to destroy the
11] city for my sake. Will the men of Keilah deliver me up into his hand? will Saul come down, as thy servant hath heard? O LORD, the God of Israel, I beseech thee, tell thy servant. And the
12] LORD said, He will come down. Then said David, Will the men of Keilah deliver up me and my men into the hand of Saul? And the LORD said, They will
13] deliver thee up. Then David and his men, which were about six hundred, arose and departed out of Keilah, and went whithersoever they could go. And it was told Saul that David was escaped from Keilah; and he forbore to go forth.

14] And David abode in the wilderness in the strong holds, and remained in the hill country in the wilderness of Ziph. And Saul sought him every day, but God
15] delivered him not into his hand. And David saw that Saul was come out to seek his life: and David was in the wilderness of Ziph in ¹²² the wood.
16] And Jonathan Saul's son arose, and went to David into ¹²² the wood, and
17] strengthened his hand in God. And he said unto him, Fear not: for the hand of Saul my father shall not find thee; and thou shalt be king over Israel, and I shall be next unto thee; and that also
18] Saul my father knoweth. And they two made a covenant before the LORD: and David abode in ¹²² the wood, and Jonathan went to his house.

THE ATTEMPT OF THE ZIPHITES TO BETRAY DAVID

One of the most interesting stories of David's outlaw life consists of the accounts of how the men of Ziph, a town on the edge of the Judean highlands about an hour and a half southeast of Hebron, betrayed David's whereabouts to Saul, how Saul ranged the region in pursuit of David, and how David spared Saul when the king was in his power. This was one of the most popular stories of David's outlaw life. Two accounts of it are woven into the text of *Samuel*. They are as follows:

THE YOUNGER (E) STORY,

1 Sam. 23: 19-24: 22

19] Then came up the Ziphites to Saul to Gibeah, saying, Doth not David hide

¹²¹ Heb. *alienated him*. The Sept. has, *sold*.

THE OLDER (J) STORY, 1 Sam.

26: 1-25

26. And the Ziphites came unto Saul to Gibeah, saying, Doth not David hide

¹²² Or, *Horesh*.

himself with us in the strong holds in ¹²³ the wood, in the hill of Hachilah, which is on the south of ¹²⁴ the desert? 20] Now therefore, O king, come down, according to all the desire of thy soul to come down; and our part shall be to deliver him up into the king's hand. And Saul said, Blessed be ye of the LORD; for ye have had compassion on me. 22] Go, I pray you, make yet more sure, and know and see his place where his ¹²⁵ haunt is, and who hath seen him there: for it is told me that he dealeth 23] very subtilly. See therefore, and take knowledge of all the lurking places where he hideth himself, and come ye again to me ¹²⁶ of a certainty, and I will go with you: and it shall come to pass, if he be in the land, that I will search him out among all the ¹²⁷ thousands of Judah. 24] And they arose, and went to Ziph before Saul: but David and his men were in the wilderness of Maon, in the ¹²⁸ Arabah on the south of ¹²⁴ the desert. 25] And Saul and his men went to seek him. And they told David: wherefore he came down to the rock, and abode in the wilderness of Maon. And when Saul heard *that*, he pursued after David in the 26] wilderness of Maon. And Saul went on this side of the mountain, and David and his men on that side of the mountain: and David made haste to get away for fear of Saul; for Saul and his men compassed David and his men round 27] about to take them. But there came a messenger unto Saul, saying, Haste thee, and come; for the Philistines have 28] made a raid upon the land. So Saul returned from pursuing after David, and went against the Philistines: therefore they called that place ¹²⁹ Sela- 29] hammahlekoth. And David went up from thence, and dwelt in the strong holds of En-gedi.

24. And it came to pass, when Saul was returned from following the Philistines, that it was told him, saying, Behold, David is in the wilderness of En-

himself in the hill of Hachilah, which is 2] before ¹³⁰ the desert? Then Saul arose, and went down to the wilderness of Ziph, having three thousand chosen men of Israel with him, to seek David in the 3] wilderness of Ziph. And Saul pitched in the hill of Hachilah, which is before the desert, by the way. But David abode in the wilderness, and he saw that Saul came after him into the wilderness. 4] David therefore sent out spies, and understood that Saul was come ¹³¹ of 5] a certainty. And David arose, and came to the place where Saul had pitched: and David beheld the place where Saul lay, and Abner the son of Ner, the captain of his host: and Saul lay within the ¹³² place of the wagons, and the people pitched round about him. 6] Then answered David and said to Ahimelech the Hittite, and to Abishai the son of Zeruiah, brother to Joab, saying, Who will go down with me to Saul to the camp? And Abishai said, I will go 7] down with thee. So David and Abishai came to the people by night: and, behold, Saul lay sleeping within the ¹³² place of the wagons, with his spear stuck in the ground at his head: and Abner and the people lay round about 8] him. Then said Abishai to David, God hath delivered up thine enemy into thine hand this day: now therefore let me smite him, I pray thee, with the spear to the earth at one stroke, and I will not 9] smite him the second time. And David said to Abishai, Destroy him not: for who can put forth his hand against 10] the LORD's anointed, and be guiltless? And David said, As the LORD liveth, the LORD shall smite him; ¹³³ or his day shall come to die; or he shall go 11] down into battle, and perish. The LORD forbid that I should put forth mine hand against the LORD's anointed: but now take, I pray thee, the spear that is at his head, and the cruse 12] of water, and let us go. So David took the spear and the cruse of water

¹²³ Or, *Horesk*.

¹²⁴ Or, *Jeshimon*.

¹²⁵ Heb. *foot*.

¹²⁶ Or, *with the certainty*. Or, *to a set place*.

¹²⁷ Or, *families*.

¹²⁸ See *Deut.* 1: 1.

¹²⁹ That is, *The rock of divisions or escape*. [Ch. 24: 1 in Heb.]

¹³⁰ Or, *Jeshimon*. See ch. 23: 19.

¹³¹ Or, *to a set place*. See ch. 23: 23.

¹³² Or, *barricade*.

¹³³ Or, *either*.

2] gedi. Then Saul took three thousand chosen men out of all Israel, and went to seek David and his men upon the rocks 3] of the wild goats. And he came to the sheepcotes by the way, where was a cave; and Saul went in to cover his feet. Now David and his men were ¹³⁴ abiding in the innermost parts of the cave. 4] And the men of David said unto him, Behold, the day of which the LORD said unto thee, Behold, I will deliver thine enemy into thine hand, and thou shalt do to him as it shall seem good unto thee. Then David arose, and cut off the skirt 5] of Saul's robe privily. And it came to pass afterward, that David's heart smote him, because he had cut off Saul's skirt. 6] And he said unto his men, The LORD forbid that I should do this thing unto my lord, the LORD's anointed, to put forth mine hand against him, seeing he is the 7] LORD's anointed. So David checked his men with these words, and suffered them not to rise against Saul. And Saul rose up out of the cave, and went on his 8] way. David also arose afterward, and went out of the cave, and cried after Saul, saying, My lord the king. And when Saul looked behind him, David bowed with his face to the earth, and did 9] obeisance. And David said to Saul, Wherefore hearkenest thou to men's words, saying, Behold, David seeketh 10] thy hurt? Behold, this day thine eyes have seen how that the LORD had delivered thee to-day into mine hand in the cave: and some bade me kill thee: but *mine eye* spared thee; and I said, I will not put forth mine hand against my lord; for he is the LORD's anointed. 11] Moreover, my father, see, yea, see the skirt of thy robe in my hand: for in that I cut off the skirt of thy robe, and killed thee not, know thou and see that there is neither evil nor transgression in mine hand, and I have not sinned against thee, though thou ¹³⁵ huntest 12] after my soul to take it. The LORD judge between me and thee, and the LORD avenge me of thee: but mine hand 13] shall not be upon thee. As saith the

from Saul's head; and they gat them away, and no man saw it, nor knew it, neither did any awake: for they were all asleep; because a deep sleep from 13] the LORD was fallen upon them. Then David went over to the other side, and stood on the top of the mountain afar off; a great space being between them: 14] and David cried to the people, and to Abner the son of Ner, saying, Answerest thou not, Abner? Then Abner answered and said, Who art thou that 15] criest to the king? And David said to Abner, Art not thou a *valiant* man? and who is like to thee in Israel? wherefore then hast thou not kept watch over thy lord the king? for there came one of the people in to destroy the king 16] thy lord. This thing is not good that thou hast done. As the LORD liveth, ye are ¹³⁶ worthy to die, because ye have not kept watch over your lord, the LORD's anointed. And now, see, where the king's spear is, and the cruse 17] of water that was at his head. And Saul knew David's voice, and said, Is this thy voice, my son David? And David said, It is my voice, my lord, O king. 18] And he said, Wherefore doth my lord pursue after his servant? for what have I done? or what evil is in mine 19] hand? Now therefore, I pray thee, let my lord the king hear the words of his servant. If it be the LORD that hath stirred thee up against me, let him ¹³⁷ accept an offering: but if it be the children of men, cursed be they before the LORD; for they have driven me out this day that I should ¹³⁸ not cleave unto the inheritance of the LORD, saying, Go, serve 20] other gods. Now therefore, let not my blood fall to the earth away from the presence of the LORD: for the king of Israel is come out to seek ¹³⁹ a flea, as when one doth hunt a partridge in the 21] mountains. Then said Saul, I have sinned: return, my son David: for I will no more do thee harm, because my life was precious in thine eyes this day: behold, I have played the fool, and have 22] erred exceedingly. And David an-

134 Or, *sitting*.

135 Or, *layest wait for*.

136 Heb. *sons of death*.

137 Heb. *smell*.

138 Or, *have no share in*.

139 The Sept. has, *my life*.

proverb of the ancients, Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness: but mine hand shall not be upon thee. 14] After whom is the king of Israel come out? after whom dost thou pursue? 15] after a dead dog, after a flea. The LORD therefore be judge, and give sentence between me and thee, and see, and plead my cause, and ¹⁴⁰ deliver me out of 16] thine hand. And it came to pass, when David had made an end of speaking these words unto Saul, that Saul said, Is this thy voice, my son David? And Saul lifted up his voice and wept. 17] And he said to David, Thou art more righteous than I: for thou hast rendered unto me good, whereas I have rendered unto thee evil. And thou hast declared this day how that thou hast dealt well with me: forasmuch as when the LORD had delivered me up into thine 19] hand, thou killedst me not. For if a man find his enemy, will he let him go well away? wherefore the LORD reward thee good for that thou hast done unto 20] me this day. And now, behold, I know that thou shalt surely be king, and

swered and said, Behold ¹⁴¹ the spear, O king! let then one of the young men 23] come over and fetch it. And the LORD shall render to every man his righteousness and his faithfulness: forasmuch as the LORD delivered thee into my hand to-day, and I would not put forth mine hand against the LORD's 24] anointed. And, behold, and thy life was much set by this day in mine eyes, so let my life be much set by in the eyes of the LORD, and let him deliver me out 25] of all tribulation. Then Saul said to David, Blessed be thou, my son David: thou shalt both do mightily, and shalt surely prevail. So David went his way, and Saul returned to his place.

that the kingdom of Israel shall be established in thine hand. Swear now therefore unto me by the LORD, that thou wilt not cut off my seed after me, and that thou wilt not destroy my name out 22] of my father's house. And David sware unto Saul. And Saul went home; but David and his men gat them up unto the hold.

While these two accounts differ as to the exact circumstances by which Saul came into David's power, they agree in the fact that he did, that David spared his life, and that Saul was thereby shamed into abandoning for the time his attempt to capture David.

DAVID WINTERS AT CARMEL IN JUDAH

About three quarters of an hour southwest of Ziph in the highlands of southern Judah are some broad fertile fields of great extent where in ancient times stood a village called Carmel, or "The Garden of God." It is one of the most fertile spots in Judah. Here lived a rich man whom the Bible names Nabal, or "Fool." Near his fields David and his men camped all winter. It should be remembered that in Palestine the crops grow in the winter. During these months the outlaws did no harm, but, when harvest came at the beginning of summer, David demanded a part of Nabal's crops as a reward for not having molested him! When Nabal refused, David threatened vengeance, but was dissuaded by a present from Nabal's wife, Abigail. A little later Nabal sickened and died, and David married Abigail. The vivid Biblical narrative of this is as follows:

1 Sam. 25. And Samuel died; and all Israel gathered themselves together, and

lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah. And David arose, and

¹⁴⁰ Heb. *give sentence for me.*

¹⁴¹ Another reading is, *the king's spear.*

went down to the wilderness of Paran.

2] And there was a man in Maon, whose ¹⁴² possessions were in Carmel; and the man was very great, and he had three thousand sheep, and a thousand goats: and he was shearing his sheep in 3] Carmel. Now the name of the man was Nabal; and the name of his wife Abigail: and the woman was of good understanding, and of a beautiful countenance: but the man was churlish and evil in his doings; and he was of the 4] house of Caleb. And David heard in the wilderness that Nabal did shear his 5] sheep. And David sent ten young men, and David said unto the young men, Get you up to Carmel, and go to Nabal, and 6] greet him in my name: and ¹⁴³ thus shall ye say ¹⁴⁴ to him that liveth *in prosperity*, Peace be both unto thee, and peace be to thine house, and peace be 7] unto all that thou hast. And now I have heard that thou hast shearers: thy shepherds have now been with us, and we ¹⁴⁵ did them no hurt, neither was there aught missing unto them, all the 8] while they were in Carmel. Ask thy young men, and they will tell thee: wherefore let the young men find favour in thine eyes; for we come in a good day: give, I pray thee, whatsoever cometh to thine hand, unto thy servants, and to 9] thy son David. And when David's young men came, they spake to Nabal according to all those words in the name 10] of David, and ¹⁴⁶ ceased. And Nabal answered David's servants, and said, Who is David? and who is the son of Jesse? there be many servants now a days that break away every man from 11] his master. Shall I then take my bread, and my water, and my ¹⁴⁷ flesh that I have killed for my shearers, and give it unto men of whom I know not 12] whence they be? So David's young men turned on their way, and went back, and came and told him according to all

13] these words. And David said unto his men, Gird ye on every man his sword. And they girded on every man his sword; and David also girded on his sword: and there went up after David about four hundred men; and two hundred abode 14] by the stuff. But one of the young men told Abigail, Nabal's wife, saying, Behold, David sent messengers out of the wilderness to ¹⁴⁸ salute our master; 15] and he ¹⁴⁹ flew upon them. But the men were very good unto us, and we were not ¹⁵⁰ hurt, neither missed we any thing, as long as we were conversant with them, when we were in the fields: 16] they were a wall unto us both by night and by day, all the while we were 17] with them keeping the sheep. Now therefore know and consider what thou wilt do; for evil is determined against our master, and against all his house: for he is such a ¹⁵¹ son of ¹⁵² Belial, that 18] one cannot speak to him. Then Abigail made haste, and took two hundred loaves, and two ¹⁵³ bottles of wine, and five sheep ready dressed, and five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, and laid them on asses. 19] And she said unto her young men, Go on before me; behold, I come after you. But she told not her husband Nabal. 20] And it was so, as she rode on her ass, and came down by the covert of the mountain, that, behold, David and his men came down against her; and she 21] met them. Now David had said, Surely in vain have I kept all that this fellow hath in the wilderness, so that nothing was missed of all that pertained unto him: and he hath returned me evil 22] for good. God do so ¹⁵⁴ unto the enemies of David, and more also, if I leave of all that pertain to him by the morning light ¹⁵⁵ so much as one man 23] child. And when Abigail saw David, she hastened, and lighted off her ass, and

¹⁴² Or, *business was*.

¹⁴³ Or, *thus shall ye say, All hail! and peace be unto thee &c.*

¹⁴⁴ The Vulgate has, *to my brethren*.

¹⁴⁵ Heb. *put them not to shame*.

¹⁴⁶ Or, *remained quiet*.

¹⁴⁷ Heb. *slaughter*.

¹⁴⁸ Heb. *bless*.

¹⁴⁹ Or, *railed on*.

¹⁵⁰ Heb. *put to shame*.

¹⁵¹ Or, *base fellow*.

¹⁵² That is, *worthlessness*.

¹⁵³ Or, *skins*.

¹⁵⁴ The Sept. has, *unto David*.

¹⁵⁵ Heb. *any that pisseth against the wall*.

fell before David on her face, and bowed
 24] herself to the ground. And she fell
 at his feet, and said, Upon me, my lord,
 upon me be the iniquity: and let thine
 handmaid, I pray thee, speak in thine
 ears, and hear thou the words of thine
 25] handmaid. Let not my lord, I pray
 thee, regard this ¹⁵¹ man of ¹⁵² Belial,
 even Nabal: for as his name is, so is he;
¹⁵⁶ Nabal is his name, and folly is with
 him: but I thine handmaid saw not the
 young men of my lord, whom thou didst
 26] send. Now therefore, my lord, as the
 LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, seeing
 the LORD hath withholden thee ¹⁵⁷ from
 bloodguiltiness, and from ¹⁵⁸ avenging
 thyself with thine own hand, now there-
 fore let thine enemies, and them that seek
 27] evil to my lord, be as Nabal. And
 now this ¹⁵⁹ present which thy servant
 hath brought unto my lord, let it be given
 unto the young men that follow my lord.
 28] Forgive, I pray thee, the trespass of
 thine handmaid: for the LORD will cer-
 tainly make my lord a sure house, be-
 cause my lord fighteth the battles of the
 LORD; and evil shall not be found in thee
 29] all thy days. And though man be
 risen up to pursue thee, and to seek thy
 soul, yet the soul of my lord shall be
 bound in the bundle of ¹⁶⁰ life with the
 LORD thy God; and the souls of thine
 enemies, them shall he sling out, as from
 30] the hollow of a sling. And it shall
 come to pass, when the LORD shall have
 done to my lord according to all the
 good that he hath spoken concerning thee,
 and shall have appointed thee prince over
 31] Israel; that this shall be no ¹⁶¹ grief
 unto thee, nor offence of heart unto my
 lord, ¹⁶² either that thou hast shed blood
 causeless, or that my lord hath avenged
 himself: and when the LORD shall have
 dealt well with my lord, then remember
 32] thine handmaid. And David said to
 Abigail, Blessed be the LORD, the God
 of Israel, which sent thee this day to
 33] meet me: and blessed be thy ¹⁶³ wis-

dom, and blessed be thou, which hast
 kept me this day from bloodguiltiness,
 and from avenging myself with mine own
 34] hand. For in very deed, as the LORD,
 the God of Israel, liveth, which hath
 withholden me from hurting thee, ex-
 cept thou hadst hastened and come to meet
 me, surely there had not been left unto
 Nabal by the morning light so much as
 35] one man child. So David received of
 her hand that which she had brought
 him: and he said unto her, Go up in peace
 to thine house; see, I have hearkened to
 thy voice, and have accepted thy person.
 36] And Abigail came to Nabal; and,
 behold, he held a feast in his house, like
 the feast of a king; and Nabal's heart
 was merry within him, for he was very
 drunken: wherefore she told him noth-
 ing, less or more, until the morning light.
 37] And it came to pass in the morning,
 when the wine was gone out of Nabal,
 that his wife told him these things, and
 his heart died within him, and he became
 38] as a stone. And it came to pass about
 ten days after, that the LORD smote
 39] Nabal, that he died. And when David
 heard that Nabal was dead, he said,
 Blessed be the LORD, that hath pleaded
 the cause of my reproach from the hand
 of Nabal, and hath kept back his serv-
 ant from evil: and the evil-doing of
 Nabal hath the LORD returned upon his
 own head. And David sent and ¹⁶⁴ spake
 concerning Abigail, to take her to him
 40] to wife. And when the servants of
 David were come to Abigail to Carmel,
 they spake unto her, saying, David hath
 sent us unto thee, to take thee to him to
 41] wife. And she arose, and bowed
 herself with her face to the earth, and
 said, Behold, thine handmaid is a serv-
 ant to wash the feet of the servants of
 42] my lord. And Abigail hastened, and
 arose, and rode upon an ass, with five
 damsels of hers that followed her; and
 she went after the messengers of David,
 43] and became his wife. David also

¹⁵⁶ That is, Fool.

¹⁵⁷ Heb. from coming into blood.

¹⁵⁸ Heb. thine own hand saving thee.

¹⁵⁹ Heb. blessing.

¹⁶⁰ Or, the living.

¹⁶¹ Heb. cause of staggering.

¹⁶² Or, so that thou shouldst shed &c.

¹⁶³ Or, discretion.

¹⁶⁴ See Cant. 8: 8.

took Ahinoam of Jezreel; and they be-
44] came both of them his wives. Now
Saul had given Michal his daughter,

David's wife, to ¹⁶⁵ Palti the son of
Laish, which was of Gallim.

DAVID IN THE SERVICE OF ACHISH, KING OF GATH

David, concluding that he could not always hope to escape the hand of Saul, fled the country, and entered the service of Achish, king of Gath, a Philistine. Achish, not liking to have a Hebrew too near his person, assigned David a residence in Ziklag, a Philistine city to the west of the south part of the territory of Judah. He was supposed to harass the Hebrews in the interest of the Philistines, but in reality time after time he raided and massacred ancient enemies of Israel, leaving not a soul to tell the tale, and sent large quantities of the booty obtained in these raids as presents to various Judean cities. It was a proceeding morally indefensible from our modern point of view, but the moral sense of David's time had not developed beyond this. Indeed, in modern warfare, in spite of knowing better, national leaders still do similar things. This procedure made David very popular in the cities of southern Judah. The account of it is as follows:

1 Sam. 27. And David said in his heart, I shall now perish one day by the hand of Saul: there is nothing better for me than that I should escape into the land of the Philistines; and Saul shall despair of me, to seek me any more in all the borders of Israel: so shall I escape out 2] of his land. And David arose, and passed over, he and the six hundred men that were with him, unto Achish the son 3] of Maach, king of Gath. And David dwelt with Achish at Gath, he and his men, every man with his household, even David with his two wives, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the Carmelitess, 4] Nabal's wife. And it was told Saul that David was fled to Gath: and he sought no more again for him.

5] And David said unto Achish, If now I have found grace in thine eyes, let them give me a place in one of the cities in the ¹⁶⁶ country, that I may dwell there: for why should thy servant dwell in the 6] royal city with thee? Then Achish gave him Ziklag that day; wherefore

Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day.

7] And the number of the days that David dwelt in the ¹⁶⁶ country of the Philistines was a full year and four 8] months. And David and his men went up, and made a raid upon the Geshurites, and the ¹⁶⁷ Girzites, and the Amalekites: for those *nations* were the inhabitants of the land, ¹⁶⁸ which were of old, as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land 9] of Egypt. And David smote the land, and saved neither man nor woman alive, and took away the sheep, and the oxen, and the asses, and the camels, and the apparel; and he returned, and came to 10] Achish. And Achish said, ¹⁶⁹ Whither have ye made a raid to-day? And David said, Against the South of Judah, and against the South of the Jerah-meelites, and against the South of the Kenites. 11] And David saved neither man nor woman alive, to bring them to Gath, saying, Lest they should tell on us, saying, So did David, and so hath been his

¹⁶⁵ In 2 Sam. 3: 15. *Paltiel*.

¹⁶⁶ Heb. *field*.

¹⁶⁷ Another reading is, *Girzites*.

¹⁶⁸ Some copies of the Sept. have, *from Telam*.

¹⁶⁹ So some ancient authorities. Other read, *Against whom*.

manner all the while he hath dwelt in 12] the ¹⁶⁶ country of the Philistines. And Achish believed David, saying, He hath made his people Israel utterly to abhor him; therefore he shall be my servant for ever.

30. And it came to pass, when David and his men were come to Ziklag on the third day, that the Amalekites had made a raid upon the South, and upon Ziklag, and had smitten Ziklag, and burned it 2] with fire; and had taken captive the women *and all* that were therein, both small and great: they slew not any, but carried them off, and went their way. 3] And when David and his men came to the city, behold, it was burned with fire; and their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, were taken captives. 4] Then David and the people that were with him lifted up their voice and wept, until they had no more power to weep. 5] And David's two wives were taken captives, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carmelite. 6] And David was greatly distressed; for the people spake of stoning him, because the soul of all the people was grieved, every man for his sons and for his daughters: but David strengthened himself in the LORD his God.

7] And David said to Abiathar the priest, the son of Ahimelech, I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the ephod to David. 8] And David inquired of the LORD, saying, ¹⁷⁰ If I pursue after this troop, shall I overtake them? And he answered him, Pursue: for thou shalt surely overtake *them*, and shalt without fail recover *all*. 9] So David went, he and the six hundred men that were with him, and came to the brook Besor, where those that 10] were left behind stayed. But David pursued, he and four hundred men: for two hundred stayed behind, which were so faint that they could not go over the 11] brook Besor: and they found an Egyptian in the field, and brought him to David, and gave him bread, and he did eat; and they gave him water to drink:

12] and they gave him a piece of a cake of figs, and two clusters of raisins; and when he had eaten, his spirit came again to him: for he had eaten no bread, nor drunk any water, three days and three 13] nights. And David said unto him, To whom belondest thou? and whence art thou? And he said, I am a young man of Egypt, servant to an Amalekite; and my master left me because three 14] days ago I fell sick. We made a raid upon the South of the Cherethites, and upon that which belongeth to Judah, and upon the South of Caleb; and we 15] burned Ziklag with fire. And David said to him, Wilt thou bring me down to this troop? And he said, Swear unto me by God, that thou wilt neither kill me, nor deliver me up into the hands of my master, and I will bring thee down 16] to this troop. And when he had brought him down, behold, they were spread abroad over all the ground, eating and drinking, and feasting, ¹⁷¹ because of all the great spoil that they had taken out of the land of the Philistines, 17] and out of the land of Judah. And David smote them from the twilight even unto the evening of the next day: and there escaped not a man of them, save four hundred young men, which 18] rode upon camels and fled. And David recovered all that the Amalekites had taken: and David rescued his two 19] wives. And there was nothing lacking to them, neither small nor great, neither sons nor daughters, neither spoil, nor any thing that they had taken to 20] them: David brought back all. And David took all the flocks and the herds, *which* they drave before those *other* cattle, and said, This is David's spoil. 21] And David came to the two hundred men, which were so faint that they could not follow David, whom also they had made to abide at the brook Besor: and they went forth to meet David, and to meet the people that were with him: and when David came near ¹⁷² to the people, 22] he ¹⁷³ saluted them. Then answered all the wicked men and ¹⁷⁴ men of

¹⁷⁰ Or, *Shall I pursue.*

¹⁷¹ Or, *amidst.*

¹⁷² Or, *with.*

¹⁷³ Or, *asked them their welfare.*

¹⁷⁴ Or, *base fellows.*

¹⁷⁵ Belial, of those that went with David, and said, Because they went not with us, we will not give them aught of the spoil that we have recovered, save to every man his wife and his children, that they may lead them away, and depart. 23] Then said David, Ye shall not do so, my brethren, with that which the LORD hath given unto us, who hath preserved us, and delivered the troop that came 24] against us into our hand. And who will hearken unto you in this matter? for as his share is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his share be that tarrieth by the stuff: they shall share alike. 25] And it was so from that day forward, that he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel, unto this day.

26] And when David came to Ziklag, he sent of the spoil unto the elders of

Judah, even to his friends, saying, Behold a ¹⁷⁶ present for you of the spoil 27] of the enemies of the LORD; to them which were in Beth-el, and to them which were in Ramoth of the South, and to 28] them which were in Jattir; and to them which were in Aroer; and to them which were in Siphmoth, and to them 29] which were in Eshtemoa; and to them which were in Racal, and to them which were in the cities of the Jerahmeelites, and to them which were in the 30] cities of the Kenites; and to them which were in Hormah, and to them which were in ¹⁷⁷ Cor-ashan, and to 31] them which were in Athach; and to them which were in Hebron, and to all the places where David himself and his men were wont to haunt.

SAUL'S LAST WAR WITH THE PHILISTINES AND HIS DEATH

While David had been building up political popularity in his own tribe of Judah, the Philistines had invaded the great Plain of Jezreel, captured the city of Bethshean at its eastern end, and Saul had entered his last deadly struggle with them. Saul led his army against them and took a strong position on Mount Gilboa on the south side of the Plain of Jezreel at its eastern end opposite Bethshean. In those days every one was anxious to know the future and thought there were ways of ascertaining what was going to happen. One of the ways of ascertaining it most popular among the Hebrews was casting lots; the instrument for doing this was a sacred contrivance of some sort called sometimes the "Urim" and sometimes an "ephod." (Perhaps these names belonged to different instruments, but, at any rate, both were used for casting lots.) Saul, anxious as to the issue of the battle on account of the numbers of the Philistines, sought some indication from God as to its issue, but received no answer either by the Urim or by a prophet. He therefore determined to seek out what in modern times we should call a medium, who could call up the spirit of Samuel, who had died a while before, as noted in *1 Samuel* 25: 1, and inquire of her. The story of this fills most of *1 Samuel* 28. It is as follows:

1 Sam. 28. And it came to pass in those days, that the Philistines gathered their ¹⁷⁸ hosts together for warfare, to fight with Israel. And Achish said unto David, Know thou assuredly, that thou shalt go out with me in the host, thou and thy

2] men. And David said to Achish, Therefore thou shalt know what thy servant will do. And Achish said to David, Therefore will I make thee keeper of mine head for ever.

3] Now Samuel was dead, and all

¹⁷⁵ That is, *worthlessness*.

¹⁷⁶ Heb. *blessing*.

¹⁷⁷ According to many MSS. and versions, *Borashan*.

¹⁷⁸ Heb. *camps*.

Israel had lamented him, and buried him in Ramah, even in his own city. And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards out of 4] the land. And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem: and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in 5] Gilboa. And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his 6] heart trembled greatly. And when Saul inquired of the LORD, the LORD answered him not, neither by dreams, nor 7] by Urim, nor by prophets. Then said Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and inquire of her. And his servants said to him, Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at En- 8] dor. And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and went, he and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night: and he said, Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I 9] shall name unto thee. And the woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land: wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to 10] cause me to die? And Saul sware to her by the LORD, saying, As the LORD liveth, there shall no ¹⁷⁹ punishment hap- 11] pen to thee for this thing. Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. 12] And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul. 13] And the king said unto her, Be not afraid: for what seest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I see ¹⁸⁰ a god 14] coming up out of the earth. And he said unto her, What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he bowed with his face to the ground, and did

15] obeisance. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed; for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by prophets, nor by dreams: therefore I have called thee, that thou mayest make 16] known unto me what I shall do. And Samuel said, Wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing the LORD is departed from thee, and ¹⁸¹ is become thine adversary? And the LORD hath ¹⁸² wrought for himself, as he spake by me: and the LORD hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy 18] neighbour, even to David. Because thou obeyedst not the voice of the LORD, and didst not execute his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the LORD done this thing unto thee this day. 19] Moreover the LORD will deliver Israel also with thee into the hand of the Philistines: and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me: the LORD shall deliver the host of Israel also into the 20] hand of the Philistines. Then Saul fell straightway his full length upon the earth, and was sore afraid, because of the words of Samuel: and there was no strength in him; for he had eaten no bread all the day, nor all the night. 21] And the woman came unto Saul, and saw that he was sore troubled, and said unto him, Behold, thine handmaid hath hearkened unto thy voice, and I have put my life in my hand, and have hearkened unto thy words which thou 22] spakest unto me. Now therefore, I pray thee, hearken thou also unto the voice of thine handmaid, and let me set a morsel of bread before thee; and eat, that thou mayest have strength, when 23] thou goest on thy way. But he refused, and said, I will not eat. But his servants, together with the woman, constrained him; and he hearkened unto their voice. So he arose from the earth, 24] and sat upon the bed. And the woman had a fatted calf in the house; and she

¹⁷⁹ Or, *guilt come upon thee.*

¹⁸⁰ Or, *gods.*

¹⁸¹ The Sept. has, *is on the side of thy neighbour.*

¹⁸² Or, *done unto him.* Some ancient authorities read, *done unto thee.*

hasted, and killed it; and she took flour, and kneaded it, and did bake unleavened 25] bread thereof: and she brought it

before Saul, and before his servants; and they did eat. Then they rose up, and went away that night.

The interview thus described was most disheartening and left Saul still more depressed.

At the beginning of *1 Samuel* 28 we are told that Achish, king of Gath, who as a member of the league of Philistine kings, was bound to go to the Plain of Jezreel to fight Saul, asked David, who was in his service, whether he would go with him to fight against the Hebrews. The story of the conversations of Achish and David on this subject is continued in *1 Samuel* 29 thus:

1 Sam. 29. Now the Philistines gathered together all their hosts to Aphek: and the Israelites pitched by the fountain which is in Jezreel. And the lords of the Philistines passed on by hundreds, and by thousands: and David and his men passed on in the rearward with 3] Achish. Then said the princes of the Philistines, What *do* these Hebrews *here*? And Achish said unto the princes of the Philistines, Is not this David, the servant of Saul the king of Israel, which hath been with me these days or these years, and I have found no fault in him since he fell away *unto me* unto this 4] day? But the princes of the Philistines were wroth with him; and the princes of the Philistines said unto him, Make the man return, that he may go back to his place where thou hast appointed him, and let him not go down with us to battle, lest in the battle he become an adversary to us: for wherewith should this *fellow* reconcile himself unto his lord? should it not be with the heads 5] of these men? Is not this David, of whom they sang one to another in dances, saying,

Saul hath slain his thousands,
And David his ten thousands?

6] Then Achish called David, and said unto him, As the LORD liveth, thou hast been upright, and thy going out and thy coming in with me in the host is good in my sight: for I have not found evil in thee since the day of thy coming unto me unto this day: nevertheless the lords 7] favour thee not. Wherefore now return, and go in peace, that thou displease 8] not the lords of the Philistines. And David said unto Achish, But what have I done? and what hast thou found in thy servant so long as I have been before thee unto this day, that I may not go and fight against the enemies of my lord the 9] king? And Achish answered and said to David, I know that thou art good in my sight, as an angel of God: notwithstanding the princes of the Philistines have said, He shall not go up with us to 10] the battle. Wherefore now rise up early in the morning with the servants of thy lord that are come with thee: and as soon as ye be up early in the morning, 11] and have light, depart. So David rose up early, he and his men, to depart in the morning, to return into the land of the Philistines. And the Philistines went up to Jezreel.

David was placed in a difficult position. Had he refused to join the Philistine army, he would have had to fight the army of Achish; on the other hand, to fight against his own king was treason. It is probable that, if Achish had let him go on to the war, he would have deserted in the battle and joined the Hebrew forces. That, however, would have been treachery to those who had given him asylum from the wrath of his own insane sovereign. The suspicion of the Philistines, by which he was forced to turn back, saved him from an awkward situation.

I Samuel closes with an account of the battle of Gilboa, in which the Philistines were victorious and Saul lost his life. It is as follows:

1 Sam. 31. ¹⁸³ Now the Philistines fought against Israel: and the men of Israel fled from before the Philistines, and 2] fell down ¹⁸⁴ slain in mount Gilboa. And the Philistines followed hard upon Saul and upon his sons; and the Philistines slew Jonathan, and ¹⁸⁵ Abinadab, 3] and Malchi-shua, the sons of Saul. And the battle went sore against Saul, and the archers overtook him; and he was greatly distressed by reason of the arch- 4] ers. Then said Saul to his armourbearer, Draw thy sword, and thrust me through therewith; lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through, and ¹⁸⁶ abuse me. But his armourbearer would not; for he was sore afraid. Therefore Saul took his sword, and fell 5] upon it. And when his armourbearer saw that Saul was dead, he likewise fell 6] upon his sword, and died with him. So Saul died, and his three sons, and his armourbearer, and all his men, that same 7] day together. And when the men of Israel that were on the other side of the valley, and they that were beyond Jor-

dan, saw that the men of Israel fled, and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook the cities, and fled; and the Philistines came and dwelt in them.

8] And it came to pass on the morrow, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, that they found Saul and his three 9] sons fallen in mount Gilboa. And they cut off his head, and stripped off his armour, and sent into the land of the Philistines round about, to carry the tidings unto the house of their idols, and 10] to the people. And they put his armour in the house of the Ashtaroth: and they fastened his body to the wall of 11] Beth-shan. And when the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead heard concerning him that which the Philistines had done to 12] Saul, all the valiant men arose, and went all night, and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the wall of Beth-shan; and they came to 13] Jabesh, and burnt them there. And they took their bones, and buried them under the tamarisk tree in Jabesh, and fasted seven days.

There is a pathetic nobility in this last act of Saul. Afflicted with fits of insane melancholy, outnumbered by the Philistines, whose weapons were superior to those of the Hebrews, informed by an oracle, in the truth of which he implicitly believed, that the Philistines would win and that he would die, he nevertheless went bravely into battle and did his best. Truly he had the spirit of a king! But for his mental malady, the outcome of his reign might have been different.

We do not know how long Saul reigned. If there ever was a statement about it in early copies of the Old Testament, it has been accidentally lost from the text. Probably it was between ten and twenty years. His whole reign was occupied with an unsuccessful struggle against the Philistines. At its close Israel was in worse plight than at its beginning. Now the Philistines had possession of the fertile Plain of Jezreel, including the walled city at its eastern end, and what was afterward Galilee was cut off from the rest of the country.

¹⁸³ See *1 Chr.* 10: 1-12.

¹⁸⁴ Or, *wounded*.

¹⁸⁵ In ch. 14: 49, *Ishvi*.

¹⁸⁶ Or, *make a mock of me*.

CHAPTER X

THE REIGN OF DAVID

WHEN Saul fell at Gilboa, David, who had, amid the exigencies of his life as an outlaw, developed into a resourceful leader, was still an exile in the Philistine country. How he heard of Saul's death is related thus :

DAVID LEARNS OF SAUL'S DEATH, *2 Sam. 1: 1-16*

2 Sam. 1. And it came to pass after the death of Saul, when David was returned from the slaughter of the Amalekites, and David had abode two days in Ziklag ; 2] it came even to pass on the third day, that, behold, a man came out of the camp from Saul with his clothes rent, and earth upon his head : and so it was, when he came to David, that he fell to the 3] earth, and did obeisance. And David said unto him, From whence comest thou? And he said unto him, Out of the 4] camp of Israel am I escaped. And David said unto him, How went the matter? I pray thee, tell me. And he answered, The people are fled from the battle, and many of the people also are fallen and dead ; and Saul and Jonathan 5] his son are dead also. And David said unto the young man that told him, How knowest thou that Saul and Jonathan his 6] son be dead? And the young man that told him said, As I happened by chance upon mount Gilboa, behold Saul leaned upon his spear ; and, lo, the chariot and the horsemen followed hard after him. 7] And when he looked behind him, he saw me, and called unto me. And I an- 8] swered, Here am I. And he said unto me, Who art thou? And I answered 9] him, I am an Amalekite. And he said

unto me, Stand, I pray thee, ¹ beside me, and slay me, for ² anguish hath taken hold of me ; because my life is yet whole 10] in me. So I stood ¹ beside him, and slew him, because I was sure that he could not live after that he was fallen : and I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was on his arm, and have brought them hither unto 11] my lord. Then David took hold on his clothes, and rent them ; and likewise 12] all the men that were with him : and they mourned, and wept, and fasted until even, for Saul, and for Jonathan his son, and for the people of the LORD, and for the house of Israel ; because they 13] were fallen by the sword. And David said unto the young man that told him, Whence art thou? And he answered, I am the son of a stranger, an Amalekite. 14] And David said unto him, How wast thou not afraid to put forth thine hand 15] to destroy the LORD's anointed? And David called one of the young men, and said, Go near, and fall upon him. And he 16] smote him that he died. And David said unto him, Thy blood be upon thy head ; for thy mouth hath testified against thee, saying, I have slain the LORD's anointed.

Having thus punished the Amalekite for having dared to take the life of "the Lord's Anointed" (a superstitious reverence was given to a king

¹ Or, *over*.

² Or, *giddiness*.

anointed with sacrificial oil; he was thought to be united to Yahweh in a special way), David composed a poetical lament on the death of Saul and Jonathan. The author of the books of *Samuel* copied it from a book called "The Book of Jashar," a collection of poems celebrating the deeds of Hebrew heroes from Joshua to Solomon, and from which three or four excerpts were made by Biblical writers. The book itself has not come down to us. Among later generations David was famed as a musician (see *Amos* 6: 5) and poet. So great did this reputation become that many of the psalms were attributed to him by post-exilic editors. As we shall see later, he wrote almost none of the psalms as we have them at present, but there is no reason to doubt that he composed the lament over Saul and Jonathan. Hebrew poetry does not rhyme. Its poetical form consists of lines of about equal length, the second of which repeats the thought of the first, or states a contrast to it, or sets forth a consequence of it.³ Bearing these facts in mind, one can appreciate the fine poetry of David's "Lament," even in translation.

DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN, 2 Sam. 1: 17-27

2 Sam. 1. 17] And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over 18] Jonathan his son: and he bade them teach the children of Judah *the song of the bow*: behold, it is written in the book of ⁴ Jashar.

19] ⁵ Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places!

How are the mighty fallen!

20] Tell it not in Gath,

Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon;

Lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice,

Lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.

21] Ye mountains of Gilboa,

Let there be no dew nor rain upon you, neither fields of offerings:

For there the shield of the mighty was ⁶ vilely cast away,

The shield of Saul, ⁷ not anointed with oil.

22] From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty,

The bow of Jonathan turned not back, And the sword of Saul returned not empty.

23] Saul and Jonathan were lovely and pleasant in their lives,

And in their death they were not divided;

They were swifter than eagles,

They were stronger than lions,

24] Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,

Who clothed you in scarlet ⁸ delicately, Who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel.

25] How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle!

⁹ Jonathan is slain upon thy high places.

26] I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan:

Very pleasant hast thou been unto me: Thy love to me was wonderful,

Passing the love of women.

27] How are the mighty fallen, And the weapons of war perished!

³ This form of poetry is called "parallelism"; it is really a kind of rhyming of the thought. The three kinds of parallelism, corresponding to the three types of couplet mentioned in the text, are "synonymous parallelism," "antithetic parallelism," and "progressive parallelism."

⁴ Or, *The Upright*.

⁵ Or, *The gazelle*.

⁶ Or, *defiled*.

⁷ Or, as of one *not anointed*.

⁸ Heb. *with delights*.

⁹ Or, *O Jonathan, slain &c.*

DAVID BECOMES KING OF JUDAH, *2 Sam. 2: 1-7*

2 Sam. 2. And it came to pass after this, that David inquired of the LORD, saying, Shall I go up into any of the cities of Judah? And the LORD said unto him, Go up. And David said, Whither shall I go up? And he said, 2] Unto Hebron. So David went up thither, and his two wives also, Ahinoam the Jezreelitess, and Abigail the wife 3] of Nabal the Carmelite. And his men that were with him did David bring up, every man with his household: and they dwelt in the cities of Hebron. 4] And the men of Judah came, and there they anointed David king over the house of Judah.

And they told David, saying, The men of Jabesh-gilead were they that 5] buried Saul. And David sent messengers unto the men of Jabesh-gilead, and said unto them, Blessed be ye of the LORD, that ye have shewed this kindness unto your lord, even unto Saul, and have 6] buried him. And now the LORD shew kindness and truth unto you: and I also will requite you this kindness, because 7] ye have done this thing. Now therefore let your hands be strong, and be ye valiant: for Saul your lord is dead, and also the house of Judah have anointed me king over them.

THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

Although David had become king of Judah, the rest of Israel was still loyal to the house of Saul. Abner, Saul's able general, now that Jonathan the crown prince was dead, took a younger son of Saul, named Ishbaal, and put him on the throne of Israel. Abner was the real ruler, Ishbaal a mere figurehead. At this time the word *baal*, which means simply "lord," "owner," "possessor," was applied to Yahweh. After the time of Hosea the Hebrews ceased to apply the term *baal* to Yahweh and kept it for Canaanite deities. As the books of *Samuel* were composed after that had happened, its compiler replaced the word *baal* by the word *bosheth*, which means "shame." As the word *ish* means "man" this change made the new king's name mean "Man-of-shame." It is perfectly certain that Saul never named his son that. He named him Ishbaal, "Man-of-the-Lord," or "The-Lord's-man," meaning, of course, "Yahweh's man." Ishbaal reigned seven and a half years. During most of this time there was war between Israel and Judah. The details of these wars and the intrigues of Abner and Joab (Joab was David's general) are recounted in *2 Samuel 2: 8-5: 3*, thus:

2 Sam. 2. 8] Now Abner the son of Ner, captain of Saul's host, had taken ¹⁰ Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, and brought him over to Mahanaim; and 9] he made him king over Gilead, and over the ¹¹ Ashurites, and over Jezreel, and over Ephraim, and over Benjamin, 10] and over all Israel. (Ish-bosheth Saul's son was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and he reigned

two years.) But the house of Judah 11] followed David. And the time that David was king in Hebron over the house of Judah was seven years and six months.

12] And Abner the son of Ner, and the servants of Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, went out from Mahanaim to Gibeon. And Joab the son of Zeruiah, and the servants of David, went out, and

10 In *1 Chr. 8: 33, 9: 39, Eshbaal.*

11 The Vulgate and Syriac have, *Geshurites.*

met ¹² them by the pool of Gibeon; and they sat down, the one on the one side of the pool, and the other on the other ¹⁴ side of the pool. And Abner said to Joab, Let the young men, I pray thee, arise and play before us. And Joab said ¹⁵ Let them arise. Then they arose and went over by number; twelve for Benjamin, and for Ish-bosheth the son of Saul, and twelve of the servants of David. ¹⁶ And they caught every one his fellow by the head, and *thrust* his sword in his fellow's side; so they fell down together: wherefore that place was called ¹⁸ Helkath-hazzurim, which ¹⁷ is in Gibeon. And the battle was very sore that day; and Abner was beaten, and the men of Israel, before ¹⁸ the servants of David. And the three sons of Zeruiah were there, Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel: and Asahel was as ¹⁹ light of foot ¹⁴ as a wild roe. And Asahel pursued after Abner; and in going he turned not to the right hand nor to ²⁰ the left from following Abner. Then Abner looked behind him, and said, Is it thou, Asahel? And he answered, It is ²¹ I. And Abner said to him, Turn thee aside to thy right hand or to thy left, and lay thee hold on one of the young men, and take thee his ¹⁵ armour. But Asahel would not turn aside from following of him. And Abner said again to Asahel, Turn thee aside from following me: wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother? ²³ Howbeit he refused to turn aside: wherefore Abner with the hinder end of the spear smote him in the belly, that the spear came out behind him; and he fell down there, and died in the same place: and it came to pass, that as many as came to the place where Asahel fell ²⁴ down and died stood still. But Joab and Abishai pursued after Abner: and the sun went down when they were come to the hill of Ammah, that lieth before Giah by the way of the wilderness of ²⁵ Gibeon. And the children of Ben-

jamin gathered themselves together after Abner, and became one band, and stood ²⁶ on the top of an hill. Then Abner called to Joab, and said, Shall the sword devour for ever? knowest thou not that it will be bitterness in the latter end? how long shall it be then, ere thou bid the people return from following their ²⁷ brethren? And Joab said, As God liveth, ¹⁶ if thou hadst not spoken, surely then ¹⁷ in the morning the people had gone away, nor followed every one his ²⁸ brother. So Joab blew the trumpet, and all the people stood still, and pursued after Israel no more, neither fought ²⁹ they any more. And Abner and his men went all that night through the Arabah: and they passed over Jordan, and went through all Bithron, and came ³⁰ to Mahanaim. And Joab returned from following Abner: and when he had gathered all the people together, there lacked of David's servants nine-³¹teen men and Asahel. But the servants of David had smitten of Benjamin, and of Abner's men, *so that* three hun-³²dred and three-score men died. And they took up Asahel, and buried him in the sepulchre of his father, which was in Beth-lehem. And Joab and his men went all night, and the day brake upon them at Hebron.

3. Now there was long war between the house of Saul and the house of David: and David waxed stronger and stronger, but the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker.

2] And unto David were sons born in Hebron: and his firstborn was Amnon, of Ahinoam the Jezreelitess; and his 3] second, Chileab, of Abigail the wife of Nabal the Carmelite; and the third, Absalom the son of Maacah the daughter of Talmai king of Geshur; and the fourth, Adonijah the son of Haggith; and the fifth, Shephatiah the son 5] of Abital; and the sixth, Ithream, of Eglah David's wife. These were born to David in Hebron.

6] And it came to pass, while there

¹² Heb. *them together*.

¹³ That is, *The field of the sharp knives*.

¹⁴ Heb. *as one of the roes that are in the field*.

¹⁵ Or, *spoils*. See *Jud.* 14: 19.

¹⁶ See ver. 14.

¹⁷ Heb. *from the morning*.

was war between the house of Saul and the house of David, that Abner ¹⁸ made himself strong in the house of 7] Saul. Now Saul had a concubine, whose name was Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah: and *Ish-bosheth* said to Abner, Wherefore hast thou gone into 8] my father's concubine? Then was Abner very wroth for the words of *Ish-bosheth*, and said, Am I a dog's head that belongeth to Judah? This day do I shew kindness unto the house of Saul thy father, to his brethren, and to his friends, and have not delivered thee into the hand of David, and yet thou chargest me this day with ¹⁹ a fault concerning this woman. God do so to Abner, and more also, if, as the LORD hath sworn to David, I do not even so to him; 10] to translate the kingdom from the house of Saul, and to set up the throne of David over Israel and over Judah, 11] from Dan even to Beer-sheba. And he could not answer Abner another word, because he feared him.

12] And Abner sent messengers to David ²⁰ on his behalf, saying, Whose is the land? saying *also*, Make thy league with me, and, behold, my hand shall be with thee, to bring about all Israel unto 13] thee. And he said, Well; I will make a league with thee: but one thing I require of thee, that is, thou shalt not see my face, except thou first bring Michal Saul's daughter, when thou comest to 14] see my face. And David sent messengers to *Ish-bosheth* Saul's son, saying, Deliver me my wife Michal, whom I betrothed to me for an hundred fore- 15] skins of the Philistines. And *Ish-bosheth* sent, and took her from her husband, even from ²¹ Paltiel the son of 16] Laish. And her husband went with her, weeping as he went, and followed her to Bahurim. Then said Abner unto him, Go, return: and he returned.

17] And Abner had communication with the elders of Israel, saying, In times past ye sought for David to be king 18] over you: now then do it: for the LORD hath spoken of David, saying, By

the hand of my servant David I will save my people Israel out of the hand of the Philistines, and out of the hand of all 19] their enemies. And Abner also spake in the ears of Benjamin: and Abner went also to speak in the ears of David in Hebron all that seemed good to Israel, and to the whole house of Benjamin. 20] So Abner came to David to Hebron, and twenty men with him. And David made Abner and the men that 21] were with him a feast. And Abner said unto David, I will arise and go, and will gather all Israel unto my lord the king, that they may make a covenant with thee, and that thou mayest reign over all that thy soul desireth. And David sent Abner away; and he went 22] in peace. And, behold, the servants of David and Joab came from ²² a foray, and brought in a great spoil with them: but Abner was not with David in Hebron; for he had sent him away, and he 23] was gone in peace. When Joab and all the host that was with him were come, they told Joab, saying, Abner the son of Ner came to the king, and he hath sent him away, and he is gone in 24] peace. Then Joab came to the king, and said, What hast thou done? behold, Abner came unto thee; why is it that thou hast sent him away, and he is quite 25] gone? Thou knowest Abner the son of Ner, that he came to deceive thee, and to know thy going out and thy coming in, and to know all that thou doest. 26] And when Joab was come out from David, he sent messengers after Abner, and they brought him back from the ²³ well of Sirah: but David knew it not. 27] And when Abner was returned to Hebron, Joab took him aside into the midst of the gate to speak with him quietly, and smote him there in the belly, and he died, for the blood of Asahel his 28] brother. And afterward when David heard it, he said, I and my kingdom are guiltless before the LORD for ever from the blood of Abner the son of Ner: 29] let it fall upon the head of Joab, and upon all his father's house; and let

18 Or, *shewed himself strong for.*

19 Or, *the fault of this woman.*

20 Or, *where he was.*

21 In 1 Sam. 25: 44, *Palti.*

22 Heb. *the troop.*

23 Or, *cistern.*

there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue, or that is a leper, or that leaneth on a staff, or that falleth by the sword, or that lacketh bread. 30] So Joab and Abishai his brother slew Abner, because he had killed their brother Asahel at Gibeon in the battle.

31] And David said to Joab, and to all the people that were with him, Rend your clothes, and gird you with sackcloth, and mourn before Abner. And 32] king David followed the bier. And they buried Abner in Hebron: and the king lifted up his voice, and wept at the grave of Abner; and all the people 33] wept. And the king lamented for Abner, and said,

Should Abner die as a fool dieth?

34] Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet put into fetters:

As a man falleth before the children of iniquity, so didst thou fall.

And all the people wept again over 35] him. And all the people came to cause David to eat bread while it was yet day; but David sware, saying, God do so to me, and more also, if I taste bread, or aught else, till the sun be 36] down. And all the people took notice of it, and it pleased them: as whatsoever the king did pleased all the people. 37] So all the people and all Israel understood that day that it was not of the king to slay Abner the son of Ner. 38] And the king said unto his servants, Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel? 39] And I am this day weak, though anointed king; and these men the sons of Zeruiah be too hard for me: the LORD reward the wicked doer according to his wickedness.

4. And when *Ish-bosheth*, Saul's son, heard that Abner was dead in Hebron, his hands became feeble, and all the 2] Israelites were troubled. And *Ish-bosheth*, Saul's son had two men that were captains of bands: the name of the one was Baanah, and the name of the other Rechab, the sons of Rimmon the

Beerothite, of the children of Benjamin: (for Beeroth also is reckoned to Benjamin: and the Beerothites fled to Gittaim, and have been sojourners there until this day.)

4] Now Jonathan, Saul's son, had a son that was lame of his feet. He was five years old when the tidings came of Saul and Jonathan out of Jezreel, and his nurse took him up, and fled: and it came to pass, as she made haste to flee, that he fell, and became lame. And his name was ²⁴ Mephibosheth.

5] And the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, Rechab and Baanah, went, and came about the heat of the day to the house of Ish-bosheth, as he took his rest 6] at noon. ²⁵ And ²⁶ they came thither into the midst of the house, as though they would have fetched wheat; and they smote him in the belly: and Rechab 7] and Baanah his brother escaped. Now when they came into the house, as he lay on his bed in his bedchamber, they smote him, and slew him, and beheaded him, and took his head, and went by the way 8] of the Arabah all night. And they brought the head of Ish-bosheth unto David to Hebron, and said to the king, Behold the head of Ish-bosheth the son of Saul thine enemy, which sought thy life, and the LORD hath avenged my lord the king this day of Saul, and of his 9] seed. And David answered Rechab and Baanah his brother, the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, and said unto them, As the LORD liveth, who hath redeemed my soul out of all adversity, when one 10] told me, saying, Behold, Saul is dead, thinking to have brought good tidings, I took hold of him, and slew him in Ziklag, which was the reward I gave him 11] for his tidings. How much more, when wicked men have slain a righteous person in his own house upon his bed, shall I not now require his blood of your hand, and take you away from the earth? 12] And David commanded his young men, and they slew them, and cut off their hands and their feet, and hanged

²⁴ In 1 Chr. 8: 34, 9: 40, Meribbaal.

²⁵ The Sept. has, And behold, the woman that kept the door of the house was winnowing wheat, and she slumbered and slept; and the

brethren, Rechab and Baanah, went privily into the house.

²⁶ Or, there came . . . men fetching wheat.

them up beside the pool in Hebron. But they took the head of Ish-bosheth, and buried it in the grave of Abner in Hebron.

5. Then came all the tribes of Israel to David unto Hebron, and spake, saying, Behold, we are thy bone and thy flesh. 2] In times past, when Saul was king over us, it was thou that leddest out and

broughtest in Israel: and the LORD said to thee, Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be ²⁷ prince over 3] Israel. So all the elders of Israel came to the king to Hebron; and king David made a covenant with them in Hebron before the LORD: and they anointed David king over Israel.

The foregoing passage makes it very clear that the dynasty of Saul was wiped out by treachery and murder. Joab, David's general, fearing that he was about to lose the supreme command of the army (which David was in reality offering to Abner to induce him to desert the house of Saul) assassinated Abner. David abhorred the deed, but profited by the consequences; he condemned Joab, but did not punish him. When the strong arm of Abner had been removed, others soon assassinated Ishbaal.

Now that the kingdom was united, David's next problem was to select a suitable capital. Hebron was a natural capital for Judah, but to continue to reside there would make him seem to the other tribes to be too exclusively a Judean king. Just on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin was the city of Jerusalem, which for two or three hundred years had been in the possession of a non-Hebrew tribe, the Jebusites. It was situated on a hill surrounded on three sides by deep valleys, so that its walls, running along the edges of the hill, made it a much easier city to defend than Hebron. This city David determined to take and make his capital.

DAVID CAPTURES JERUSALEM, 2 Sam. 5: 4-10

2 Sam. 5. 4] David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he 5] reigned forty years. In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months: and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years over all Israel and 6] Judah. ²⁸ And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David, saying, ²⁹ Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David can- 7] not come in hither. Nevertheless David took the strong hold of Zion; the

8] same is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, let him get up to the water-course, ³⁰ and *smite* the lame and the blind, ³¹ that are hated of David's soul. Wherefore they say, ³² There are the blind and the lame; he cannot come into 9] the house. And David dwelt in the strong hold, and called it the city of David. And David built round about 10] from Millo and inward. And David waxed greater and greater; for the LORD, the God of hosts was with him.

²⁷ Or, leader.

²⁸ See 1 Chr. 11: 4-9.

²⁹ Or, Thou shalt not come in hither, but the blind and the lame shall turn thee away.

³⁰ Or, and as for the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul—

³¹ Another reading is, that hate David's soul.

³² Or, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house.

The sixth verse of the preceding account is obscurely expressed, but it indicates that the Jebusites were sure that their walls, perched high on the brow of the hills, were so impregnable that their blind and lame could defend the city. Jerusalem, like Gezer and Gibeon, had an underground tunnel within the walls which enabled its inhabitants to go down to the well of Gihon, just under the east wall, and get water without exposing themselves to the enemy. The well had to be open on the outside to enable them to water their gardens in the Kidron valley. Joab, discovering the secret tunnel, managed to get a force across the well, went up through the tunnel, and, appearing suddenly in the city, took the defenders by surprise and captured the town. This tunnel is still in existence.⁸³

DAVID'S ALLIANCE WITH TYRE, 2 Sam. 5: 11-16

2 Sam. 5. 11] ³⁴ And Hiram king of Tyre sent messengers to David, and cedar trees, and carpenters, and masons: and 12] they built David an house. And David perceived that the LORD had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for his people Israel's sake.

13] And David took him more concubines and wives out of Jerusalem,

after he was come from Hebron: and there were yet sons and daughters born 14] to David. And these be the names of those that were born unto him in Jerusalem; Shammua, and Shobab, and Na- 15] than, and Solomon, and Ibhaz, and Elishua; and Nepheg, and Japhia; 16] and Elishama, and ³⁵ Eliada, and Eliphelet.

Tyre was one of the leading cities of Phenicia, and the one chiefly famed for commerce. The Phenicians were descendants of the Canaanites, who had come into Palestine between 1800 and 1600 B.C. A part of them gained a foothold on the narrow strip of land between the Lebanon Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea, and became sailors; they were the intermediaries and merchants of the period. The alliance with Tyre was not mere sentiment, but business. In the Lebanon Mountains cedar forests then grew, wood from which was eagerly sought. Centuries before, Babylonian kings had made expeditions thither to obtain it for use in building palaces and temples; Egyptian kings had as eagerly sought it, sometimes at great risk, for similar purposes. David, with the aid of the king of Tyre, now imported cedar for a palace, and, with it, hired Tyrian carpenters to construct the building properly. He determined to have a palace in keeping with his new dignity. As a part of the dignity of Oriental kings in that polygamous age consisted in the size of their households, David also added to the number of his wives.

⁸³ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Philadelphia, 1927, pp. 146, 204, and Fig. 241.

⁸⁴ See 1 Chr. 14: 1-16.

⁸⁵ In 1 Chr. 14: 7, *Beeliada*.

A PHILISTINE INVASION

While the Hebrew kingdom was divided and engaged in civil war, the Philistines were content to let their old enemies destroy one another. Now that the kingdom was united under an able monarch, like David, who had shown his prowess by capturing Jerusalem and fortifying himself in it, the case was different. They made an effort to crush the rising power of Israel. The account of this is as follows:

2 Sam. 5. 17] And when the Philistines heard that they had anointed David king over Israel, all the Philistines went up to seek David; and David heard of it, **18]** and went down to the hold. Now the Philistines had come and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim. **19]** And David inquired of the LORD, saying, Shall I go up against the Philistines? wilt thou deliver them into mine hand? And the LORD said unto David, Go up: for I will certainly deliver the **20]** Philistines into thine hand. And David came to Baal-perazim, and David smote them there; and he said, The LORD hath ³⁶ broken mine enemies before me, like the breach of waters. Therefore he called the name of that place

21] ³⁷ Baal-perazim. And they left their images there, and David and his men took them away.

22] And the Philistines came up yet again, and spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim. And when David inquired of the LORD, he said, Thou shalt not go up: make a circuit behind them, and come upon them over against the **24]** ³⁸ mulberry trees. And it shall be, when thou hearest the sound of marching in the tops of the mulberry trees, that then thou shalt bestir thyself: for then is the LORD gone out before thee to **25]** smite the host of the Philistines. And David did so, as the LORD commanded him; and smote the Philistines from ³⁹ Geba until thou come to Gezer.

These attacks had been directed against Jerusalem. The valley of Rephaim, where the final defeat occurred, is just southwest of that city. Although the defeat was decisive, the Philistines were not yet conquered.

OTHER PHILISTINE BATTLES, *2 Sam. 21: 15-19, 20b-22*

2 Sam. 21. 15] And the Philistines had war again with Israel; and David went down, and his servants with him, and fought against the Philistines: and David waxed faint. And Ishbi-benob, which was of the sons of the ⁴⁰ giant, the weight of whose spear was three hundred *shekels* of brass in weight, he being girded with ⁴¹ a new sword, **17]** thought to have slain David. But Abishai the son of Zeruiah succoured him, and smote the Philistine, and killed him. Then the men of David sware

unto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the lamp of Israel.

18] ⁴² And it came to pass after this, that there was again war with the Philistines at ⁴³ Gob: then Sibbecai the Hushathite slew ⁴⁴ Saph, which was of **19]** the sons of the ⁴⁰ giant. And there was again war with the Philistines at Gob: . . .

20] And there was again war at Gath, where was a man of great stature, that had on every hand six fingers, and on

³⁶ Or, broken forth upon mine enemies.

³⁷ That is, The place of breakings forth.

³⁸ Or, balsam trees.

³⁹ In *1 Chr.* 14: 16, Gibeon.

⁴⁰ Heb. Raphah.

⁴¹ Or, new armour.

⁴² See *1 Chr.* 20: 4-8.

⁴³ In *1 Chr.* 20: 4, Gezer.

⁴⁴ In *1 Chr.* 20: 4, Sippai.

every foot six toes, four and twenty in number; and he also was born to the 21] ⁴⁰ giant And when he ⁴⁵ defied Israel, Jonathan the son of ⁴⁶ Shimei David's

22] brother slew him. These four were born to the ⁴⁰ giant in Gath; and they fell by the hand of David, and by the hand of his servants.

This passage sums up in the form of a brief chronicle battles by which the Philistines were reduced for a time to a position of vassalage to Israel.

DAVID BRINGS THE ARK OF GOD TO JERUSALEM

The victory over the Philistines gave David leisure to think of other ways of adding distinction to his new capital, and he determined to bring the ark of God to it. This portable structure, of especial sanctity because it had been made by Moses and contained as a symbol of Yahweh a stone from his sacred mountain, had been brought by the Rachel-tribes and put into their temple at Shiloh, where it remained until captured by the Philistines at the death of Eli. How it was returned by the Philistines to Beth-shemesh has already been told. In one of his wars with the Philistines, Saul also had it in his camp (see *1 Sam.* 14: 18). What had been its fortunes between that and the time we have now reached, we do not know. This sacred object David now determined to bring to Jerusalem. The way in which it was done, the Bible tells thus:

2 *Sam.* 6. ⁴⁷ And David again gathered together all the chosen men of 2] Israel, thirty thousand. And David arose and went with all the people that were with him, from Baale Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of God, ⁴⁸ which is called by the Name, even the name of the LORD of hosts that ⁴⁹ sit- 3] teth upon the cherubim. And they set the ark of God upon a new cart, and brought it out of the house of Abinadab that was in ⁵⁰ the hill: and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drove the 4] new cart. And they brought it out of the house of Abinadab, which was in ⁵¹ the hill, with the ark of God: and 5] Ahio went before the ark. And David and all the house of Israel played before the LORD ⁵² with all manner of instruments made of ⁵³ fir wood, and with harps, and with psalteries, and with timbrels, and with ⁵⁴ castanets,

6] and with cymbals. And when they came to the threshing-floor of Nacon, Uzzah put forth *his hand* to the ark of God, and took hold of it; for the 7] oxen ⁵⁵ stumbled. And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Uzzah; and God smote him there for his ⁵⁶ error; and there he died by the ark of 8] God. And David was displeased, because the LORD had broken forth upon Uzzah: and he called that place ⁵⁷ Perez- 9] uzzah, unto this day. And David was afraid of the LORD that day; and he said, How shall the ark of the LORD come unto 10] me? So David would not remove the ark of the LORD unto him into the city of David; but David carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. And the ark of the LORD remained in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite three months: and the LORD blessed Obed-edom, and all his house.

⁴⁵ Or, *reproached*.

⁴⁶ In *1 Sam.* 16: 9, *Shammah*; in *1 Chr.* 2: 13, 20: 7, *Shimeah*.

⁴⁷ See *1 Chr.* 13: 5-14.

⁴⁸ Heb. *whereupon is called the Name*.

⁴⁹ Or, *dwelleth between*.

⁵⁰ Or, *Gibeah*.

⁵¹ Or, *Gibeah*.

⁵² See *1 Chr.* 13: 8.

⁵³ Or, *cypress*.

⁵⁴ Or, *sistra*.

⁵⁵ Or, *were restive*. Or, *threw it down*.

⁵⁶ Or, *rashness*.

⁵⁷ That is, *The breach of Uzzah*.

12] And it was told king David, saying, The LORD hath blessed the house of Obed-edom, and all that pertaineth unto him, because of the ark of God. ⁵⁸ And David went and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-edom into 13] the city of David with joy. And it was so, that when they that bare the ark of the LORD had gone six paces, he sacrificed an ox and a fatling. 14] And David danced before the LORD with all his might; and David was 15] girded with a linen ephod. So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the LORD with shouting, and 16] with the sound of the trumpet. And it was so, as the ark of the LORD came into the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at the window, and saw king David leaping and dancing before the LORD; and she de- 17] spised him in her heart. And they brought in the ark of the LORD, and set it in its place, in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it: and David offered burnt offerings and peace of- 18] ferings before the LORD. And when David had made an end of offering the

burnt offering and the peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the 19] LORD of hosts. And he dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, both to men and women, to every one a cake of bread, and a portion ⁵⁹ of *flesh*, and a cake of raisins. So all the people departed every 20] one to his house. Then David returned to bless his household. And Michal the daughter of Saul came out to meet David, and said, How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself to-day in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth 21] himself! And David said unto Michal, *It was* before the LORD, which chose me above thy father, and above all his house, to appoint me prince over the people of the LORD, over Israel: there- 22] fore will I play before the LORD. And I will be yet more vile than thus, and will be base in mine own sight: but of the handmaids which thou hast spoken of, of them shall I be had in honour. 23] And Michal the daughter of Saul had no child unto the day of her death.

The foregoing passage is important for an understanding of the history of the development of Hebrew ritual. The Levitical law (*Num.* 4) prescribes that the ark shall be touched only by Aaron and his sons, that, when it is moved, they shall carefully prepare it for transportation, and that then a certain division of the Levites (the Kohathites) shall carry it, but without touching it. This is from a late stratum of the P Document. How utterly unknown all this was in the time of David is shown by the fact that they carried the ark on an ox cart! Once, when an ox stumbled, Uzzah, who was walking beside it, put out his hand to steady the sacred structure so that it should receive no harm. At that moment he happened to fall dead, perhaps from heart disease, and it was inferred that Yahweh was angry because the ark was being moved. David accordingly desisted from his purpose and left the ark in the house of Obed-edom, where it remained three months. As nothing disastrous happened to Obed-edom during this time, but, on the contrary he prospered, it was inferred that Yahweh's anger had abated, and that the ark was not dangerous. David then brought it into Jerusalem with great rejoicing accompanied by a religious dance.

The seventh chapter of *2 Samuel* is from a late stratum of the E Docu-

⁵⁸ See *1 Chr.* 15: 25—16: 3.

⁵⁹ Or, of *wine*.

ment. It was written to account for the fact that the great king, David, did not build the temple. It cannot be regarded as a historical story; it is what a later writer supposed must have been. We therefore pass it over.

DAVID'S EMPIRE-BUILDING

The eighth chapter of *2 Samuel*, which is an extract from a very early chronicle, gives a summary of the wars by which David reduced the surrounding kingdoms to the position of tribute-paying vassals, and an account of the organization of his administration. It sums up the story of the earlier years of his reign thus:

2 Sam. 8. ⁶⁰ And after this it came to pass, that David smote the Philistines, and subdued them: and David took ⁶¹ the bridle of the mother city out of ²] the hand of the Philistines. And he smote Moab, and measured them with the line, making them to lie down on the ground; and he measured two lines to put to death, and one full line to keep alive. And the Moabites became servants to David, and brought presents. ³] David smote also Hadadezer the son of Rehob, king of Zobah, as he went to recover his dominion at ⁶² the River. And David took from him a thousand and seven hundred horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: and David houghed all the chariot horses, but reserved of ⁵] them for an hundred chariots. And when ⁶³ the Syrians of Damascus came to succour Hadadezer king of Zobah, David smote of ⁶⁴ the Syrians two and ⁶] twenty thousand men. Then David put garrisons in ⁶⁵ Syria of Damascus: and ⁶⁶ the Syrians became servants to David, and brought presents. And the LORD ⁶⁷ gave victory to David whithersoever ⁷] he went. And David took the shields of gold that were on the servants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jerusalem. ⁸] And from ⁶⁸ Bethah and from Berothai, cities of Hadadezer, king David took exceeding much brass. And when Toi

king of Hamath heard that David had smitten all the host of Hadadezer, ¹⁰] then Toi sent ⁶⁹ Joram his son unto king David, to ⁷⁰ salute him, and to bless him, because he had fought against Hadadezer and smitten him: for Hadadezer ⁶⁸ had wars with Toi. and ⁶⁹ Joram brought with him vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass: ¹¹] these also did king David dedicate unto the LORD, with the silver and gold that he dedicated of all the nations which ¹²] he subdued; of ⁷⁰ Syria, and of Moab, and of the children of Ammon, and of the Philistines, and of Amalek, and of the spoil of Hadadezer, son of ¹³] Rehob, king of Zobah. And David gat him a name when he returned from smiting of ⁷⁰ the Syrians in the Valley of Salt, even eighteen thousand men. ¹⁴] And he put garrisons in Edom; throughout all Edom put he garrisons, and all the Edomites became servants to David. And the LORD ⁶⁴ gave victory to David whithersoever he went.

¹⁵] And David reigned over all Israel; and David executed judgment and ¹⁶] justice unto all his people. And Joab the son of Zeruiah was over the host; and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was ¹⁷] ⁷¹ recorder: and Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests; and Seraiah was

⁶⁰ See *1 Chr.* 18.

⁶¹ Or, *Metheganimah*.

⁶² Another reading is, *the river Euphrates*.

⁶³ Heb. *Aram*.

⁶⁴ Or, *saved David*.

⁶⁵ In *1 Chr.* 18: 8, *Tibhath*.

⁶⁶ In *1 Chr.* 18: 10, *Hadoram*.

⁶⁷ Heb. *ask him of his welfare*.

⁶⁸ Heb. *was a man of wars*.

⁶⁹ Heb. *in his hand were*.

⁷⁰ Heb. *Aram*. According to some ancient authorities, *Edom*, as in *1 Chr.* 18: 11, 12, *Ps.* 60 title.

⁷¹ Or, *chronicler*.

18] ⁷² scribe; and Benaiah the son of | the Pelethites; and David's sons were
 Jehoiada ⁷³ was over the Cherethites and | ⁷⁴ priests.

David by his intrepid leadership and military genius thus built up for a few brief years a Hebrew empire. It was possible for him to do this, because Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt just at this period happened to be weak. A little more than a century before, Babylon had been powerful under Nebuchadnezzar I, but now it was impotently torn by contending dynasties. Just before 1100 B.C. Tiglath-pileser I, a great king of Assyria, had led his armies to the Mediterranean, but in the time of David Assyria had no leader capable of controlling neighboring states. Egypt, too, whose great kings had a few centuries before ruled Asia to the Euphrates, now under the twenty-first dynasty had lost all its Asiatic territory and was rapidly dwindling in power. Had any of these countries been under the sway of an able and energetic monarch, David's empire-building would not have been possible. Israel was now fortunate in her king, and David was fortunate to have lived just when he did. As it was, his brief period of power was ever looked back upon as the golden age of Hebrew history.

The statement that David made his sons priests has caused later Hebrews and modern translators, who thought the priestly laws from Moses, much trouble. The margin of the Revised Version shows this. There can be no doubt of the fact, however. It is only another item of the true historical picture of the development of the Hebrew religion, which modern historical study is restoring.

The story of the reign of David reaches its climax in *2 Samuel* 8. The rest of the second book of *Samuel* consists of miscellaneous stories, mostly from the J Document, some of which give details of one of the wars mentioned in the chronicle of chapter 8, some of which repeat court gossip of David's time, some relate natural calamities which befell in David's time, while others advance our knowledge of the history by telling of rebellions which occurred during David's last years. From these chapters we select only that which bears directly on the history.

DETAILS OF THE SUBJUGATION OF AMMON

East of the Jordan along the edge of the Arabian desert dwelt the Ammonites. We have met them before; Jephthah had fought with them; Saul had delivered the men of Jabesh from their power. They were Semites, remotely related to the Hebrews. Their capital was Rabbah, the modern Amman. The story of the Hebrew conquest of the Ammonites, by which they became a part of David's empire is as follows:

⁷² Or, *secretary*.

⁷³ So in ch. 20: 23, and *1 Chr.* 18: 17. The Hebrew text has, and the *Cherethites &c.*

⁷⁴ Or, *chief ministers*.

2 Sam. 10. ⁷⁵ And it came to pass after this, that the king of the children of Ammon died, and Hanun his son reigned 2] in his stead. And David said, I will shew kindness unto Hanun the son of Nahash, as his father shewed kindness unto me. So David sent by the hand of his servants to comfort him concerning his father. And David's servants came into the land of the children of Ammon. 3] But the princes of the children of Ammon said unto Hanun their lord, Thinkest thou that David doth honour thy father, that he hath sent comforters unto thee? hath not David sent his servants unto thee to search the city, and to 4] spy it out, and to overthrow it? So Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off the one half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them 5] away. When they told it unto David, he sent to meet them; for the men were greatly ashamed. And the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be 6] grown, and then return. And when the children of Ammon saw that they were become odious to David, the children of Ammon sent and hired the Syrians of Beth-rehob, and the Syrians of Zobah, twenty thousand footmen, and the king of Maacah with a thousand men, and 7] the men of Tob twelve thousand men. And when David heard of it, he sent Joab, and all the host of the mighty men. 8] And the children of Ammon came out, and put the battle in array at the entering in of the gate: and the Syrians of Zobah, and of Rehob, and the men of Tob and Maacah, were by themselves in the 9] field. Now when Joab saw that ⁷⁸ the battle was set against him before and behind, he chose of all the choice men of Israel, and put them in array against the 10] Syrians: and the rest of the people he committed into the hand of ⁷⁷ Abishai his brother, and he put them in array 11] against the children of Ammon. And he said, If the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me: but if the children of Ammon be too strong for

thee, then I will come and help thee. 12] Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that 13] which seemeth him good. So Joab and the people that were with him drew nigh unto the battle against the Syrians: 14] and they fled before him. And when the children of Ammon saw that the Syrians were fled, they likewise fled before Abishai, and entered into the city. Then Joab returned from the children of Ammon, and came to Jerusalem. 15] And when the Syrians saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they gathered themselves together. 16] And ⁷⁸ Hadarezer sent, and brought out the Syrians that were beyond the River: and they came to Helam, with Shobach the captain of the host of Hadarezer at their head. And it was told David; and he gathered all Israel together, and passed over Jordan, and came to Helam. And the Syrians set themselves in array against David, and fought 18] with him. And the Syrians fled before Israel; and David slew of the Syrians *the men* of seven hundred chariots, and forty thousand horsemen, and smote Shobach the captain of their host, that 19] he died there. And when all the kings that were servants to Hadarezer saw that they were put to the worse before Israel, they made peace with Israel, and served them. So the Syrians feared to help the children of Ammon any more.

11. ⁷⁹ And it came to pass, at the return of the year, at the time when kings go out *to battle*, that David sent Joab, and his servants with him, and all Israel; and they destroyed the children of Ammon, and besieged Rabbah. But David tarried at Jerusalem.

12. 26] ⁸⁰ Now Joab fought against Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and 27] took the royal city. And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, yea, I have taken 28] the city of waters. Now therefore gather the rest of the people together,

⁷⁵ See 1 Chr. 19.

⁷⁶ Heb. *the face of the battle was against.*

⁷⁷ Heb. *Abshai.*

⁷⁸ In ch. 8: 3, *Hadadazer.*

⁷⁹ See 1 Chr. 20: 1.

⁸⁰ See 1 Chr. 20: 1-3.

and encamp against the city, and take it: lest I take the city, and ⁸¹it be called 29] after my name. And David gathered all the people together, and went to Rab-
bah, and fought against it, and took it. 30] And he took the crown of ⁸²their king from off his head; and the weight thereof was a talent of gold, and *in it* *were* precious stones; and it was set on David's head. And he brought forth the

spoil of the city, exceeding much. 31] And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them ⁸³under saws, and ⁸³under harrows of iron, and ⁸³under axes of iron, and ⁸⁴made them pass through the ⁸⁵brick-kiln: and thus did he unto all the cities of the children of Ammon. And David and all the people returned unto Jerusalem.

The early part of the preceding account reveals in a vivid way certain possibilities of diplomatic intercourse three thousand years ago! No wonder that David was enraged to have his messengers so insulted. Perhaps this accounts in part for the barbarous treatment meted out to the conquerors after the victory. From a modern point of view such tortures are inexcusable. The ethics of war are still most unethical, and three thousand years ago they were even worse. *Mores silent inter arma*. "The royal city" in 2 Samuel 12:26 was the fortified palace. It is referred to in 12:27 as the "city of waters" because it was connected by an underground passage with a large covered cistern outside the walls, from which, in case of siege, water could be obtained.⁸⁶

DAVID'S KINDNESS TO MERIBAAL

David had loved Jonathan, the son of Saul, with a love unusual between men. In his "Lament" David had said:

"Thy love to me was wonderful,
Passing the love of women."

Indeed the love of David and Jonathan has, like that of Damon and Pythias among the Greeks, become proverbial. Now that he had become established in his kingdom, he determined to show special kindness to some descendant of Saul for Jonathan's sake. He found a crippled son of Jonathan named Meribaal whom he made one of his courtiers, though the compiler of the books of *Samuel* called him Meribosheth (for the same reason that he changed Ishbaal to Ishbosheth) and it afterward became further corrupted into Mephibosheth. The Bible tells the story thus:

2 Sam. 9. And David said, Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may shew him kindness for Jonathan's 2] sake? And there was of the house of Saul a servant whose name was Ziba,

and they called him unto David; and the king said unto him, Art thou Ziba? And 3] he said, Thy servant is he. And the king said, Is there not yet any of the house of Saul, that I may shew the

⁸¹ Heb. *my name be called upon it*.

⁸² Or, *Malcam*. See Zeph. 1:5.

⁸³ Or, *to*.

⁸⁶ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., 1927, p. 146.

⁸⁴ Or, with a slight change in the Hebrew text, *made them labour at*.

⁸⁵ Or, *brickmould*.

kindness of God unto him? And Ziba said unto the king, ⁸⁷ Jonathan hath yet 4] a son, which is lame on his feet. And the king said unto him, Where is he? And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he is in the house of Machir the son of Amiel, in Lo-debar. Then king David sent, and fetched him out of the house of Machir the son of Amiel, from Lo-debar. And Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul, came unto David, and fell on his face, and did obeisance. And David said, Mephibosheth. And he answered, Behold thy servant! And David said unto him, Fear not: for I will surely shew thee kindness for Jonathan thy father's sake, and will restore thee all the ⁸⁸ land of Saul thy father; and thou shalt eat bread at 8] my table continually. And he did obeisance, and said, What is thy servant, that thou shouldest look upon such a 9] dead dog as I am? Then the king

called to Ziba, Saul's servant, and said unto him, All that pertained to Saul and to all his house have I given unto thy 10] master's son. And thou shalt till the land for him, thou, and thy sons, and thy servants; and thou shalt bring in *the fruits*, that thy master's son may have bread to eat: but Mephibosheth thy master's son shall eat bread alway at my table. Now Ziba had fifteen sons and 11] twenty servants. Then said Ziba unto the king, According to all that my lord the king commandeth his servant, so shall thy servant do. ⁸⁹ As for Mephibosheth, *said the king*, he shall eat at my 12] table, as one of the king's sons. And Mephibosheth had a young son, whose name was Mica. And all that dwelt in the house of Ziba were servants unto 13] Mephibosheth. So Mephibosheth dwelt in Jerusalem: for he did eat continually at the king's table; and he was lame on both his feet.

A FAMINE AND ITS REMEDY

Palestine gains its fertility from the rainfall deposited by moist air driven by the west winds in from the Mediterranean. The rainfall occurs in the winter months, most of it between November and April. If during these months the rainfall reaches a depth of twenty-five to twenty-eight inches, the land produces good crops. If it amounts to only fifteen inches, there is not enough moisture to water the growing crops and a famine results. Many times in the history of the country have famines been caused in this way. During the reign of David the rainfall was inadequate for three successive years. Neither David nor any man of his time knew anything of meteorology; they thought that somehow Yahweh had been offended and consequently withheld his rain. How they thought they discovered the cause is told in the following story:

2 Sam. 21. And there was a famine in the days of David, three years, year after year; and David sought the face of the LORD. And the LORD said, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he put 2] to death the Gibeonites. And the king called the Gibeonites, and said unto them; (now the Gibeonites were not of the children of Israel, but of the rem-

nant of the Amorites; and the children of Israel had sworn unto them: and Saul sought to slay them in his zeal for the 3] children of Israel and Judah:) and David said unto the Gibeonites, What shall I do for you? and wherewith shall I make atonement, that ye may bless the 4] inheritance of the LORD? And the Gibeonites said unto him, It is no matter

⁸⁷ See ch. 4: 4.
⁸⁸ Heb. *field*.

⁸⁹ Or, *But Mephibosheth eateth &c.*

of silver or gold between us and Saul, or his house; ⁹⁰ neither is it for us to put any man to death in Israel. And he said, What ye shall say, that will I do for you. 5] And they said unto the king, The man that consumed us, and that devised against us, ⁹¹ *that* we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the borders of 6] Israel, let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the LORD in Gibeah of Saul, the chosen of the LORD. And the king said, 7] I will give them. But the king spared Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan the son of Saul, because of the Lord's oath that was between them, between David 8] and Jonathan the son of Saul. But the king took the two sons of Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, whom she bare unto Saul, Armoni and Mephibosheth; and the five sons of ⁹² Michal the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel the 9] son of Barzillai the Meholahite: and he delivered them into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the mountain before the LORD, and they fell *all* seven together: and they were put to death in the days of harvest, in the first

days at the beginning of barley harvest. 10] And Rizpah the daughter of Aiah took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest until water was poured upon them from heaven; and she suffered neither the birds of the air to rest on them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night. 11] And it was told David what Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, the concubine of 12] of Saul, had done. And David went and took the bones of Saul and the bones of Jonathan his son from the men of Jabesh-gilead, which had stolen them from the ⁹³ street of Beth-shan, where the Philistines had hanged them, in the day that the Philistines slew Saul in 13] Gilboa: and he brought up from thence the bones of Saul and the bones of Jonathan his son; and they gathered the bones of them that were hanged. 14] And they buried the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son in the country of Benjamin in Zela, in the sepulchre of Kish his father: and they performed all that the king commanded. And after that God was intreated for the land.

Deeply ingrained in the thought of all Semitic people was the principle of blood revenge. It was a kind of rough and ready justice born in the Arabian desert, the primitive home of the Semites, where it is still the fundamental law. It underlies many penalties in the Babylonian code of Hammurabi, and is found in every stratum of Hebrew laws.⁹⁴ It is summed up in the words: "Life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot."⁹⁵ So firm was the conviction that this law was a fundamental principle of justice, that the men of Gibeon persuaded David that Yahweh was withholding his rain because he was angry that the death of seven men of their town, who had been put to death by Saul, had never been avenged. The ghastly method which was adopted to appease Yahweh's anger was to hang seven descendants of Saul in the spring, just at the beginning of the dry season, and let them hang exposed to the vultures all summer. When autumn came once more, however, abundant rains fell, and the famine was broken. Naturally therefore it was thought that the real cause of the famine had at last been discovered and removed.

⁹⁰ Or, *neither for us shalt thou put any man to death in Israel.*

⁹¹ Or, *so that we have been destroyed.*

⁹⁴ See Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Part II, ch. XIII.

⁹⁵ The principle is embodied in different details in the various Hebrew codes; see *Ex.* 21: 24. *Deut.* 19: 21, and *Lev.* 24: 20.

⁹² In *1 Sam.* 18: 19, *Merab.*

⁹³ Or, *broad place.*

DAVID'S CENSUS AND ITS SUPPOSED CONSEQUENCES

At some time in David's reign, probably soon after he was firmly established on the throne, he determined to take a census of his people. It was a thoroughly statesmanlike measure. All stable governments have found such enumerations necessary as bases of taxation and military service. Such a thing had, however, never before been done in Israel, whose tribes had been free and unorganized. It was considered an invasion of popular rights and contrary to the will of Yahweh. A pestilence soon followed, which was thought to have been sent by Yahweh as a punishment. The narrative is told from a point of view in some respects highly imaginative. It is as follows:

2 Sam. 24. And again the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, Go, number Israel and Judah. 2] And the king said to Joab the captain of the host, which was with him, Go now to and fro through all the tribes of Israel, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, and number ye the people, that I may know the 3] sum of the people. And Joab said unto the king, Now the LORD thy God add unto the people, how many soever they be, an hundredfold, and may the eyes of my lord the king see it: but why doth my lord the king delight in this thing? 4] Notwithstanding the king's word prevailed against Joab, and against the captains of the host. And Joab and the captains of the host went out from the presence of the king, to number the people of Israel. And they passed over Jordan, and pitched in Aroer, on the right side of the city that is in the middle of the valley ⁹⁶ of Gad, and unto Jazer: 6] then they came to Gilead, and to the land of Tahtim-hodshi; and they came to Dan-jaan, and round about to Zidon, 7] and came to the strong hold of Tyre, and to all the cities of the Hivites, and of the Canaanites: and they went out to the south of Judah, at Beer-sheba. 8] So when they had gone to and fro through all the land, they came to Jerusalem at the end of nine months and 9] twenty days. And Joab gave up the sum of the numbering of the people unto the king: and there were in Israel eight

hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword; and the men of Judah were five hundred thousand men.

10] And David's heart smote him after that he had numbered the people. And David said unto the LORD, I have sinned greatly in that I have done: but now, O LORD, put away, I beseech thee, the iniquity of thy servant; for I have done very 11] foolishly. And when David rose up in the morning, the word of the LORD came unto the prophet Gad, David's seer, 12] saying, Go and speak unto David, Thus saith the LORD, I ⁹⁷ offer thee three things; choose thee one of them, that I 13] may do it unto thee. So Gad came to David, and told him, and said unto him, Shall seven years of famine come unto thee in thy land? or wilt thou flee three months before thy foes while they pursue thee? or shall there be three days' pestilence in thy land? now advise thee, and consider what answer I shall return 14] to him that sent me. And David said unto Gad, I am in a great strait: let us fall now into the hand of the LORD; for his mercies are ⁹⁸ great: and let me not 15] fall into the hand of man. So the LORD sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beer-sheba seventy thousand 16] men. And when the angel stretched out his hand toward Jerusalem to destroy it, the LORD repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is enough; now stay thine hand.

⁹⁶ Or, toward.

⁹⁷ Or, lay upon.

⁹⁸ Or, many.

And the angel of the LORD was by the threshing-floor of ⁹⁹ Araunah the Jeb-17] usite. And David spake unto the LORD when he saw the angel that smote the people, and said, Lo, I have sinned, and I have done perversely: but these sheep, what have they done? let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me, and against my father's house.

18] And Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, Go up, rear an altar unto the LORD in the threshing-floor of 19] Araunah the Jebusite. And David went up according to the saying of Gad, 20] as the LORD commanded. And Araunah looked forth, and saw the king and his servants ¹⁰⁰ coming on toward him: and Araunah went out, and bowed himself before the king with his face to the 21] ground. And Araunah said, Wherefore is my lord the king come to his servant? And David said, To buy the

threshing-floor of thee, to build an altar unto the LORD, that the plague may be 22] stayed from the people. And Araunah said unto David, Let my lord the king take and offer up what seemeth good unto him: behold, the oxen for the burnt offering, and the threshing instruments and the furniture of the oxen for 23] the wood: ¹⁰¹ all this, O king, doth Araunah give unto the king. And Araunah said unto the king, The LORD thy 24] God accept thee. And the king said unto Araunah, Nay; but I will verily buy it of thee at a price: neither will I offer burnt offerings unto the LORD my God which cost me nothing. So David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty 25] shekels of silver. And David built there an altar unto the LORD, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the LORD was intreated for the land, and the plague was stayed from Israel.

The obvious historical fact seems to be that a pestilence occurred, and that it was popularly attributed to Yahweh's anger that David had invaded the rights of his free people by taking a census. David himself accepted this explanation. The story that Yahweh gave David the choice as to what his punishment should be is an embellishment of later religious tradition. The belief until long after the time of David was that nothing happened in Israel without Yahweh's having willed it. The original writer of this story believed that Yahweh himself had tempted David to number the people in order that he might send the pestilence (see *2 Sam.* 24: 1), and the compiler of the books of *Samuel* let this explanation stand. When the books of *Chronicles* were written, about 300 B.C., Hebrews had come to believe that Satan, not Yahweh, caused evil, so in *1 Chronicles* 21: 1 Satan is said to have tempted David to this deed. Both books agree as to the main historical facts; they disagree only in their explanations, but each of these explanations is in accord with the theology of the century in which it was written.

Another interesting feature of this episode is that somehow (we do not know how) the plague was believed to have been stopped at the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, which was on the northern part of the eastern hill just north of the Jerusalem of David's time—that Jerusalem that was called "the city of David." Threshing in Palestine was done by strewing grain on a rock or on smoothly trodden ground and driving cattle over and over it until the grain was threshed out of the straw. This was always done in a sacred place, where the grain was

⁹⁹ Or, *Ornah*. In *1 Chr.* 21: 15, *Ornan*.
¹⁰⁰ Or, *passing over*.

¹⁰¹ Or, *all this did Araunah the king give*
 &c.

under the protection of a god. People could not trust one another, but no one would steal grain from a sacred place, lest a curse come upon him. Araunah's threshing-floor was, therefore, a sanctuary. Under it was a cave which had been regarded as a sacred place from time immemorial. Here, according to later tradition, Abraham had brought Isaac to offer him in sacrifice (*Gen. 22*). David is said to have purchased this threshing-floor and to have built an altar to Yahweh on it. He took the stopping of the plague there to be evidence that Yahweh had manifested himself there. Thus a Jebusite sanctuary became a sanctuary of Yahweh. It was here that Solomon afterward built his temple, and the altar which stood before his temple stood on the rock over the old sacred cave.

THE REBELLION OF ABSALOM

The last years of David's reign were disturbed by rebellions. The first of these, and the one most graphically described, was led by his own son Absalom. The story is as follows:

2 Sam. 15. And it came to pass after this, that Absalom prepared him a chariot and horses, and fifty men to run before him. And Absalom rose up early, and stood beside the way of the gate: and it was so, that when any man had a suit which should come to the king for judgement, then Absalom called unto him, and said, Of what city art thou? And he said, Thy servant is of one of the 3] tribes of Israel. And Absalom said unto him, See, thy matters are good and right; but there is no man deputed of the 4] king to hear thee. Absalom said moreover, Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me, and I 5] would do him justice! And it was so, that when any man came nigh to do him obeisance, he put forth his hand, and took hold of him, and kissed him. 6] And on this manner did Absalom to all Israel that came to the king for judgement: so Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel.

7] And it came to pass at the end of 102 forty years, that Absalom said unto the king, I pray thee, let me go and pay my vow, which I have vowed unto the

8] LORD, in Hebron. For thy servant vowed a vow while I abode at Geshur in 103 Syria, saying, If the LORD shall indeed bring me again to Jerusalem, then 9] I will 104 serve the LORD. And the king said unto him, Go in peace. So he arose, 10] and went to Hebron. But Absalom sent spies throughout all the tribes of Israel, saying, As soon as ye hear the sound of the trumpet, then ye shall say, 11] Absalom is king in Hebron. And with Absalom went two hundred men out of Jerusalem, that were invited, and went in their simplicity; and they knew 12] not any thing. And Absalom 105 sent for Ahithophel the Gilonite, David's counsellor, from his city, even from Giloh, while he offered the sacrifices. And the conspiracy was strong; for the people increased continually with Absalom.

13] And there came a messenger to David, saying, The hearts of the men of 14] Israel are after Absalom. And David said unto all his servants that were with him at Jerusalem, Arise, and let us flee; for else none of us shall escape from Absalom: make speed to depart, lest he overtake us quickly, and bring

102 According to some ancient authorities, four.

103 Heb. *Aram*.

104 Or, *worship*.

105 Or, *sent Ahithophel*.

down evil upon us, and smite the city 15] with the edge of the sword. And the king's servants said unto the king, Behold, thy servants are ready to do whatsoever my lord the king shall choose. 16] And the king went forth, and all his household after him. And the king left ten women, which were concubines, to 17] keep the house. And the king went forth, and all the people after him; and 18] they tarried ¹⁰⁶ in Beth-merhak. And all his servants passed on beside him; and all the Cherethites, and all the Pelethites, and all the Gittites, six hundred men which came after him from Gath, 19] passed on before the king. Then said the king to Ittai the Gittite, Wherefore goest thou also with us? return, and abide with the king: for thou art a stranger, and also an exile; *return* to thine 20] own place. Whereas thou camest but yesterday, should I this day make thee go up and down with us, seeing I go whither I may? return thou, and take back thy brethren; mercy and truth be 21] with thee. And Ittai answered the king, and said, As the LORD liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether for death or for life, even there also will 22] thy servant be. And David said to Ittai, Go and pass over. And Ittai the Gittite passed over, and all his men, and all the little ones that were with him. 23] And all the country wept with a loud voice, and all the people passed over: the king also himself passed over the brook Kidron, and all the people passed over, toward the way of the wilderness. And, lo, Zadok also *came*, and all the Levites with him, bearing the ark of the covenant of God; and they set down the ark of God, and Abiathar went up, until all the people had done 25] passing out of the city. And the king said unto Zadok, Carry back the ark of God into the city: if I shall find favour in the eyes of the LORD, he will bring me again, and shew me both it, and 26] his habitation: but if he say thus, I have no delight in thee; behold, here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good

27] unto him. The king said also unto Zadok the priest, ¹⁰⁷ Art thou *not* a seer? return into the city in peace, and your two sons with you, Ahimaaz thy son, and Jonathan the son of Abiathar. 28] See, I will tarry ¹⁰⁸ at the fords of the wilderness, until there come word 29] from you to certify me. Zadok therefore and Abiathar carried the ark of God again to Jerusalem: and they abode there.

30] And David went up by the ascent of the *mount of Olives*, and wept as he went up; and he had his head covered, and went barefoot: and all the people that were with him covered every man his head, and they went up, weeping as 31] they went up. And one told David, saying, Ahithophel is among the conspirators with Absalom. And David said, O LORD, I pray thee, turn the counsel 32] of Ahithophel into foolishness. And it came to pass, that when David was come to the top of *the ascent*, ¹⁰⁹ where God was worshipped, behold, Hushai the Archite came to meet him with his coat rent, and earth upon his head: 33] and David said unto him, If thou passest on with me, then thou shalt be a 34] burden unto me: but if thou return to the city, and say unto Absalom, I will be thy servant, O king; as I have been thy father's servant in time past, so will I now be thy servant: then shalt thou de- 35] feat for me the counsel of Ahithophel. And hast thou not there with thee Zadok and Abiathar the priests? therefore it shall be, that what thing soever thou shalt hear out of the king's house, thou shalt tell it to Zadok and Abiathar 36] the priests. Behold, they have there with them their two sons, Ahimaaz Zadok's son, and Jonathan Abiathar's son; and by them ye shall send unto me every- 37] thing that ye shall hear. So Hushai David's friend came into the city; and Absalom came into Jerusalem.

16. And when David was a little past the top of *the ascent*, behold, Ziba the servant of Mephibosheth met him, with a couple of asses saddled, and upon them two hundred loaves of bread, and an hun-

¹⁰⁶ Or, at the *Far House*.

¹⁰⁷ Or, *Seest thou?*

¹⁰⁸ Another reading is, *in the plains*.

¹⁰⁹ Or, *where he was wont to worship God*.

dred clusters of raisins, and an hundred of summer fruits, and a ¹¹⁰ bottle of wine. And the king said unto Ziba, What meanest thou by these? And Ziba said, The asses be for the king's household to ride on; and the bread and summer fruit for the young men to eat; and the wine, that such as be faint in the wilderness 3] may drink. And the king said, And where is thy master's son? And Ziba said unto the king, Behold, he abideth at Jerusalem: for he said, To-day shall the house of Israel restore me the kingdom 4] of my father. Then said the king to Ziba, Behold, thine is all that pertaineth, unto Mephibosheth. And Ziba said, I do obeisance; let me find favour in thy sight, my lord, O king.

5] And when king David came to Bahurim, behold, there came out thence a man of the family of the house of Saul, whose name was Shimei, the son of Gera: he came out, and cursed still as he 6] came. And he cast stones at David, and at all the servants of king David: and all the people and all the mighty men were on his right hand and on his 7] left. And thus said Shimei when he cursed, Begone, begone, thou man of 8] blood, and man of ¹¹¹ Belial: the LORD hath returned upon thee all the blood of the house of Saul, in whose stead thou hast reigned; and the LORD hath delivered the kingdom into the hand of Absalom thy son: and, behold, thou art *taken* in thine own mischief, because 9] thou art a man of blood. Then said Abishai the son of Zeruiah unto the king, Why should this dead dog curse my lord the king? let me go over, I pray thee, 10] and take off his head. And the king said, What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah? ¹¹² Because he curseth, and because the LORD hath said unto him, Curse David; who then shall say, 11] Wherefore hast thou done so? And David said to Abishai, and to all his servants, Behold, my son, which came forth of my bowels, seeketh my life: how much more *may* this Benjamite now

do it? let him alone, and let him curse; 12] for the LORD hath bidden him. It may be that the LORD will look on ¹¹³ the wrong done unto me, and that the LORD will requite me good for *his* cursing of 13] me this day. So David and his men went by the way: and Shimei went along on the hill side over against him, and cursed as he went, and threw stones 14] ¹¹⁴ at him, and cast dust. And the king, and all the people that were with him, came ¹¹⁵ weary; and he refreshed himself there.

15] And Absalom, and all the people the men of Israel, came to Jerusalem, 16] and Ahithophel with him. And it came to pass, when Hushai the Archite, David's friend, was come unto Absalom, that Hushai said unto Absalom, ¹¹⁶ God save the king, God save the king. 17] And Absalom said to Hushai, Is this thy kindness to thy friend? why wastest thou not with thy friend? 18] And Hushai said unto Absalom, Nay; but whom the LORD, and this people, and all the men of Israel have chosen, his will I be, and with him will 19] I abide. And again, whom should I serve? *should* I not *serve* in the presence of his son? as I have served in thy father's presence, so will I be in thy presence. 20] Then said Absalom to Ahithophel, Give your counsel what we shall 21] do. And Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Go in unto thy father's concubines, which he hath left to keep the house; and all Israel shall hear that thou art abhorred of thy father: then shall the hands of all that are with thee be 22] strong. So they spread Absalom a tent upon the top of the house; and Absalom went in unto his father's concubines 23] in the sight of all Israel. And the counsel of Ahithophel, which he counselled in those days, was as if a man inquired at the ¹¹⁷ oracle of God: so was all the counsel of Ahithophel both with David and with Absalom.

17. Moreover Ahithophel said unto Absalom, Let me now choose out twelve

¹¹⁰ Or, *skin*.

¹¹¹ That is, *worthlessness*.

¹¹² Or, *When he curseth, and when &c.* Another reading is, *So let him curse, because.*

¹¹³ Some ancient versions read, *my affliction*.

¹¹⁴ Heb. *over against*.

¹¹⁵ Or, *to Ayeephim*.

¹¹⁶ Heb. *Let the king live*.

¹¹⁷ Heb. *word*.

thousand men, and I will arise and pursue after David this night: and I will come upon him while he is weary and weak handed, and will make him afraid: and all the people that are with him shall flee; and I will smite the king only: 3] and I will bring back all the people unto thee: the man whom thou seekest is as if all returned: so all the people 4] shall be in peace. And the saying pleased Absalom well, and all the elders of Israel.

5] Then said Absalom, Call now Hushai the Archite also, and let us hear 6] likewise what he saith. And when Hushai was come to Absalom, Absalom spake unto him, saying Ahithophel hath spoken after this manner: shall we do 7] after his saying? if not, speak thou. And Hushai said unto Absalom, The counsel that Ahithophel hath given this 8] time is not good. Hushai said moreover, Thou knowest thy father and his men, that they be mighty men, and they be ¹¹⁸ chafed in their minds, as a bear robbed of her whelps in the field: and thy father is a man of war, and will not 9] lodge with the people. Behold, he is hid now in some pit, or in some other place: and it will come to pass, ¹¹⁹ when some of them be fallen at the first, that whosoever heareth it will say, There is a slaughter among the people that follow Absalom. And even he that is valiant, whose heart is as the heart of a lion, shall utterly melt: for all Israel knoweth that thy father is a mighty man, and they which be with him are 11] valiant men. But I counsel that all Israel be gathered together unto thee, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, as the sand that is by the sea for multitude; and ¹²⁰ that thou go to battle in thine 12] own person. So shall we come upon him in some place where he shall be found, and we will light upon him as the dew falleth on the ground: and of him and of all the men that are with him we will not leave so much as one.

13] Moreover, if he ¹²¹ be gotten into a city, then shall all Israel bring ropes to that city, and we will draw it into the river, until there be not one small stone 14] found there. And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahithophel. For the LORD had ordained to defeat the good counsel of Ahithophel, to the intent that the LORD might bring evil upon Absalom.

15] Then said Hushai unto Zadok and to Abiathar the priests, Thus and thus did Ahithophel counsel Absalom and the elders of Israel; and thus and thus have 16] I counselled. Now therefore send quickly, and tell David, saying, Lodge not this night ¹²² at the fords of the wilderness, but in any wise pass over; lest the king be swallowed up, and all the 17] people that are with him. ¹²³ Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz stayed by En-rogel; and a maidservant used to go and tell them; and they went and told king David: for they might not be seen to 18] come into the city. But a lad saw them, and told Absalom: and they went both of them away quickly, and came to the house of a man in Bahurim, who had a well in his court; and they went 19] down thither. And the woman took and spread the covering over the well's mouth, and strewed bruised corn there- 20] on; and nothing was known. And Absalom's servants came to the woman to the house; and they said, Where are Ahimaaz and Jonathan? And the woman said unto them, They be gone over the brook of water. And when they had sought and could not find them, they 21] returned to Jerusalem. And it came to pass, after they were departed, that they came up out of the well, and went and told king David; and they said unto David, Arise ye, and pass quickly over the water: for thus hath Ahithophel 22] counselled against you. Then David arose, and all the people that were with him, and they passed over Jordan: by.

¹¹⁸ Heb. *bitter of soul*.

¹¹⁹ Or, *when he falleth upon them*.

¹²⁰ Or, *that thy presence* (Heb. *face*) *go to the battle*.

¹²¹ Or, *withdraw himself*.

¹²² Another reading is, *in the plains*.

¹²³ Or, *Now Jonathan and Ahimaaz stay by En-rogel; so let the maid-servant go and tell them, and let them go and tell king David; for they may not be seen to come into the city*.

the morning light there lacked not one of them that was not gone over Jordan. 23] And when Ahithophel saw that his counsel was not followed, he saddled his ass, and arose, and gat him home, unto his city, and set his house in order, and hanged himself; and he died, and was buried in the sepulchre of his father.

24] Then David came to Mahanaim. And Absalom passed over Jordan, he and all the men of Israel with him. 25] And Absalom set Amasa over the host instead of Joab. Now Amasa was the son of a man, whose name was ¹²⁴ Ithra the Israelite, that went in to ¹²⁵ Abigail the daughter of Nahash, sister to Zeruiah Joab's mother. And Israel and Absalom pitched in the land of Gilead.

27] And it came to pass, when David was come to Mahanaim, that Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the children of Ammon, and Machir the son of Ammiel of Lo-debar, and Barzillai the Gileadite of Rogelim, brought beds, and basons, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and meal, and parched *corn*, and beans, and lentils, and parched *pulse*, and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David, and for the people that were with him, to eat: for they said, The people is hungry, and weary, and thirsty, in the wilderness.

18. And David numbered the people that were with him, and set captains of thousands and captains of hundreds 2] over them. And David sent forth the people, a third part under the hand of Joab, and a third part under the hand of Abishai the son of Zeruiah, Joab's brother, and a third part under the hand of Ittai the Gittite. And the king said unto the people, I will surely go forth 3] with you myself also. But the people said, Thou shalt not go forth: for if we flee away, they will not care for us; neither if half of us die, will they care for us: ¹²⁶ but thou art worth ten thou-

sand of us: therefore now it is better that thou be ready to succour us out of 4] the city. And the king said unto them, What seemeth you best I will do. And the king stood by the gate side, and all the people went out by hundreds and 5] by thousands. And the king commanded Joab and Abishai and Ittai, saying, Deal gently for my sake with the young man, even with Absalom. And all the people heard when the king gave all the captains charge concerning Absalom. 6] So the people went out into the field against Israel: and the battle was in 7] the forest of Ephraim. And the people of Israel were smitten there before the servants of David, and there was a great slaughter there that day of twenty 8] thousand men. For the battle was there spread over the face of all the country: and the forest devoured more people that day than the sword devoured. 9] And Absalom chanced to meet the servants of David. And Absalom rode upon his mule, and the mule went under the thick boughs of a great ¹²⁷ oak, and his head caught hold of the oak, and he was taken up between the heaven and the earth; and the mule that was under 10] him went on. And a certain man saw it, and told Joab, and said, Behold, I saw 11] Absalom hanging in an oak. And Joab said unto the man that told him, And, behold, thou sawest it, and why didst thou not smite him there to the ground? and I would have given thee 12] ten *pieces* of silver, and a girdle. And the man said unto Joab, Though I should receive a thousand *pieces* of silver in mine hand, yet would I not put forth mine hand against the king's son: for in our hearing the king charged thee and Abishai and Ittai, saying, ¹²⁸ Beware that none touch the young man Absalom. 13] Otherwise if I had dealt falsely against ¹²⁹ his life, (and there is no matter hid from the king,) then thou thyself 14] ¹³⁰ wouldest have stood aloof. Then said Joab, I may not tarry thus with thee.

¹²⁴ In 1 Chr. 2: 17, *Jeither the Ishmaelite*.

¹²⁵ In 1 Chr. 2: 16, 17, *Abigail*.

¹²⁶ So some ancient authorities. The Hebrew text has, *for now are there ten thousand such as we*.

¹²⁷ Or, *terebinth*.

¹²⁸ Heb. *Have a care, whosoever ye be, of Sc.*

¹²⁹ Another reading is, *my*.

¹³⁰ Or, *wouldest have set thyself against me*.

And he took three ¹⁸¹ darts in his hand, and thrust them through the heart of Absalom, while he was yet alive in the 15] midst of the oak. And ten young men that bare Joab's armour compassed about and smote Absalom, and slew him. 16] And Joab blew the trumpet, and the people returned from pursuing after Israel: for Joab ¹⁸² held back the people. 17] And they took Absalom, and cast him into the great pit in the forest, and raised over him a very great heap of stones: and all Israel fled every one to 18] his tent. Now Absalom in his life time had taken and reared up for himself the pillar, which is in the king's dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance: and he called the pillar after his own name: and it is called Absalom's monument, unto this day.

19] Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, Let me now run, and bear the king tidings, how that the LORD hath 20] ¹⁸³ avenged him of his enemies. And Joab said unto him, Thou shalt not be the bearer of tidings this day, but thou shalt bear tidings another day: but this day thou shalt bear no tidings, because 21] the king's son is dead. Then said Joab to the Cushite, Go tell the king what thou hast seen. And the Cushite bowed 22] himself unto Joab, and ran. Then said Ahimaaz the son of Zadok yet again to Joab, But come what may, let me, I pray thee, also run after the Cushite. And Joab said, Wherefore wilt thou run, my son, seeing that thou ¹⁸⁴ wilt 23] have no reward for the tidings? But come what may, *said he*, I will run. And he said unto him, Run. Then Ahimaaz ran by the way of the Plain, and overran the Cushite.

24] Now David sat between the two gates: and the watchman went up to the roof of the gate unto the wall, and lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, a 25] man running alone. And the watchman cried, and told the king. And the king said, If he be alone, there is tidings in his mouth. And he came apace, and

26] drew near. And the watchman saw another man running: and the watchman called unto the porter, and said, Behold, *another* man running alone. And the king said, He also bringeth tidings. 27] And the watchman said, Me thinketh the running of the foremost is like the running of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok. And the king said, He is a good man, and cometh with good tidings. 28] And Ahimaaz called, and said unto the king, ¹⁸⁵ All is well. And he bowed himself before the king with his face to the earth, and said, Blessed be the LORD thy God, which hath delivered up the men that lifted up their hand against my 29] lord the king. And the king said, ¹⁸⁶ Is it well with the young man Absalom? And Ahimaaz answered, When Joab sent the king's servant, ¹⁸⁷ even me thy servant, I saw a great tumult, but 30] I knew not what it was. And the king said, Turn aside, and stand here. And he turned aside, and stood still. 31] And, behold, the Cushite came; and the Cushite said, Tidings for my lord the king: for the LORD hath avenged thee this day of all them that rose up against 32] thee. And the king said unto the Cushite, Is it well with the young man Absalom? And the Cushite answered, The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise up against thee to do thee 33] hurt, be as that young man is. ¹⁸⁸ And the king was much moved, and went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept: and as he went, thus he said, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!

19. And it was told Joab, Behold, the king weepeth and mourneth for Absalom. And the ¹⁸⁹ victory that day was turned into mourning unto all the people: for the people heard say that day, 3] The king grieveth for his son. And the people gat them by stealth that day into the city, as people that are ashamed steal away when they flee in battle. 4] And the king covered his face, and

¹⁸¹ Heb. *staves*.

¹⁸² Or, *spared*.

¹⁸³ Heb. *judged him from the hand &c.*

¹⁸⁴ Or, *hast no sufficient tidings*.

¹⁸⁵ Heb. *Peace*.

¹⁸⁶ Heb. *Is there peace with &c.?*

¹⁸⁷ Or, *and*.

¹⁸⁸ [Ch. 19: 1 in Heb.]

¹⁸⁹ Heb. *salvation*.

the king cried with a loud voice, O my son Absalom, O Absalom, my son, my 5] son! And Joab came into the house to the king, and said, Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants, which this day have saved thy life, and the lives of thy sons and of thy daughters, and the lives of thy wives, and the 6] lives of thy concubines; in that thou lovest them that hate thee, and hatest them that love thee. For thou hast declared this day, that princes and servants are nought unto thee: for this day I perceive, that if Absalom had lived, and all we had died this day, then it had pleased 7] thee well. Now therefore arise, go forth, and speak comfortably unto thy servants: for I swear by the LORD, if thou go not forth, there will not tarry a man with thee this night: and that will be worse unto thee than all the evil that hath befallen thee from thy youth until 8] now. Then the king arose, and sat in the gate. And they told unto all the people, saying, Behold, the king doth sit in the gate: and all the people came before the king.

Now Israel had fled every man to his 9] tent. And all the people were at strife throughout all the tribes of Israel, saying, The king delivered us out of the hand of our enemies, and he saved us out of the hand of the Philistines; and now he is fled out of the land from Absalom. 10] And Absalom, whom we anointed over us, is dead in battle. Now therefore why speak ye not a word of bringing the king back?

11] And king David sent to Zadok and to Abiathar the priests, saying, Speak unto the elders of Judah, saying, Why are ye the last to bring the king back to his house? seeing the speech of all Israel is come to the king, to bring 12] him to his house. Ye are my brethren, ye are my bone and my flesh: wherefore then are ye the last to bring 13] back the king? And say ye to Amasa, Art thou not my bone and my flesh? God do so to me, and more also, if thou be not captain of the host before

me continually in the room of Joab. 14] And he bowed the heart of all the men of Judah, even as *the heart of one man*; so that they sent unto the king, saying, Return thou, and all thy servants. 15] So the king returned, and came to Jordan. And Judah came to Gilgal, to go to meet the king, to bring the king over Jordan.

16] And Shimei the son of Gera, the Benjamite, which was of Bahurim, hastened and came down with the men of 17] Judah to meet king David. And there were a thousand men of Benjamin with him, and Ziba the servant of the home of Saul, and his fifteen sons and his twenty servants with him; and they went through Jordan in the presence of 18] the king. And there went over ¹⁴⁰ a ferry boat to bring over the king's household, and to do what he thought good. And Shimei the son of Gera fell down before the king, when he ¹⁴¹ was come 19] over Jordan. And he said unto the king, Let not my lord impute iniquity unto me, neither do thou remember that which thy servant did perversely the day that my lord the king went out of Jerusalem, that the king should take 20] it to his heart. For thy servant doth know that I have sinned: therefore, behold, I am come this day the first of all the house of Joseph to go down to 21] meet my lord the king. But Abishai the son of Zeruiah answered and said, Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, because he cursed the LORD's anointed? 22] And David said, What have I to do with you, ye sons of Zeruiah, that ye should this day be adversaries unto me? shall there any man be put to death this day in Israel? for do not I know that I 23] am this day king over Israel? And the king said unto Shimei, Thou shalt not die. And the king sware unto him.

24] And Mephibosheth the son of Saul came down to meet the king; and he had neither dressed his feet, nor trimmed his beard, nor washed his clothes, from the day the king departed until the day he 25] came home in peace. And it came to

¹⁴⁰ Or, *the convoy*.

¹⁴¹ Or, *would go over*.

pass, ¹⁴² when he was come to Jerusalem to meet the king, that the king said unto him, Wherefore wentest not thou with me, Mephibosheth? And he answered, My lord, O king, my servant deceived me: for thy servant said, I will saddle me an ass, that I may ride thereon, and go ¹⁴³ with the king; because thy servant is lame. And he hath slandered thy servant unto my lord the king; but my lord the king is as ¹⁴⁴ an angel of God: do therefore what is good in thine eyes. For all my father's house were but ¹⁴⁵ dead men before my lord the king: yet didst thou set thy servant among them that did eat at thine own table. What right therefore have I yet that I should cry any more unto the king? And the king said unto him, Why speakest thou any more of thy matters? I say, Thou and Ziba divide the land. And Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come in peace unto his own house.

31] And Barzillai the Gileadite came down from Rogelim; and he went over Jordan with the king, to conduct him over Jordan. Now Barzillai was a very aged man, even fourscore years old: and he had provided the king with sustenance while he lay at Mahanaim; 33] for he was a very great man. And the king said unto Barzillai, Come thou over with me, and I will sustain thee with me in Jerusalem. And Barzillai said unto the king, How many are the days of the years of my life, that I should go up with the king unto Jerusalem? 35] I am this day fourscore years old: can I discern between good and bad? can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink? can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? wherefore then should thy servant be

yet a burden unto my lord the king? 36] Thy servant would but just go over Jordan with the king: and why should the king recompense it me with such a reward? Let thy servant, I pray thee, turn back again, that I may die in mine own city, by the grave of my father and my mother. But behold, thy servant Chimham; let him go over with my lord the king; and do to him what shall seem good unto thee. And the king answered, Chimham shall go over with me, and I will do to him that which shall seem good unto thee: and whatsoever thou shalt ¹⁴⁶ require of me, that will I do for thee. And all the people went over Jordan, and the king went over: and the king kissed Barzillai, and blessed him: and he returned unto his own place.

40] So the king went over to Gilgal, and Chimham went over with him: and all the people of Judah brought the king over, and also half the people of Israel. 41] And, behold, all the men of Israel came to the king, and said unto the king, Why have our brethren the men of Judah stolen thee away, and brought the king, and his household, over Jordan, and all David's men with him? And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, Because the king is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the king's cost? or hath he given us any gift? And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah, and said, We have ten parts in the king, and we have also more *right* in David than ye: why then did ye despise us, ¹⁴⁷ that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel.

The preceding history of this unhappy incident, if followed on the map, needs no comment to make it clearer. Out of it, however, grew another rebellion.

¹⁴² Or, when Jerusalem was come.

¹⁴³ Another reading is, to.

¹⁴⁴ Or, the.

¹⁴⁵ Heb. men of death.

¹⁴⁶ Heb. choose to lay upon.

¹⁴⁷ Or, and were not we the first to speak of bringing back our king?

THE REBELLION OF SHEBA, *2 Sam. 20*

2 Sam. 20. And there happened to be there a man of ¹⁴⁸ Belial, whose name was Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Ben-jamite: and he blew the trumpet, and said, We have no portion in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to his tents, O **2]** Israel. So all the men of Israel went up from following David, and followed Sheba the son of Bichri: but the men of Judah clave unto their king, from Jordan even to Jerusalem.

3] And David came to his house at Jerusalem; and the king took the ten women his concubines, whom he had left to keep the house, and put them in ward, and provided them with sustenance, but went not in unto them. So they were shut up unto the day of their death, ¹⁴⁹ living in widowhood.

4] Then said the king to Amasa, Call me the men of Judah together within three days, and be thou here present. **5]** So Amasa went to call *the men of* Judah together: but he tarried longer than the set time which he had appointed **6]** him. And David said to Abishai, Now shall Sheba the son of Bichri do us more harm than did Absalom: take thou thy lord's servants, and pursue after him, lest he get him fenced cities, and escape **7]** out of our sight. And there went out after him Joab's men, and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, and all the mighty men: and they went out of Jerusalem, to pursue after Sheba the son of Bichri. **8]** When they were at the great stone which is in Gibeon, Amasa came to meet them. And Joab was girded with his apparel of war that he had put on, and thereon was a girdle with a sword fastened upon his loins in the sheath thereof; and as he went forth it fell out. **9]** And Joab said to Amasa, Is it well with thee, my brother? And Joab took Amasa by the beard with his right hand **10]** to kiss him. But Amasa took no heed to the sword that was in Joab's hand: so he smote him therewith in the belly, and shed out his bowels to the ground, and

struck him not again; and he died. And Joab and Abishai his brother pursued **11]** after Sheba the son of Bichri. And there stood by him one of Joab's young men, and said, He that favoureth Joab, and he that is for David, let him follow **12]** Joab. And Amasa lay wallowing in his blood in the midst of the high way. And when the man saw that all the people stood still, he carried Amasa out of the high way into the field, and cast a garment over him, when he saw that every one that came by him stood still. **13]** When he was removed out of the high way, all the people went on after Joab, to pursue after Sheba the son of **14]** Bichri. And he went through all the tribes of Israel unto Abel, and to Beth-maacah, and all the Berites: and they were gathered together, and went also **15]** after him. And they came and besieged him in Abel of Beth-maacah, and they cast up a mount against the city, and it stood against the rampart; and all the people that were with Joab ¹⁵⁰ battered the wall, to throw it down. **16]** Then cried a wise woman out of the city, Hear, hear; say, I pray you, unto Joab, Come near hither, that I may **17]** speak with thee. And he came near unto her; and the woman said, Art thou Joab? And he answered, I am. Then she said unto him, Hear the words of thine handmaid. And he answered, I do hear. **18]** Then she spake, saying, They were wont to speak in old time, saying, They shall surely ask *counsel* at Abel: and so **19]** they ended *the matter*. I am of them that are peaceable and faithful in Israel: thou seekest to destroy a city and a mother in Israel: why wilt thou swallow **20]** up the inheritance of the LORD? And Joab answered and said, Far be it, far be it from me, that I should swallow up **21]** or destroy. The matter is not so: but a man of the hill country of Ephraim, Sheba the son of Bichri by name, hath lifted up his hand against the king, even against David: deliver him only, and I will depart from the city. And the woman

¹⁴⁸ That is, *worthlessness*.

¹⁴⁹ Heb. *in widowhood of life*.

¹⁵⁰ Or, *undermined*.

said unto Joab, Behold, his head shall be 22] thrown to thee over the wall. Then the woman went unto all the people in her wisdom. And they cut off the head of Sheba the son of Bichri, and threw it out to Joab. And he blew the trumpet, and they were dispersed from the city, every man to his tent. And Joab returned to Jerusalem unto the king.

23] Now Joab was over all the host

of Israel: and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the ¹⁵¹ Cherethites 24] and over the Pelethites: and Adoram was over the ¹⁵² tribute: and Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was the ¹⁵³ recorder: and Sheva was ¹⁵⁴ scribe: and Zadok and Abiathar were priests: 26] and Ira also the Jairite was ¹⁵⁵ priest unto David.

The decisive battle in the rebellion of Absalom took place in the country east of the Jordan; that in the rebellion of Sheba, near the headwaters of the Jordan. *2 Samuel* 20 concludes with a statement of the reorganization of David's kingdom after the period of rebellion.

THE REBELLION OF ADONIJAH, ACCESSION OF SOLOMON, AND DEATH OF DAVID

How long David lived after the two rebellions just described, we do not know. The first book of *Kings* opens with a graphic story of David's last days, which appears to have been taken from the same document as *2 Samuel* 9-20; it is a part of what has been called "the court history of David." Its account is as follows:

1 *Kings* 1. Now king David was old and stricken in years; and they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat. 2] Wherefore his servants said unto him, Let there be sought for my lord the king a young virgin: and let her stand before the king, and cherish him; and let her lie in thy bosom, that my lord the king 3] may get heat. So they sought for a fair damsel throughout all the coasts of Israel, and found Abishag the Shunammite, and brought her to the king. 4] And the damsel was very fair; and she cherished the king, and ministered to him; but the king knew her not. 5] Then Adonijah the son of Haggith exalted himself saying, I will be king: and he prepared him chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him. 6] And his father had not displeased him ¹⁵⁶ at any time in saying, Why hast thou done so? and he was also a very goodly man; and he was born after Absalom.

7] And he conferred with Joab the son of Zeruiah, and with Abiathar the priest: and they following Adonijah helped him. 8] But Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Shimei, and Rei, and the mighty men which belonged to David, were not with 9] Adonijah. And Adonijah ¹⁵⁷ slew sheep and oxen and fatlings by the stone of Zohemoth, which is beside En-rogel; and he called all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Judah the king's 10] servants: but Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, and the mighty men, and Solomon his brother, he called not. 11] Then Nathan spake unto Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon, saying, Hast thou not heard that Adonijah the son of Haggith doth reign, and David our 12] lord knoweth it not? Now therefore come, let me, I pray thee, give thee counsel, that thou mayest save thine own life, 13] and the life of thy son Solomon. Go

¹⁵¹ Another reading is, *Carites*. See *2 Kings* 11: 4.
¹⁵² Or, *levy*.
¹⁵³ Or, *chronicler*.

¹⁵⁴ Or, *secretary*.
¹⁵⁵ Or, *a chief minister*. See *1 Chr.* 18: 17.
¹⁵⁶ Or, *all his life*.
¹⁵⁷ Or, *sacrificed*.

and get thee in unto king David, and say unto him, Didst not thou, my lord, O king, swear unto thine handmaid, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my 14] throne? why then doth Adonijah reign? Behold, while thou yet talkest there with the king, I also will come in after thee, and confirm thy words. 15] And Bath-sheba went in unto the king into the chamber: and the king was very old; and Abishag the Shunammite 16] ministered unto the king. And Bath-sheba bowed, and did obeisance unto the king. And the king said, What wouldst 17] thou? And she said unto him, my lord, thou swarest by the LORD thy God unto thine handmaid, *saying*, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, 18] and he shall sit upon my throne. And now, behold, Adonijah reigneth; ¹⁵⁸ and thou, my lord the king, knowest it not: 19] and he hath ¹⁵⁹ slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the sons of the king, and Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host: but Solomon thy servant 20] hath he not called. And ¹⁵⁹ thou, my lord the king, the eyes of all Israel are upon thee, that thou shouldest tell them who shall sit on the throne of my 21] lord the king after him. Otherwise it shall come to pass, when my lord the king shall sleep with his fathers, that I and my son Solomon shall be counted 22] ¹⁶⁰ offenders. And, lo, while she yet talked with the king, Nathan the prophet 23] came in. And they told the king, saying, Behold, Nathan the prophet. And when he was come in before the king, he bowed himself before the king with his 24] face to the ground. And Nathan said, My lord, O king, hast thou said, Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit 25] upon my throne? For he is gone down this day, and hath slain oxen and fatlings and sheep in abundance, and hath called all the king's sons, and the captains of the host, and Abiathar the priest; and, behold, they eat and drink before him, and say, God save king

26] Adonijah. But me, even me thy servant, and Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and thy servant 27] Solomon, hath he not called. Is this thing done by my lord the king, and thou hast not shewed unto thy ¹⁶¹ servants who should sit on the throne of my lord 28] the king after him? Then king David answered and said, Call me Bath-sheba. And she came into the king's presence, 29] and stood before the king. And the king sware, and said, As the LORD liveth, who hath redeemed my soul out of all 30] adversity, verily as I sware unto thee by the LORD, the God of Israel, saying, Assuredly Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead; verily so will I do this day. 31] Then Bath-sheba bowed with her face to the earth, and did obeisance to the king, and said, Let my lord king David 32] live for ever. And king David said, Call me Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada. And they came before the king. 33] And the king said unto them, Take with you the servants of your lord, and cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon: 34] and let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anoint him there king over Israel: and blow ye with the trumpet, and say, God save king Solomon. 35] Then ye shall come up after him, and he shall come and sit upon my throne; for he shall be king in my stead: and I have appointed him to be ¹⁶² prince 36] over Israel and over Judah. And Benaiah the son of Jehoiada answered the king, and said, Amen: the LORD, the God of my lord the king, say so *too*. 37] As the LORD hath been with my lord the king, even so be he with Solomon, and make his throne greater than the throne of my lord king David. 38] So Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, went down, and caused Solomon to ride upon king David's mule, and brought him 39] to Gihon. And Zadok the priest took

¹⁵⁸ Another reading is, *and now, my lord the king, thou &c.*

¹⁵⁹ Another reading is, *now*.

¹⁶⁰ Heb. *simmers*.

¹⁶¹ Another reading is, *servant*.

¹⁶² Or, *leader*.

the horn of oil out of the Tent and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God 40] save king Solomon. And all the people came up after him, and the people piped with pipes, and rejoiced with great joy, so that the earth rent with the sound 41] of them. And Adonijah and all the guests that were with him heard it as they had made an end of eating. And when Joab heard the sound of the trumpet, he said, Wherefore is this noise 42] of the city being in an uproar? While he yet spake, behold, Jonathan the son of Abiathar the priest came: and Adonijah said, Come in; for thou art a worthy 43] man, and bringest good tidings. And Jonathan answered and said to Adonijah, Verily our lord king David hath made 44] Solomon king: and the king hath sent with him Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, and they have caused him to 45] ride upon the king's mule: and Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet have anointed him king in Gihon: and they are come up from thence rejoicing, so that the city rang again. This is the 46] noise that ye have heard. And also Solomon sitteth on the throne of the 47] kingdom. And moreover the king's servants came to bless our lord king David, saying, ¹⁶³ Thy God make the name of Solomon better than thy name, and make his throne greater than thy throne: and the king bowed himself upon 48] the bed. And also thus said the king, Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, which hath given one to sit on my throne this day, mine eyes even seeing it. 49] And all the guests of Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and went every man 50] his way. And Adonijah feared because of Solomon; and he arose, and went, and caught hold on the horns of the 51] altar. And it was told Solomon, saying, Behold, Adonijah feareth king Solomon: for, lo, he hath laid hold on the horns of the altar, saying, Let king Solomon swear unto me ¹⁶⁴ this day that

he will not slay his servant with the 52] sword. And Solomon said, If he shall shew himself a worthy man, there shall not an hair of him fall to the earth: but if wickedness be found in him, he 53] shall die. So king Solomon sent, and they brought him down from the altar. And he came and did obeisance to king Solomon: and Solomon said unto him, Go to thine house.

2. Now the days of David drew nigh that he should die; and he charged Solomon his son, saying, I go the way of all the earth: be thou strong therefore, and shew thyself a man; and keep the charge of the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, *and* his commandments, and his judgements, and his testimonies, according to that which is written in the law of Moses, that thou mayest ¹⁶⁵ prosper in all that thou doest, and whithersoever 4] thou turnest thyself: that the LORD may establish his word which he spake concerning me, saying, If thy children take heed to their way, to walk before me in truth with all their heart and with all their soul, there shall not fail thee (said he) a man on the throne of Israel. 5] Moreover thou knowest also what Joab the son of Zeruiah did unto me, even what he did to the two captains of the hosts of Israel, unto Abner the son of Ner, and unto Amasa the son of Jether, whom he slew, and ¹⁶⁶ shed the blood of war in peace, and put the blood of war upon his girdle that was about his loins, and in his shoes that were on 6] his feet. Do therefore according to thy wisdom, and let not his hoar head go down to ¹⁶⁷ the grave in peace. 7] But shew kindness unto the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and let them be of those that eat at thy table: for so they came to me when I fled from Absalom 8] thy brother. And, behold, there is with thee Shimei the son of Gera, the Benjamite, of Bahurim, who cursed me with a grievous curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim: but he came down to meet me at Jordan, and I sware to

¹⁶³ Another reading omits *Thy*.

¹⁶⁴ Or, *first of all*.

¹⁶⁵ Or, *do wisely*.

¹⁶⁶ Heb. *set*.

¹⁶⁷ Heb. *Sheol*.

him by the LORD, saying, I will not put
 9] thee to death with the sword. Now
 therefore hold him not guiltless, for thou
 art a wise man; and thou wilt know what
 thou oughtest to do unto him, and thou
 shalt bring his hoar head down to ¹⁶⁸ the
 10] grave with blood. And David slept

with his fathers, and was buried in the
 11] city of David. And the days that
 David reigned over Israel were forty
 years: seven years reigned he in Hebron,
 and thirty and three years reigned he in
 Jerusalem.

Thus the reign of David ended. In morals it was a crude age—a hard and cruel time. David was a child of his time. His death-bed charge to Solomon was not that of a saint according to our ideas of sainthood. Joab had been to David a most loyal and useful general. Perhaps a part of his loyalty had been due to self-interest; he could not hope for a similar position under another master. True, he had at times been treacherous and cruel, but David had profited by his treachery and cruelty. For political considerations he had never himself punished Joab, but now he imposed upon Solomon the sacred obligation of taking Joab's life! Not content with this, he left Solomon a similar legacy with reference to Shimei, who had cursed David at the time of Absalom's rebellion. Now that we know that most of the Psalms were not written by David we can understand this hardness, but it used to be a great puzzle.

David was, however, a great warrior and a great king—the greatest that Israel ever had. To his reign, its greatness and its glory, all future generations looked back.

¹⁶⁸ Heb. *Sheol*.

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF SOLOMON

THE day of David's death was a fateful day for the kingdom of Israel. The old king had risen from the people by sheer ability. He had been trained in the hard school of experience. To the end he was simple in his habits and tastes; he made no vain display. Although he had become old and feeble, his reputation for energy, ability, and ruthlessness kept subject nations in awe. He was succeeded by an untried youth—a youth born in the purple, raised in luxury, and undisciplined by experience. The full consequences, however, were not felt at once.

HOW SOLOMON CARRIED OUT DAVID'S DYING WISHES, *1 Kings 2: 12-46*

1 Kings 2. 12] And Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was established greatly. **13]** Then Adonijah the son of Haggith came to Bath-sheba the mother of Solomon. And she said, Comest thou peaceably? **14]** And he said, Peaceably. He said moreover, I have somewhat to say **15]** unto thee. And she said, Say on. And he said, Thou knowest that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel set their faces on me, that I should reign: howbeit the kingdom is turned about, and is become my brother's: for it was his from **16]** the LORD. And now I ask one petition of thee, ¹ deny me not. And she said **17]** unto him, Say on. And he said, Speak, I pray thee, unto Solomon the king, (for he will not say thee nay,) that he give me Abishag the Shunammite **18]** to wife. And Bath-sheba said, Well; I will speak for thee unto the king. **19]** Bath-sheba therefore went unto king Solomon, to speak unto him for Adonijah. And the king rose up to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a throne to be set for the king's mother; and she **20]** sat on his right hand. Then she said,

I ask one small petition of thee; deny me not. And the king said unto her, Ask on, my mother: for I will not deny thee. **21]** And she said, Let Abishag the Shunammite be given to Adonijah thy **22]** brother to wife. And king Solomon answered and said unto his mother, And why dost thou ask Abishag the Shunammite for Adonijah? ask for him the kingdom also; for he is mine elder brother; even for him, and for Abiathar the priest, and for Joab the son of Zeruiah. **23]** Then king Solomon sware by the LORD, saying, God do so to me, and more also, if Adonijah have not spoken **24]** this word against his own life. Now therefore as the LORD liveth, who hath established me, and set me on the throne of David my father, and who hath made me an house, as he promised, surely Adonijah shall be put to death this day. **25]** And king Solomon sent by the hand of Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; and he **26]** fell upon him, that he died. And unto Abiathar the priest said the king, Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields; for thou art ² worthy of death: but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou barest the ark of the LORD

¹ Heb. *turn not away my face.*

² Heb. *a man of.*

God before David my father, and because thou wast afflicted in all wherein 27] my father was afflicted. So Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the LORD; that he might fulfil ³ the word of the LORD, which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh, 28] And the tidings came to Joab: for Joab had turned after Adonijah, though he turned not after Absalom. And Joab fled unto the Tent of the LORD, and caught hold on the horns of the altar. 29] And it was told king Solomon, Joab is fled unto the Tent of the LORD, and, behold, he is by the altar. Then Solomon sent Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, saying, 30] Go, fall upon him. And Benaiah came to the Tent of the LORD, and said unto him. Thus saith the king, Come forth. And he said, Nay; but I will die here. And Benaiah brought the king word again, saying, Thus said Joab, and thus 31] he answered me. And the king said unto him, Do as he hath said, and fall upon him, and bury him; that thou mayest take away the blood, which Joab shed without cause, from me and from my 32] father's house. And the LORD shall return his blood upon his own head, because he fell upon two men more righteous and better than he, and slew them with the sword, and my father David knew it not, *to wit*, Abner the son of Ner, captain of the host of Israel, and Amasa the son of Jether, captain of the 33] host of Judah. So shall their blood return upon the head of Joab, and upon the head of his seed for ever: but unto David, and unto his seed, and unto his house, and unto his throne, shall there be peace for ever from the LORD. 34] Then Benaiah the son of Jehoiada went up, and fell upon him, and slew him; and he was buried in his own 35] house in the wilderness. And the king put Benaiah the son of Jehoiada in his room over the host: and Zadok the priest did the king put in the room of

36] Abiathar. And the king sent and called for Shimei, and said unto him, Build thee an house in Jerusalem, and dwell there, and go not forth thence any 37] whither. For on the day thou goest out, and passest over the brook Kidron, know thou for certain that thou shalt surely die: thy blood shall be upon thine 38] own head. And Shimei said unto the king, The saying is good: as my lord the king hath said, so will thy servant do. And Shimei dwelt in Jerusalem many 39] days. And it came to pass at the end of three years, that two of the servants of Shimei ran away unto Achish, son of Maacah, king of Gath. And they told Shimei, saying, Behold, thy servants 40] be in Gath. And Shimei arose, and saddled his ass, and went to Gath to Achish, to seek his servants: and Shimei went, and brought his servants from 41] Gath. And it was told Solomon that Shimei had gone from Jerusalem to 42] Gath, and was come again. And the king sent and called for Shimei, and said unto him, Did I not make thee to swear by the LORD, and protested unto thee, saying, Know for certain, that on the day thou goest out, and walkest abroad any whither, thou shalt surely die? and thou saidst unto me, The saying that I 43] have heard is good. Why then hast thou not kept the oath of the LORD, and the commandment that I have charged 44] thee with? The king said moreover to Shimei, Thou knowest all the wickedness which thine heart is privy to, that thou didst to David my father: therefore the LORD shall return thy wicked- 45] ness upon thine own head. But king Solomon shall be blessed, and the throne of David, shall be established before the 46] LORD for ever. So the king commanded Benaiah the son of Jehoiada; and he went out, and fell upon him, that he died. And the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon.

The preceding excerpt from the first book of *Kings* graphically describes how Solomon executed the unpleasant tasks David's last wishes had imposed upon him, and how, in part, he organized his kingdom.

³ See 1 Sam. 2: 27-36.

SOLOMON'S CORONATION SACRIFICE AT GIBEON, *1 Kings* 3:4-15

1 Kings 3. 4] ⁴ And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place: a thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that 5] altar. In Gibeon the LORD appeared to Solomon in a dream by night: and God 6] said, Ask what I shall give thee. And Solomon said, Thou hast shewed unto thy servant David my father great kindness, according as he walked before thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with thee; and thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that thou hast given him a son to sit on 7] his throne, as it is this day. And now, O LORD my God, thou hast made thy servant king instead of David my father: and I am but a little child; I know not 8] how to go out or come in. And thy servant is in the midst of thy people which thou hast chosen, a great people, that cannot be numbered nor counted 9] for multitude. Give thy servant therefore an ^a understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and evil; for who is able to judge 10] this thy ^a great people? And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon

11] had asked this thing. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thyself ⁷ long life; neither hast asked riches for thyself, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies; but hast asked for thyself understanding to ⁸ discern judgement; 12] behold, I have done according to thy word: lo, I have given thee a wise and an ^a understanding heart; so that there hath been none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise 13] like unto thee. And I have also given thee that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour, so that there ⁹ shall not be any among the kings like 14] unto thee, all thy days. And if thou wilt walk in my ways, to keep my statutes and my commandments, as thy father David did walk, then I will 15] lengthen thy days. And Solomon awoke, and, behold, it was a dream: and he came to Jerusalem, and stood before the ark of the covenant of the LORD, and offered up burnt offerings, and offered peace offerings, and made a feast to all his servants.

Although David had made the threshing-floor of the Jebusites, just north of Jerusalem, a sanctuary of Yahweh, and although he had placed there the ark of the covenant which Moses had made, that sanctuary was not regarded as equal in holiness or importance to the sanctuary at Gibeon, six miles northwest of Jerusalem, which had been in the possession of the Hebrews since the days of Joshua. There were many sanctuaries in Israel at the time, and the religious leaders of the nation freely worshiped in them. The law, which made all places of worship except the one in Jerusalem illegal, came into existence, as we shall see, long afterwards. Solomon accordingly went to Gibeon to celebrate the sacrifice which inaugurated his kingship. Gibeon, at this time, was a kind of Westminster Abbey for the country. The story of his consecration includes an account of a dream, in which Yahweh offered him anything he might choose, and he chose wisdom. Whether Solomon really had such a dream, we do not know. By later generations he was regarded as the wisest man their nation ever produced, and the story of this dream may have grown up to explain how he happened to be so wise.

⁴ See *2 Chr.* 1:3, &c.

⁵ Heb. *hearing*.

⁶ Heb. *heavy*.

⁷ Heb. *many days*.

⁸ Heb. *hear*.

⁹ Or, *hath not been*.

AN EXAMPLE OF SOLOMON'S WISDOM, *1 Kings 3: 16-28*

1 Kings 3. 16] Then came there two women, that were harlots, unto the king, **17]** and stood before him. And the one woman said, Oh my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house; and I was delivered of a child with her in the **18]** house. And it came to pass the third day after I was delivered, that this woman was delivered also; and we were together; there was no stranger with us in the house, save we two in the house. **19]** And this woman's child died in the **20]** night; because she overlaid it. And she arose at midnight, and took my son from beside me, while thine handmaid slept, and laid it in her bosom, and laid **21]** her dead child in my bosom. And when I rose in the morning to give my child suck, behold, it was dead: but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son, which I did **22]** bear. And the other woman said, Nay; but the living is my son, and the dead is thy son. And this said, No; but the dead is thy son, and the living is my

son. Thus they spake before the king. **23]** Then said the king, The one saith, This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and the other saith, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the **24]** living. And the king said, Fetch me a sword. And they brought a sword before the king. And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other. **26]** Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king, for her bowels yearned upon her son, and she said, Oh my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, It shall be neither mine nor thine; **27]** divide it. Then the king answered and said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: she is the mother **28]** thereof. And all Israel heard of the judgement which the king had judged; and they feared the king: for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgement.

The Hebrews did not have the Greek conception of wisdom as a kind of abstract entity, and the wise men of Israel did not, like the Greek philosophers, make metaphysical explanations of the universe. Wisdom, to the Hebrew, was insight into practical affairs—an understanding of the motives which control human conduct—ability to touch the springs of action and induce men to do one's will. According to the passage just quoted, Solomon exhibited such insight in the decision of the case described. He understood the heart of a mother, and was thus able to ascertain to which woman the child belonged.

SOLOMON'S LATER REPUTATION FOR WISDOM, *1 Kings 4: 29-34*

1 Kings 4. 29] And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea shore. **30]** And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east, **31]** and all the wisdom of Egypt. For he was wiser than all men: than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Calcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol: and his fame was in all the nations round about.

32] And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his sons were a thousand and **33]** five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes. **34]** And there came of all peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom.

SOLOMON MARRIES AN EGYPTIAN PRINCESS

Solomon, born and reared in a palace, had different ideas from his father as to how a king should live. He determined to ally himself with his most powerful neighbor and to furnish his capital with a palace worthy of a king. The first step was taken when he married a daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh. The Biblical account of this is contained in two brief verses, as follows:

1 Kings 3. And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the LORD, and the wall of Jerusalem round about.

9. 16] Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a portion unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.

These Biblical statements are from two different hands: the first was written by the editor of the book, who lived about 600 B.C.; the second is from an older chronicle. From them we learn that Solomon's father-in-law sent an army into Palestine and captured Gezer, a city of the Shephelah which the Israelites had never succeeded in taking (see *Jud.* 1:29), and turned it over to Solomon, that the revenue from it might serve as a dowry for the Egyptian princess, who had become Solomon's chief wife. Considerable speculation has been expended upon the question what the name of this Egyptian king might be. If Solomon's reign lasted from 977 to 937 B.C., as seems probable, three different kings occupied the throne of the Pharaohs during that time. They were Siamon (976-958) and Pesibkhenno II (958-945), the last two kings of the twenty-first dynasty, and Sheshonk I (the Shishak of the Bible), the first king of the twenty-second dynasty. Some scholars, among whom is Professor Breasted, think that it was Sheshonk whose daughter Solomon married. If, however, as the Bible implies, the marriage occurred at the beginning of Solomon's reign before he had constructed his palace and the temple, it could not have been Sheshonk. The present writer believes that it was a daughter of Siamon whom Solomon married, and that the marriage was consummated, as the Bible implies, early in his reign.

SOLOMON'S TAXATION OF THE COUNTRY, *1 Kings* 4: 1-28

1 Kings 4. And king Solomon was 2] king over all Israel. And these were the princes which he had; Azariah the 3] son of Zadok,¹⁰ the priest; Elihoreph and Ahijah, the sons of Shisha,

¹¹ scribes; Jehoshaphat the son of 4] Ahilud, the ¹² recorder; and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the host; and Zadok and Abiathar were priests; 5] and Azariah the son of Nathan was

¹⁰ See *1 Chr.* 6: 10.
¹¹ Or, *secretaries*.

¹² Or, *chronicler*.

over ¹³ the officers; and Zabud the son of Nathan was ¹⁴ priest, and the king's 6] friend; and Ahishar was over the household; and Adoniram the son of 7] Abda was over the levy. And Solomon had twelve officers over all Israel, which provided victuals for the king and his household: each man had to make 8] provision for a month in the year. And these are their names: Benhur, in the 9] hill country of Ephraim: Ben-deker, in Makaz, and in Shaalbim, and Beth-10] shemesh, and Elonbeth-hanan: Ben-hesed, in Arubboth; to him *pertained* Socoh, and all the land of Hephher: 11] Ben-abinadab, in all ¹⁵ the ¹⁶ height of Dor; he had Taphath the daughter of 12] Solomon to wife: Baana the son of Ahilud, in Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth-shean which is beside Zarethan, beneath Jezreel, from Beth-shean to Abel-meholah, as far as ¹⁷ beyond Jok-13] meam: Ben-geber, in Ramoth-gilead; to him *pertained* ¹⁸ the towns of Jair the son of Manasseh, which are in Gilead; *even* to him *pertained* the region of Argob, which is in Bashan, three-score great cities with walls and brasen bars: 14] Ahinadab the son of Iddo, in Ma-15] hanaim: Ahimaaz, in Naphtali; he also took Basemath the daughter of 16] Solomon to wife: Baana the son of 17] Hushai, in Asher and ¹⁹ Bealoth: Jehoshaphat the son of Paruah, in Is-18] sachar: Shimei the son of Ela, in 19] Benjamin: Geber the son of Uri, in the land of Gilead, the country of

Sihon king of the Amorites and of Og king of Bashan; ²⁰ and *he was* the only 20] officer which was in the land. Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry.

21] ²¹ And Solomon ruled over all the kingdoms from the River unto the land of the Philistines, and unto the border of Egypt: they brought presents, and served 22] Solomon all the days of his life. And Solomon's provision for one day was thirty ²² measures of fine flour, and 23] three-score measures of meal; ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred sheep, beside harts, and gazelles, and roe-bucks, and 24] fatted fowl. For he had dominion over all the *region* ²³ on this side the River, from Tiphseh even to Gaza, over all the kings ²³ on this side the River: and he had peace ²⁴ on all sides round 25] about him. And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, all the days of Solomon. 26] And Solomon had ²⁵ forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and 27] twelve thousand horsemen. And those officers provided victual for king Solomon, and for all that came unto king Solomon's table, every man in his month: 28] they let nothing be lacking. Barley also and straw for the horses and swift steeds brought they unto the place ²⁶ where *the officers* were, every man according to his charge.

The passage just quoted is an excerpt from an early Hebrew chronicle. It gives a historical picture of Solomon's organization of the economic side of his government. Were one to identify on a map the twelve economic districts into which Solomon divided the country, it would appear that they in many instances cut across tribal lines, and, were the map one which distinguished the fertile from the barren and rocky sections of the country, it would be evident that Solomon possessed the wisdom to select the twelve sections into which he divided the land for

¹³ See ver. 7.

¹⁴ Or, chief minister. See 2 Sam. 8: 18.

¹⁵ Or, Naphath-dor.

¹⁶ Or, region.

¹⁷ Or, over against.

¹⁸ Or, Havroth-jair.

¹⁹ Or, in Aloth.

²⁰ Heb. and one officer.

²¹ Ch. 5: 1 in Heb. See 2 Chr. 9: 26.

²² Heb. cor.

²³ Or, beyond the River.

²⁴ Some authorities read, with all his servants.

²⁵ In 2 Chr. 9: 25, four thousand.

²⁶ Or, where he (that is, the king) was. Or, where it should be.

their productivity only. In this the student may find another example of his wisdom. This aspect of the matter was not, however, appreciated by the Hebrews. Accustomed to a free life, not unlike that of modern Arabian tribes, they resented the heavy burdens of taxation, and, although they sullenly submitted during Solomon's reign, after his death this resentment bore fruit, as we shall see.

THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S PALACE AND TEMPLE

One of the ways in which Solomon determined to enhance his dignity was by building a larger and more ornate palace than that built by his father. In connection with it he also erected a temple, which in later time became the center of Hebrew worship, but which was intended by Solomon as his private chapel. As the site of these buildings he selected the position north of the city wall on the eastern hill; that is, he simply extended the city northward, for the whole of the Jerusalem of David's time ("the city of David") was on that eastern hill. The buildings were so planned that the temple stood just west of the sacred rock which had been the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. An altar was erected on this rock over the ancient sacred cave. This altar accordingly stood in the open air just east of the temple. Between the northern wall of the city and the temple stood the other buildings. As one went northward from the "city of David" one came first to a portico the roof of which, like the hypostyle hall of an Egyptian temple, was supported by many columns. This was graphically named "The House of the Forest of Lebanon." North of this were the offices of state; north of these Solomon's own palace, at the northwest corner of which, but connected with Solomon's palace, was a palace for the Egyptian princess, the most important woman of Solomon's large harem.²⁷ While these buildings were surrounded by a wall which even on the north separated them from the temple, a gateway led from the palace enclosure to the temple enclosure, and the king had a private entrance into the temple. How these buildings were constructed is graphically told in the following sections from the Bible.

THE TYRIANS HELP SOLOMON TO BUILD, *1 Kings* 5: 1-18

1 Kings 5. ²⁸ And Hiram king of Tyre sent his servants unto Solomon; for he had heard that they had anointed him king in the room of his father: for Hiram was ever a lover of David.
2] And Solomon sent to Hiram, saying,
3] Thou knowest how that David my

father could not build an house for the name of the LORD his God for the wars which were about him on every side, until the LORD put them under the soles 4] of his feet. But now the LORD my god hath given me rest on every side; there is neither adversary, nor evil occurrent.

²⁷ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 243.

²⁸ Ch. 5: 15 in Heb. See *2 Chr.* 2: 3 &c.

5] And, behold, I purpose to build an house for the name of the LORD my God, as the LORD spake unto David my father, saying, Thy son, whom I will set upon thy throne in thy room, he shall build 6] the house for my name. Now therefore command thou that they hew me cedar trees out of Lebanon; and my servants shall be with thy servants; and I will give thee hire for thy servants according to all that thou shalt say: for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like 7] unto the Zidonians. And it came to pass, when Hiram heard the words of Solomon, that he rejoiced greatly, and said, Blessed be the LORD this day, which hath given unto David a wise son over 8] this great people. And Hiram sent to Solomon, saying, I have heard *the message* which thou hast sent unto me: I will do all thy desire, concerning timber 9] of ²⁹ fir. My servants shall bring them down from Lebanon unto the sea: and I will make them into rafts to go by sea unto the place that thou shalt appoint me, and will cause them to be broken up there, and thou shalt ³⁰ receive them: and thou shalt accomplish my desire, in 10] giving food for my household. So ³¹ Hiram gave Solomon timber of cedar

and timber of fir according to all his desire 11] sire. And Solomon gave Hiram twenty thousand ³² measures of wheat for food to his household, and twenty measures of ³³ pure oil: thus gave Solomon 12] mon to Hiram year by year. And the LORD gave Solomon wisdom, as he promised him; and there was peace between Hiram and Solomon; and they two made a league together.

13] And king Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty 14] thousand men. And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses: a month they were in Lebanon, and two months at home: and Adoniram 15] was over the levy. And Solomon had three-score and ten thousand that bare burdens, and fourscore thousand that 16] were hewers in the mountains; besides Solomon's chief officers that were over the work, three thousand and three hundred, which bare rule over the people 17] ple that wrought in the work. And the king commanded, and they ³⁴ hewed out great stones, costly stones, to lay the foundation of the house with wrought 18] stone. And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and the Gebalites did fashion them, and prepared the timber and the stones to build the house.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PALACE, 1 Kings 7: 1-12

1 Kings 7. And Solomon was building his own house thirteen years, and he 2] finished all his house. For he built the house of the forest of Lebanon; the length thereof was an hundred cubits, and the breadth thereof fifty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits, upon four rows of cedar pillars, with cedar 3] beams upon the pillars. And it was covered with cedar above over the forty and five ³⁵ beams, that were upon the 4] pillars; fifteen in a row. And there were ³⁶ prospects in three rows, and light was over against light in three ranks. 5] And all the doors and posts ³⁷ were

square in prospect: and light was over 6] against light in three ranks. And he made the porch of pillars; the length thereof was fifty cubits, and the breadth thereof thirty cubits; and a porch before them; and pillars and ³⁸ thick beams between 7] fore them. And he made the porch of the throne where he might judge, even the porch of judgement: and it was covered with cedar from floor to floor. 8] And his house where he might dwell, the other court within the porch, was of the like work. He made also an house for Pharaoh's daughter, (whom Solomon had taken to wife,) like unto this porch.

²⁹ Or, *cypress*.

³⁰ Or, *carry them away*.

³¹ Heb. *Hirom*, and in ver. 18.

³² Heb. *cor*.

³³ Or, *beaten*.

³⁴ Or, *brought away*.

³⁵ Or, *side-chambers* (Heb. *ribs*).

³⁶ Or, *beams*.

³⁷ Or, *were made square with beams*.

³⁸ Or, *a threshold*.

9] All these were of costly stones, even of hewn stone, ³⁹ according to measure, sawed with saws, within and without, even from the foundation unto the coping, and so on the outside unto the great 10] court. And the foundation was of costly stones, even great stones, stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits.

11] And above were costly stones, even hewn stone, according to measure, and 12] cedar wood. And the great court round about had three rows of hewn stone, and a row of cedar beams; ⁴⁰ like as the inner court of the house of the LORD, and the porch of the house.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE, 1 Kings 6: 1-10, 14-36; 7: 13-22

1 Kings 6. ⁴¹ And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Ziv, which is the second month, that he ⁴² began to build the house of the 2] LORD. And the house which king Solomon built for the LORD, the length thereof was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits, and the height 3] thereof thirty cubits. And the porch before ⁴³ the temple of the house, twenty cubits was the length thereof, according to the breadth of the house; and ten cubits was the breadth thereof before 4] the house. And for the house he made 5] ⁴⁴ windows of fixed lattice-work. And against the wall of the house he built stories round about against the walls of the house round about, both of the temple and of ⁴⁵ the oracle: and he made side-6] chambers round about: the nethermost story was five cubits broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad: for on the outside he made rebatements *in the wall* of the house round about, that *the beams* should not have hold in the walls of the 7] house. And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready ⁴⁶ at the quarry: and there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron 8] heard in the house, while it was in building. The door for the ⁴⁷ middle

side-chambers was in the right ⁴⁸ side of the house: and they went up by winding stairs into the middle *chambers*, and out 9] of the middle into the third. So he built the house, and finished it; and he covered the house with beams and 10] ⁴⁹ planks of cedar. And he built the stories against all the house, each five cubits high: and ⁵⁰ they rested on the house with timber of cedar.

14] So Solomon built the house, and 15] finished it. And he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar; ⁵¹ from the floor of the house unto the walls of the ceiling, he covered them on the inside with wood: and he covered the floor of the house with boards of ⁵² fir. 16] ⁵³ And he built twenty cubits on the hinder part of the house with boards of cedar from the floor unto the ⁵⁴ walls: he even built *them* for it within, for an oracle, even for the most holy place. 17] And the house, that is, the temple before *the oracle*, was forty cubits *long*. 18] And there was cedar on the house within, carved with ⁵⁵ knops and open flowers: all was cedar; there was no 19] stone seen. And he prepared an oracle in the midst of the house within, to set there the ark of the covenant of 20] the LORD. And within the oracle was *a space* of twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in the height thereof; and he over-

39 Or, *after divers measures*.

40 Or, *both for . . . and for*.

41 See 2 Chr. 3: 1, 2.

42 Heb. *built*.

43 That is, the holy place.

44 Or, *windows broad within, and narrow without*.

45 That is, the most holy place.

46 Or, *when it was brought away*.

47 The Sept. and Targum have, *lowest*.

48 Heb. *shoulder*.

49 Heb. *rows*.

50 Or, *he fastened the house*.

51 Or, *both the floor of the house and the walls &c.* and so ver. 16.

52 Or, *cypress*.

53 See 2 Chr. 3: 8.

54 The Sept. has, *beams*.

55 Or, *gourds*.

laid it with pure gold: ⁵⁶ and he covered 21] the altar with cedar. So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: and he drew chains of gold across before the oracle; and he overlaid it with 22] gold. And the whole house he overlaid with gold, until all the house was finished: also the whole altar that belonged to the oracle he overlaid with 23] gold. ⁵⁷ And in the oracle he made two cherubim of olive wood, each ten 24] cubits high. And five cubits was the one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub: from the uttermost part of the one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten 25] cubits. And the other cherub was ten cubits: both the cherubim were of 26] one measure and one form. The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was it of the other cherub. 27] And he set the cherubim within the inner house: and the wings of the cherubim were stretched forth, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house. 28] And he overlaid the cherubim with 29] gold. And he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubim and palm trees and open 30] flowers, within and without. And the floor of the house he overlaid with gold, 31] within and without. And for the entering of the oracle he made doors of olive wood: the ⁵⁸ lintel and door posts 32] were a fifth part of the wall. So he made two doors of olive wood; and he carved upon them carvings of cherubim and palm trees and open flowers, and overlaid them with gold; and he spread the gold upon the cherubim, and upon the 33] palm trees. So also made he for the entering of the temple door posts of olive wood, out of a fourth part of the wall; 34] and two doors of ⁵⁹ fir wood; the two leaves of the one door were folding,

and the two leaves of the other door were 35] folding. And he carved *thereon* cherubim and palm trees and open flowers: and he overlaid them with gold 36] fitted upon the graven work. And he built the inner court with three rows of hewn stone, and a row of cedar beams. 37] In the fourth year was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid, in the 38] month Ziv. And in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished ⁶⁰ throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it.

7. 13] And king Solomon sent and 14] fetched Hiram out of Tyre. ⁶¹ He was the son of a widow woman of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass; and he was filled with wisdom and understanding and cunning, to work all works in brass. And he came to king Solomon, 15] and wrought all his work. For he fashioned the two pillars of brass, ⁶² of eighteen cubits high apiece: and a line of twelve cubits compassed ⁶³ either of them 16] about. And he made two chapiters of molten brass, to set upon the tops of the pillars: the height of the one chapter was five cubits, and the height of the 17] other chapter was five cubits. There were nets of checker work, and wreaths of chain work, for the chapiters which were upon the top of the pillars; seven for the one chapter, and seven for the 18] other chapter. So he made the pillars; and there were two rows round about upon the one network, to cover the chapiters that were upon the top of the ⁶⁴ pillars: and so did he for the other 19] chapter. And the chapters that were upon the top of the pillars in the porch 20] were of lily work, four cubits. And there were chapters above also upon the two pillars, close by the belly which was beside the network: and the pomegran-

⁵⁶ Or, he overlaid the altar also, which was of cedar.

⁵⁷ See 2 Chr. 3: 10-12

⁵⁸ Or, posts.

⁵⁹ Or, cypress.

⁶⁰ Or, with all the appurtenances thereof, and with all the ordinances thereof.

⁶¹ See 2 Chr. 2: 14.

⁶² Heb. eighteen cubits was the height of one pillar.

⁶³ Heb. the other pillar.

⁶⁴ So some ancient authorities. The text has, pomegranates.

ates were two hundred, in rows round 21] about upon the other chapter. ⁶⁵ And he set up the pillars at the porch of the temple: and he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof ⁶⁶ Jachin:

and he set up the left pillar, and called the 22] name thereof ⁶⁷ Boaz. And upon the top of the pillars was lily work: so was the work of the pillars finished.

The temple of Solomon was the finest building which the people of Palestine—whose houses, as excavations have shown, were built of rough stones without architectural beauty—had ever seen. In the lapse of centuries it became, through causes which will be traced as we proceed, the one sacred temple in all the land. As time passed, therefore, reverence led men to magnify its splendor. Doubtless it was ornamented to a degree with gold, but probably not so overlaid with gold as the preceding account would indicate.

The architects of the temple were Tyrian (Phenician) workmen. When compared with the temples of Babylonia and Egypt, it appears that the architects adapted, in constructing it, elements from the temples of both those countries. In many ways it departed from standards which later religious Hebrew thought regarded as orthodox. The carvings of palm trees and open flowers as well as the figures of the cherubim violated what was afterward regarded as a divine command: "Thou shalt not make unto thee the likeness of anything in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth" (*Ex.* 20:4). In Solomon's time, however, this command had not been formulated. Although later generations gloried in the ornateness of the temple, the simple folk who had to pay the taxes which produced the funds for its erection felt differently.

THE BRAZEN IMPLEMENTS OF THE TEMPLE, *1 Kings* 7:23-51

1 Kings 7. 23] ⁶⁸ And he made the molten sea of ten cubits from brim to brim, round in compass, and the height thereof was five cubits: and a line of thirty cubits compassed it round about. 24] And under the brim of it round about there were knops which did compass it, ⁶⁹ for ten cubits, compassing the sea round about: the knops were in two 25] rows, cast when it was cast. It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east: and the sea was set upon them above, and all

26] their hinder parts were inward. And it was an handbreadth thick; and the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, like the flower of a lily: it 27] held two thousand baths. And he made the ten bases of brass; four cubits was the length of one base, and four cubits breadth thereof, and three cubits 28] the height of it. And the work of the bases was on this manner: they had ⁷⁰ borders; ⁷¹ and there were borders be- 29] tween the ledges: and on the borders that were between the ledges were lions, oxen, and cherubim; and upon the ledges ⁷² there was a pedestal above: and be-

⁶⁵ See *2 Chr.* 3:17.

⁶⁶ That is, *He shall establish.*

⁶⁷ That is perhaps, *In it is strength.*

⁶⁸ See *2 Chr.* 4:2 &c.

⁶⁹ Or, *ten in a cubit.*

⁷⁰ Or, *panels* (and so in ver. 29, &c.)

⁷¹ Or, *even borders.*

⁷² Or, *it was in like manner above.*

neath the lions and oxen were wreaths
 30] of hanging work. And every base
 had four brasen wheels, and axles of
 brass: and the four feet thereof had
 73 undersetters: beneath the laver were
 the undersetters molten, with wreaths at
 31] the side of each. And the mouth of
 it within the chapter and above was a
 cubit: and the mouth thereof was round
 after the work of a pedestal, a cubit and
 an half: and also upon the mouth of it
 were gravings, and their borders were
 32] foursquare, not round. And the four
 wheels were underneath the borders;
 and the axletrees of the wheels were in
 the base: and the height of a wheel was
 33] a cubit and half a cubit. And the
 work of the wheels was like the work
 of a chariot wheel: their axletrees, and
 their felloes, and their spokes, and their
 34] naves, were all molten. And there
 were four undersetters at the four cor-
 ners of each base: the undersetters
 35] thereof were of the base itself. And
 in the top of the base was there a round
 compass of half a cubit high: and on the
 top of the base the 74 stays thereof and
 the borders thereof were of the same.
 36] And on the plates of the stays there-
 of, and on the borders thereof, he graved
 cherubim, lions, and palm trees, accord-
 ing to the space of each, with wreaths
 37] round about. 75 After this manner
 he made the ten bases: all of them had
 one casting, one measure, and one form.
 38] 76 And he made ten lavers of brass:
 one laver contained forty baths: and
 every laver was four cubits: and upon
 every one of the ten bases one laver.
 39] And he set the bases, five on the
 right 77 side of the house, and five on the
 left side of the house: and he set the
 sea on the right side of the house east-
 40] ward, toward the south. And 78 Hiram
 made the 79 lavers, and the shovels,
 and the basons. So Hiram made an end

of doing all the work that he wrought
 for king Solomon in the house of the
 41] LORD: the two pillars, and the two
 bowls of the chapters that were on the
 top of the pillars; and the two networks
 to cover the two bowls of the chapters
 that were on the top of the pillars;
 42] and the four hundred pomegranates
 for the two networks; two rows of pome-
 granates for each network, to cover the
 two bowls of the chapters that were
 43] 80 upon the pillars; and the ten bases,
 44] and the ten lavers on the bases; and
 the one sea, and the twelve oxen under
 45] the sea; and the pots, and the shov-
 els, and the basons: even all 81 these ves-
 sels, which Hiram made for king Solo-
 mon, in the house of the LORD, were of
 46] burnished brass. In the plain of Jor-
 dan did the king cast them, in the clay
 ground between Succoth and Zarethan.
 47] And Solomon left all the vessels *un-
 weighed*, because they were exceeding
 many: the weight of the brass 82 could
 48] not be found out. And Solomon made
 all the vessels that were in the house of
 the LORD: the golden altar, and the table
 whereupon the shew bread was, of gold;
 49] and the candlesticks, five on the
 right side, and five on the left, before
 the oracle, of pure gold; and the flow-
 ers, and the lamps, and the tongs, of
 50] gold; and the cups, and the snuffers,
 and the basons, and the spoons, and the
 firepans, of pure gold; and the hinges,
 both for the doors of the inner house, the
 most holy place, and for the doors of the
 house, *to wit*, of the temple, of gold.
 51] 83 Thus all the work that king Solo-
 mon wrought in the house of the LORD
 was finished. And Solomon brought in
 the things which David his father had
 dedicated, *even* the silver, and the gold,
 and the vessels, and put them in the
 treasuries of the house of the LORD.

The metal furnishings and implements described in the preceding quotation represented a departure from ancient Hebrew religious custom

73 Heb. *shoulders*.

74 Heb. *hands*.

75 See 2 Chr. 4: 14.

76 See 2 Chr. 4: 6, &c.

77 Heb. *shoulder*.

78 Heb. *Hiram*.

79 Many ancient authorities read, *pots*.

80 Heb. *upon the face of the pillars*.

81 Another reading is, *the vessels of the Tent*.

82 Or, *was not searched out*.

83 See 2 Chr. 5: 1, &c.

which Solomon's contemporaries could hardly regard with indifference. This religious custom is embodied in the law that an altar should be made of earth or of unhewn stone (*Ex.* 20: 24, 25). This law represented the immemorial custom of nomadic and agricultural peoples. To substitute a bronze altar, as Solomon did, in imitation of the temple furniture of Phenicians, an artisan people, was rank heresy. Throughout Israel at this time were many altars, but they conformed to the old type: they were of earth or stone. Not only was Solomon's temple not intended by him as more than his chapel—a place of worship for him, his courtiers, and the people of Jerusalem—it was a heretical temple. Together with his heavy taxes it helped to alienate from his house the loyalty of his subjects.

SOLOMON PAYS HIRAM IN TERRITORY, *1 Kings* 9: 10-14

1 Kings 9. 10] ⁸⁴ And it came to pass at the end of twenty years, wherein Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the LORD and the king's house, **11]** (now Hiram the king of Tyre had furnished Solomon with cedar trees and fir trees, and with gold, according to all his desire,) that then king Solomon gave Hiram twenty cities in the land of Gali-

12] lee. And Hiram came out from Tyre to see the cities which Solomon had given him; and they pleased him not. **13]** And he said, What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And ⁸⁵ he called them the land of ⁸⁶ Canaan, unto this day. And Hiram sent to the king sixscore talents of gold.

This selling of Hebrew territory to the king of Tyre was probably good statesmanship; it is certainly in accord with the policies of modern statecraft. It was, however, quite out of accord with later Hebrew religious ideas, according to which Palestine was Yahweh's gift to his people, and the land must not be estranged.

SOLOMON FORTIFIES HIS KINGDOM, *1 Kings* 9: 15, 17-25

1 Kings 9. 15] And this is the ⁸⁷ reason of the levy which king Solomon raised; for to build the house of the LORD, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.

17] And Solomon built Gezer, and **18]** Beth-horon the nether, and Baalath, and ⁸⁸ Tamar in the wilderness, in the **19]** land, and all the store cities that Solomon had, and the cities for his chariots, and the cities for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build for his pleasure in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon,

and in all the land of his dominion. **20]** As for all the people that were left of the Amorites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which were not of the children of Israel **21]** rael; their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Israel were not able utterly to destroy, of them did Solomon raise a **22]** levy of bondservants, unto this day. But of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondservants: but they were the men of war, and his servants, and his princes, and his captains, and rulers of his chariots and of his horse-

⁸⁴ See *2 Chr.* 8: 1, &c.

⁸⁵ Or, they were called.

⁸⁶ *I. e.* "as good as nothing."

⁸⁷ Or, account.

⁸⁸ Another reading is, *Tadmor*. So *2 Chr.* 8: 4.

23] men. These were the chief officers that were over Solomon's work, five hundred and fifty, which bare rule over the people that wrought in the work. 24] But Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David unto her house which *Solomon* had built for her: then

25] did he build Millo. And three times in a year did Solomon offer burnt offerings and peace offerings upon the altar which he built unto the LORD, burning incense therewith, *upon the altar* that was before the LORD. So he finished the house.

The preceding passage sketches the ethnic development during Solomon's reign and the measures which he took to protect the vulnerable parts of his kingdom from invasion. Hazor commanded the upper valley of the Jordan; Megiddo, the Plain of Jezreel; Gezer and Beth-horon, the approach to the highlands of southern Palestine from the west. Centuries before, when Israel first entered the land, she could only gain a foothold for herself among hostile peoples whom she could not conquer; now she had become the dominant race and could force the descendants of her ancient neighbors to do her will.

SOLOMON'S COMMERCE, *1 Kings* 9: 26-28; 10: 11, 12, 22, 28, 29

1 Kings 9. 26] And king Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. 27] And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. 28] And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon.

10. 11] And the navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of ⁸⁹almug 12] trees and precious stones. And the king made of the almug trees ⁹⁰pillars for the house of the LORD, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries

for the singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen, unto this day.

22] For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram: once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks.

28] ⁹¹And the horses which Solomon had were brought out of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them in 29] droves, each drove at a price. And a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred *shekels* of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out ⁹²by their means.

Edom apparently was still a country tributary to Israel as it had been in the reign of David. At Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of Akabah on the Red Sea in Edomite territory Solomon established a port and in conjunction with the king of Tyre, who furnished the experienced sailors, embarked a fleet on the Red Sea to trade with the land of Ophir. Ophir was, apparently, the Punt of the Egyptians. It included the southwest part of Arabia and what is now Somaliland. From this region Egyptian mon-

⁸⁹ In *2 Chr.* 2: 8, 9: 10, *algum trees*. Perhaps, *sandal wood*.

⁹⁰ Or, *a railing*; Heb. *a prop.*

⁹¹ See *2 Chr.* 1: 16, 9: 28.

⁹² Heb. *in their hand*.

archs had brought back treasures and extensive merchandise from the time of the old Egyptian kingdom, 3000-2500 B.C. From this trade Solomon, and apparently some of his favored subjects, gained great wealth.

Another source of Solomon's wealth was his trade in horses. The horse, which evolved apparently in central Asia, was unknown either in Palestine or in Egypt until about 1800-1600 B.C. The supply in the time of Solomon was either central Asia or southern Europe. Horses were in great demand in Egypt, and it was probably for the Egyptians that Solomon bought them. In the opinion of the writer *1 Kings* 10: 28 should be translated "and the horses which Solomon had were brought on account of Egypt; and the king's merchants received them in droves, each drove for a price." An interesting comment on Solomon's traffic in horses has been found at Megiddo, where the archæologists of the University of Chicago, in excavating, unearthed the ruins of extensive horse-stables. Evidently it was at Megiddo that horses were received from the north and made ready for the Egyptian market.

SOLOMON'S RICHES AND SPLENDOR, *1 Kings* 10: 22; 11: 1, 3

1 Kings 10: 22. So king Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth in riches and in wisdom.

11. Now king Solomon loved many strange women, ⁹³ together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the

Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidon-3] ians, and Hittites; And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines: and his wives turned away his heart.

THE LEGEND OF THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

South Arabia is a land the civilization of which extends back into unknown antiquity. Across it for two thousand years and more before Solomon, traffic between Egypt and Babylonia had crossed and recrossed. The people of South Arabia did not, however, develop a system of writing until two or three hundred years before Solomon's time. When it is first possible to trace their history in their inscriptions, two cities appear to be the leaders in civilization, Ma'in and Saba, the Sheba of the Bible. Of these the kingdom of Ma'in was first the controlling power. Her kings can be traced back to 1200 B.C. or earlier. Saba does not appear to have been an independent power until two or three hundred years after the time of Solomon. Perhaps a queen of Ma'in actually visited Solomon, but, if so, a later writer, who lived after Saba had superseded Ma'in, thought she had been a queen of Saba or Sheba. The story as he told it is as follows:

1 Kings 10. ⁹⁴ And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon

concerning the name of the LORD, she came to prove him with hard questions.

⁹³ Or, *besides*.

⁹⁴ See *2 Chr.* 9: 1, &c.

2] And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that 3] was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions: there was not any thing hid from the king which he told 4] her not. And when the queen of Sheba had seen all the wisdom of Solomon, and 5] the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the ⁹⁵attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cupbearers, and ⁹⁶his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the LORD; 6] there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thine ⁹⁷acts, and of thy wisdom. 7] Howbeit I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half was not told me:

⁹⁸thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth 8] the fame which I heard. Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and 9] that hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the LORD thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the LORD loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon.

13] And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that ⁹⁹which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty. So she turned, and went to her own land, she and her servants.

How much of this story is history and how much is legend, it is impossible to determine. Solomon's trade with South Arabia made such a visit as this possible, but, if it occurred, probably the queen did not come from Sheba (Saba). Hebrews of later centuries, when their kingdom had lost its splendor, enjoyed this tale of how the magnificence of Solomon had astonished the queen of a country which they regarded as one of the richest in the world. Although the Bible does not mention her name, later Arabian tradition gave her the name of Bilkis.

After Saba became the head of an independent kingdom about 500 B.C., it sent colonies across into Africa. About 115 B.C. one of these colonies conquered the mother country and established the kingdom of Saba and Raidhan, which continued until about 350 A.D., when it was superseded by the kingdom of Aksum in Abyssinia. It thus happens that the modern Abyssinians are in part descendants of the ancient people of Sheba, and the king of Abyssinia claims descent from Bilkis.

VARIOUS REBELLIONS DURING SOLOMON'S REIGN,

1 Kings 11: 14-31, 40

1 Kings 11. 14] And the LORD raised up an adversary unto Solomon, Hadad the Edomite: he was of the king's seed

15] in Edom. For it came to pass, when David ¹⁰⁰was in Edom, and Joab the captain of the host was gone up to bury

⁹⁵ Heb. *standing*.

⁹⁶ Or, *his burnt offering which he offered in*

Ec.

⁹⁷ Or, *sayings*.

⁹⁸ Heb. *thou hast added wisdom and goodness to the fame*.

⁹⁹ Heb. *which he gave her according to the hand of king Solomon*.

¹⁰⁰ The Sept. and Syr. read, *destroyed Edom*.

the slain, and had smitten every male 16] in Edom; (for Joab and all Israel remained there six months, until he had 17] cut off every male in Edom;) that Hadad fled, he and certain Edomites of his father's servants with him, to go into Egypt; Hadad being yet a little child. 18] And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran: and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt, unto Pharaoh king of Egypt; which gave him an house, and appointed 19] him victuals, and gave him land. And Hadad found great favour in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of 20] Tahpenes the queen. And the sister of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son, whom Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's house: and Genubath was in Pharaoh's house among the sons of Pharaoh. 21] And when Hadad heard in Egypt that David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was dead, Hadad said to Pharaoh, Let me depart, that I may go to mine own coun- 22] try. Then Pharaoh said unto him, But what hast thou lacked with me, that, behold, thou seekest to go to thine own country? And he answered, Nothing: howbeit let me depart in any wise.

23] And God raised up *another* adversary unto him, Rezon the son of Eliada, which had fled from his lord Hadadezer 24] king of Zobah: and he gathered men unto him, and became captain over a troop, when David slew them *of Zobah*: and they went to Damascus, and dwelt

therein, and reigned in Damascus. 25] And he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon, beside the mischief that Hadad *did*: and he abhorred Israel, and reigned over Syria.

26] And Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephraimite of Zeredah, a servant of Solomon, whose mother's name was Zeruah, a widow woman, he also lifted 27] up his hand against the king. And this was the cause that he lifted up his hand against the king: Solomon built Millo, and ¹⁰¹ repaired the breach of 28] the city of David his father. And the man Jeroboam was a mighty man of valour: and Solomon saw the young man that he was industrious, and he gave him charge over all the ¹⁰² labour of the 29] house of Joseph. And it came to pass at that time, when Jeroboam went out of Jerusalem, that the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite found him in the way; now *Ahijah* had clad himself with a new garment; and they two were alone in the 30] field. And Ahijah laid hold of the new garment that was on him, and rent it 31] in twelve pieces. And he said to Jeroboam, Take thee ten pieces: for thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Behold, I will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to thee.

40] Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam: but Jeroboam arose, and fled into Egypt, unto Shishak king of Egypt, and was in Egypt until the death of Solomon.

Of the three disaffected men described in the passage just quoted, Genubath and Rezon were descendants of kings whom David had conquered. Both became enemies of Solomon at the beginning of his reign. Rezon established himself as an independent king at Damascus, but, beyond maintaining his freedom (Damascus had been subject to David; *2 Sam.* 8:6), he apparently did Solomon little harm. Genubath appears to have accomplished nothing. With Jeroboam, however, the case was different. He was a Hebrew—an Ephraimite. The tribe of Ephraim had, in the period of the judges, been restless of any leadership but their own. Jeroboam had been a trusted officer of Solomon, and, late in Solomon's reign, sought to raise the standard of rebellion. In this he was encouraged

¹⁰¹ Heb. *closed up*.

¹⁰² Heb. *burden*.

by a man whom later generations counted as a prophet. When his design became known to Solomon and the king sought to punish him for his treason, Jeroboam fled to Egypt. Siamon, Solomon's father-in-law, had been long dead and Sheshonk (Shishak), the founder of a new dynasty, was on the throne of Egypt. Shishak, as we shall see, had an ambition to revive Egypt's empire in Asia, and the strong kingdom of Solomon stood in his way. Desirous of employing every means of weakening the strong Israelitish monarchy, he welcomed Jeroboam and gave him asylum. We shall meet Jeroboam again.

SOLOMON'S DEATH, *1 Kings* 11: 41-43

1 Kings 11. 41] ¹⁰³ Now the rest of the ¹⁰⁴ acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon? 42] And the time that Solomon reigned	in Jerusalem over all Israel was forty 43] years. And Solomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father: and Rehoboam his son reigned in his stead.
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Thus ended the reign of Israel's most ostentatious king. Solomon reaped the fruits of David's conquests. David had been a man of war; Solomon enjoyed a period of peace. Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia were all governed by weak and unwarlike princes. They did not invade Palestine, and David had cowed Israel's immediate neighbors. Trade was developed. Trade brought wealth, and wealth made splendor possible.

¹⁰³ See *2 Chr.* 9: 29 &c.

¹⁰⁴ Or, *words; or, matters.*

CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

BEFORE the death of Solomon discontent had been long brewing. His energy and wisdom together with the greatness of his name had held it in check, but it now found expression. Chief among the causes of this discontent was the heavy taxation which Solomon had imposed on the people; but that was not the only cause. His temple was thought not to be a good orthodox Hebrew temple. It was filled with bronze unorthodox implements of Phenician manufacture. The details of cult have a great power over the religious imagination, and it was felt that somehow Solomon was worshipping a different God from the one who had brought Israel from Egypt and whose cult was so much more simple. Then, too, the powerful tribe of Ephraim, which had submitted to the leadership of Judah during the reigns of David and Solomon, was, as we have seen, growing restless; it wished to assert its own leadership. On the death of Solomon, Jeroboam returned to his native land. Solomon's heir was his son Rehoboam. In order to placate the discontented Ephraimites, Rehoboam went to the Ephraimite shrine at Shechem to be crowned. There the crisis culminated. Had Rehoboam been a wise and conciliatory statesman, he might have averted disaster, but he was not. The Bible tells what happened in the following story.

THE CORONATION OF REHOBAM AND THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM, *1 Kings 12: 1-24*

1 Kings 12. ¹ And Rehoboam went to Shechem: for all Israel were come to ² Shechem to make him king. And it came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat heard of it, (for he was yet in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of king Solomon, and Jeroboam dwelt in Egypt, and they sent and called him;) that Jeroboam and all the congregation of Israel came, and ⁴ spake unto Rehoboam, saying, Thy father made our yoke grievous: now therefore make thou the grievous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve

⁵ thee. And he said unto them, Depart yet for three days, then come again to ⁶ me. And the people departed. And king Rehoboam took counsel with the old men, that had stood before Solomon his father while he yet lived, saying, What counsel give ye me to return answer to ⁷ this people? And they spake unto him, saying, If thou wilt be a servant unto this people this day, and wilt serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants ⁸ for ever. But he forsook the counsel of the old men which they had given him, and took counsel with the young

¹ See *2 Chr.* 10: 1, &c.

men that were grown up with him, that 9] stood before him. And he said unto them, What counsel give ye, that we may return answer to this people, who have spoken to me, saying, Make the yoke that thy father did put upon us 10] lighter? And the young men that were grown up with him spake unto him, saying, Thus shalt thou say unto this people that spake unto thee, saying, Thy father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us: speak unto them, My little finger is thicker than my 11] father's loins. And now whereas my father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise 12] you with scorpions. So Jeroboam and all the people came to Rehoboam the third day, as the king bade, saying, 13] Come to me again the third day. And the king answered the people roughly, and forsook the counsel of the old men 14] which they had given him; and spake to them after the counsel of the young men, saying, My father made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I 15] will chastise you with scorpions. So the king hearkened not unto the people; for it was a thing brought about of the LORD, that he might establish his word, which the LORD spake by the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam the 16] son of Nebat. And when all Israel saw that the king hearkened not unto them, the people answered the king, saying, What portion have we in David? neither have we inheritance in the son

of Jesse: to your tents, O Israel: now see to thine own house, David. So Israel 17] departed unto their tents. But as for the children of Israel which dwelt in the cities of Judah, Rehoboam reigned 18] over them. Then king Rehoboam sent Adoram, who was over the levy; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died. And king Rehoboam made speed to get him up to his chariot, to flee 19] to Jerusalem. So Israel rebelled against the house of David, unto this 20] day. And it came to pass, when all Israel heard that Jeroboam was returned, that they sent and called him unto the congregation, and made him king over all Israel: there was none that followed the house of David, but the tribe of Judah only.

21] ² And when Rehoboam was come to Jerusalem, he assembled all the house of Judah, and the tribe of Benjamin, an hundred and fourscore thousand chosen men, which were warriors, to fight against the house of Israel, to bring the kingdom again to Rehoboam the son 22] of Solomon. But the word of God came unto Shemaiah the man of God, 23] saying, Speak unto Rehoboam the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and unto all the house of Judah and Benjamin, and to the ³ rest of the people, saying, 24] Thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel: return every man to his house; for this thing is of me. So they hearkened unto the word of the LORD, and returned and went their way, according to the word of the LORD.

Rehoboam, whose tactlessness and arrogance had precipitated the revolution of the greater portion of his subjects, and who would not then listen to the advice of experienced statesmen, was apparently overawed by the situation in which he found himself. He listened to the advice of the prophet and refrained from civil war. It was a wise decision. With only the tribe of Judah and a part of the tribe of Benjamin from which to draw soldiers, he was no match for Jeroboam, who had all the rest of Israel at his back. Thus the kingdom was divided. Of course all vassal kingdoms immediately asserted their independence, and the days of the Hebrew empire were at an end. This was just what the king of Egypt desired, and we shall soon see the advantage which he took of it.

² See 2 Chr. 11: 1, &c.

³ See ver. 17.

JEROBOAM'S MEASURES OF DEFENSE, 1 Kings 12:25-33

1 Kings 12. 25] Then Jeroboam built Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and dwelt therein; and he went out from 26] thence, and built Penuel. And Jeroboam said in his heart, Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David: 27] if this people go up to offer sacrifices in the house of the LORD at Jerusalem, then shall the heart of this people turn again unto their lord, even unto Rehoboam king of Judah; and they shall kill me, and return to Rehoboam king of Judah. Whereupon the king took counsel, and made two calves of gold; and he said unto them, ⁴It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up 29] out of the land of Egypt. And he set the one in Beth-el, and the other put 30] he in Dan. And this thing became a

sin: for the people went *to worship* be- 31] fore ⁵the one, even unto Dan. And he made houses of high places, and made priests from among all the people, which 32] were not of the sons of Levi. And Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah, and he ⁶went up unto the altar; so did he in Beth-el, ⁷sacrificing unto the calves that he had made: and he placed in Beth-el the priests of the high places which he 33] had made. And he ⁸went up unto the altar which he had made in Beth-el on the fifteenth day in the eighth month, even in the month which he had devised ⁸of his own heart: and he ordained a feast for the children of Israel, and ⁶went up unto the altar, to burn incense.

The fortification of Shechem between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim was a natural measure of defense for Jeroboam to take. Jerusalem was strongly fortified, and it was but prudent for Jeroboam to have also a strongly fortified town in the heart of his own tribe where, in case of necessity, he could stand a siege. Penuel, on the precipitous shore of the Jabbok east of the Jordan, he also fortified, that he might have a military stronghold in the trans-Jordanian sections of his dominions.

In judging of the motives of Jeroboam in lavishing his royal patronage upon the two temples of Bethel and Dan, we must bear in mind the religious bias of the editor of the books of *Kings*. He lived and wrote after the introduction of the code of *Deuteronomy* as the organic law of Judah in the year 621 B.C., and he compiled these books to persuade people to observe the Deuteronomic law. That law made all sanctuaries except the one at Jerusalem illegal; hence the compiler of *Kings* regarded all sanctuaries except the one at Jerusalem as wrong, and the men who patronized them as sinful. The passage from *Kings* last quoted (1 Kings 12:25-33) is largely the work of this writer, and we may be sure that the point of view of the Israelites of the time of Jeroboam was quite different. The many sanctuaries scattered over the land—there was one on the hill above every large town—were all still considered legitimate and sacred. In patronizing them Jeroboam was acting, not as an innovator in religion, but as a conservative. At all these sanctuaries there were either dirt altars or altars of stone; the implements of their worship

⁴ Or, *Ye have gone up long enough.*

⁵ Or, *each of them.*

⁶ Or, *offered upon.*

⁷ Or, *to sacrifice.*

⁸ Another reading is, *apart.*

were, too, of the simple sort long employed by an agricultural people. The temple in Jerusalem, on the other hand, was equipped with a bronze altar and with bronze implements. In encouraging the old sanctuaries Jeroboam was acting conservatively. The feast in the eighth month, too, was a festival which had long been celebrated in sanctuaries all over the land. Jeroboam's one innovation—and possibly that had been made by some one before—was the presenting of little golden bullocks as symbols of Yahweh to the temples of Bethel and Dan. Bullocks were symbols of divinity among several of the agricultural peoples of western Asia. They had been symbols of the Canaanite Baals in several Palestinian temples which the Hebrews had taken over as temples of Yahweh. As we have seen, Yahweh had himself been called *Baal* or "Lord" in the days of Gideon, Saul, and David. Once the God of nomads, he had now become the God of an agricultural people, and they saw no impropriety in employing in his worship the symbols which other agricultural peoples employed in the worship of their gods. True, molten gods had been prohibited in the decalogue of the time of Moses, but many now disregarded that. Jeroboam was able to say "Behold thy God, Oh Israel, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The struggle to separate Yahweh from Baal and to banish images from his worship came, as we shall see, in a later generation.

REHOBOAM'S CONTEMPORARY REIGN IN JUDAH, *1 Kings* 14: 21-28
and *2 Chr.* 11: 5-12

1 Kings 14. 21] ⁹ And Rehoboam the son of Solomon reigned in Judah. Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there: and his mother's name was Naamah the Am-
22] monitess. And Judah did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD; and they provoked him to jealousy with their sins which they committed, above all
23] that their fathers had done. For they also built them high places, and ¹⁰ pillars, and Asherim, on every high hill, and un-
24] der every green tree; and there were also ¹¹ sodomites in the land: they did according to all the abominations of the nations which the LORD drove out before the children of Israel.

2 Chron. 11. 5] And Rehoboam dwelt

in Jerusalem, and built cities for defence
6] in Judah. He built even Beth-lehem,
7] and Etam, and Tekoa, and Beth-zur,
8] and Soco, and Adullam, and Gath,
9] and Mareshah and Ziph, and Ador-
10] aim, and Lachish, and Azekah,
and Zorah, and Aijalon, and Hebron,
which are in Judah and in Benjamin,
11] fenced cities. And he fortified the strong holds, and put captains in them, and store of victual, and oil and wine.
12] And in every several city *he put* shields and spears, and made them exceeding strong. And Judah and Benjamin belonged to him.

1 Kings 14. 25] ¹² And it came to pass in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, that Shishak king of Egypt came up against
26] Jerusalem: and he took away the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house; he

⁹ See *2 Chr.* 12: 13.
¹⁰ Or, *obelisks*.

¹¹ See *Deut.* 23: 17.
¹² See *2 Chr.* 12: 2, 9-11.

even took away all: and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon 27] had made. And king Rehoboam made in their stead shields of brass, and committed them to the hands of the captains of the ¹³ guard, which kept the

28] door of the king's house. And it was so, that as oft as the king went into the house of the LORD, the guard bare them, and brought them back into the guard chamber.

The editor of the first book of *Kings* ascribes sin to the Judeans of Rehoboam's time because they worshiped in "high places," or the old open-air sanctuaries outside of every town, but that is due to the purpose which controlled his writing. In Rehoboam's time no one had thought such worship wrong.

The second book of *Chronicles* records the fact that Rehoboam for the protection of his kingdom built (or rebuilt) several fortified towns. Several of these—Gath, Maresa (the modern Beit-Gibrin), Azekah (the modern Tell Zakariya), Lachish (the modern Tell el-Hesi), and Zorah, the birthplace of Samson—were on his western frontier, where attack from the Philistine plain was easy. Either Jeroboam or the king of Egypt might attack him from this direction. Bethlehem, Beth-zur, Hebron, and Ziph were fortresses in the heart of his domain, should an enemy penetrate that far, while Aijalon was an outpost against Jeroboam on the north.

These prudent measures were taken none too soon, for in the fifth year of his reign Shishak (Sheshonk), king of Egypt—the same that had earlier given asylum to Jeroboam—invaded Palestine with an army and compelled Rehoboam to pay a heavy tribute. To meet this tribute the Judean king was compelled to take the temple treasure and to sacrifice many of the golden implements of the temple.

The Bible gives the impression that Sheshonk's operations were directed against Judah alone, but the Egyptian account gives a different impression. Sheshonk, on returning to Egypt, had an account of his conquests written on the walls of a pylon, or temple gate, which he was erecting at Karnak in Thebes. This account includes the names of about a hundred and twenty cities which Pharaoh had captured. Among them are Gath, Taanach, Shunem, Bethshean, Mahanaim, Gibeon, Beth-horon, Aijalon, Soco, and Megiddo. Several of these—Taanach, Megiddo, Shunem, Bethshean—were cities of Jeroboam's kingdom, and at least one of them—Mahanaim—was east of the Jordan. It is clear that Sheshonk's attack was directed against both the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah, and that, by reducing both these monarchies to the position of tribute-paying vassals, he had for the time revived the old Egyptian empire in Asia. The division of the kingdom had given Sheshonk his opportunity. Although he had sheltered Jeroboam that he might become an instrument for weakening the Hebrew monarchy by dividing it, the

Egyptian king cared nothing for him. He took his cities as ruthlessly as he did those of Judah. Why the Bible does mention this, we do not know.

REHOBAM'S DEATH AND ABIJAM'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 14: 29—15: 9

1 Kings 14. 29] ¹⁴ Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? 30] And there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually. And Rehoboam slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and his mother's name was Naamah the Ammonitess. And ¹⁵ Abijam his son reigned in his stead.

15. ¹⁶ Now in the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam the son of Nebat began 2] Abijam to reign over Judah. Three years reigned he in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was ¹⁷ Maacah the daughter of ¹⁸ Abishalom. And he walked in all the sins of his father, which he had done before him: and his heart was not perfect with the LORD his God, as 4] the heart of David his father. Nevertheless for David's sake did the LORD

his God give him a lamp in Jerusalem, to set up his son after him, and to establish Jerusalem: because David did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and turned not aside from anything that he commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter 6] of Uriah the Hittite. Now there was war between ¹⁹ Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life. And the rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? And there was war between Abijam and 8] Jeroboam. ²⁰ And Abijam slept with his fathers; and they buried him in the city of David: and Asa his son reigned in his stead.

9] And in the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel began Asa to reign over Judah.

The brief reign of Abijam, like that of Rehoboam, fell within the limits of Jeroboam's reign. While no details of the civil war which followed the division of the kingdom are recorded, the fact is stated that hostilities between the two kingdoms existed during the whole of the reigns of Rehoboam and Abijam.

JEROBOAM'S LAST DAYS AND NADAB'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 14: 1-20 and 15: 25-31

1 Kings 14. At that time Abijah the 2] son of Jeroboam fell sick. And Jeroboam said to his wife, Arise, I pray thee, and disguise thyself, that thou be not known to be the wife of Jeroboam: and get thee to Shiloh; behold, there is Ahijah the prophet, which spake concerning me that I should be king over 3] this people. And take with thee ten

loaves, and cracknels, and a ²¹ cruse of honey, and go to him: he shall tell thee 4] what shall become of the child. And Jeroboam's wife did so, and arose, and went to Shiloh, and came to the house of Ahijah. Now Ahijah could not see; for his eyes were set by reason of his 5] age. And the LORD said unto Ahijah, Behold, the wife of Jeroboam cometh

¹⁴ See *2 Chr.* 12: 15, 16.

¹⁵ In *2 Chr.* 12: 16, *Abijah*.

¹⁶ See *2 Chr.* 13: 1, &c.

¹⁷ In *2 Chr.* 13: 2, *Micaiah the daughter of Uriel*.

¹⁸ In *2 Chr.* 11: 20, ²¹, *Absalom*.

¹⁹ According to some authorities, *Abijam*.

²⁰ See *2 Chr.* 14: 1, &c.

²¹ Or, *bottle*.

to inquire of thee concerning her son; for he is sick: thus and thus shalt thou say unto her: for it shall be, when she cometh in, that she shall feign herself 6] to be another woman. And it was so, when Ahijah heard the sound of her feet, as she came in at the door, that he said, Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam; why feignest thou thyself to be another? for I am sent to thee with heavy tidings. 7] Go, tell Jeroboam, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Forasmuch as I exalted thee from among the people, and made thee ²² prince over my people 8] Israel, and rent the kingdom away from the house of David, and gave it thee: and yet thou hast not been as my servant David, who kept my commandments, and who followed me with all his heart, to do that only which was 9] right in mine eyes; but hast done evil above all that were before thee, and hast gone and made thee other gods, and molten images, to provoke me to anger, and hast cast me behind thy back: 10] therefore, behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam every man child, him that is shut up and him that is left at large in Israel, and will utterly sweep away the house of Jeroboam, as a man sweepeth away dung, till it be all gone.

17] And Jeroboam's wife arose, and departed, and came to Tirzah: and as she came to the threshold of the house, 18] the child died. And all Israel buried him, and mourned for him; according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of his servant Ahijah the 19] prophet. And the rest of the acts

of Jeroboam, how he warred, and how he reigned, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings 20] of Israel. And the days which Jeroboam reigned were two and twenty years: and he slept with his fathers, and Nahab his son reigned in his stead.

1 Kings 15. 25] And Nadab the son of Jeroboam began to reign over Israel in the second year of Asa king of Judah; and he reigned over Israel two years. 26] And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of his father, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin. 27] And Baasha the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar, conspired against him; and Baasha smote him at Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines; for Nadab and all Israel were laying 28] siege to Gibbethon. Even in the third year of Asa king of Judah did Baasha slay him, and reigned in his stead. 29] And it came to pass that, as soon as he was king, he smote all the house of Jeroboam; he left not to Jeroboam any that breathed, until he had destroyed him; according unto the saying of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of his servant Ahijah the Shilonite: 30] for the sins of Jeroboam which he sinned, and wherewith he made Israel to sin; because of his provocation wherewith he provoked the LORD, the God of 31] Israel, to anger. Now the rest of the acts of Nadab, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? And there was war between Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their days.

The preceding excerpt from *1 Kings* 14 gives us an insight into the view the religious people of the time took of the overthrow of Jeroboam's dynasty. They thought that had he pleased Yahweh, his house would have been established. Because his dynasty fell, they inferred that he had offended Yahweh, and a later generation understood the offense to be that he had introduced molten gods, which, as we have pointed out, violated a commandment of the time of Moses. The excerpt from *1 Kings* 15 relates how Baasha rebelled, overthrew Nadab, Jeroboam's son, and, assuming the crown, endeavored to found a new dynasty.

THE REIGN OF KING ASA OF JUDAH, *1 Kings 15:9-24*

1 Kings 15. 9] And in the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel began
10] Asa to reign over Judah. And forty and one years reigned he in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Maacah the
11] daughter of Abishalom. And Asa did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, as did David his father.
12] And he put away the sodomites out of the land, and removed all the idols
13] that his fathers had made. ²³ And also Maacah his mother he removed from being ²⁴ queen, because she had made an abominable image ²⁵ for an Asherah; and Asa cut down her image,
14] and burnt it at the brook Kidron. But the high places were not taken away: nevertheless the heart of Asa was perfect with the LORD all his days. And he brought into the house of the LORD the things that his father had dedicated, and the things that himself had dedicated, silver, and gold, and vessels.
16] And there was war between Asa and Baasha king of Israel all their days.
17] ²⁶ And Baasha king of Israel went up against Judah, and built Ramah, that he might not suffer any to go out or
18] come in to Asa king of Judah. Then Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and delivered them into the hand of his servants: and king Asa

sent them to Ben-hadad, the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying,
19] ²⁷ *There is* a league between me and thee, between my father and thy father: behold, I have sent unto thee a present of silver and gold; go, break thy league with Baasha king of Israel, that he may
20] depart from me. And Ben-hadad hearkened unto king Asa, and sent the captains of his armies against the cities of Israel, and smote Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-beth-maacah, and all Chinneroth,
21] with all the land of Naphtali. And it came to pass, when Baasha heard thereof, that he left off building of Ramah,
22] and dwelt in Tirzah. Then King Asa made a proclamation unto all Judah; none was exempted: and they carried away the stones of Ramah, and the timber thereof, wherewith Baasha had builded; and king Asa built therewith Geba of Benjamin, and Mizpah.
23] ²⁸ Now the rest of all the acts of Asa, and all his might, and all that he did, and the cities which he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? But in the time of his old age he was diseased in
24] his feet. And Asa slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead.

In the narrative just quoted there are two historical points to be remembered. The first of them concerns the disgusting image into which Asa's mother had had an *ashera*—a wooden post connected with a sanctuary—carved. The nomadic customs of the steppe, where the religion of Yahweh had begun, were simple. Although not overrefined, they lacked the open suggestions of sensuality which often characterized the worship of the wealthier agricultural and commercial Semites. Since the settlement in Canaan, the religion of Yahweh had been slowly absorbing ideas and customs belonging to the worship of the Baals. Jeroboam's golden bullocks were an instance of this; this *ashera* of Maacah, Asa's mother, was another. In this last instance, however, public sentiment was so outraged that Asa was compelled to remove his mother from her honorable

²³ See *2 Chr.* 15: 16-18.

²⁴ Or, *queen mother*.

²⁵ Or, *for Asherah*.

²⁶ See *2 Chr.* 16: 1-6.

²⁷ Or, *Let there be*.

²⁸ See *2 Chr.* 16: 11-14.

position as queen dowager. That act secured for him the commendation of the later Hebrew chronicler; he thought Asa orthodox according to the standards of the book of *Deuteronomy*.

The other noteworthy event is the war between Baasha and Asa. Ramah, which Baasha was fortifying, is only five miles north of Jerusalem. Thus near to Asa's capital city had Baasha pushed his frontier. By bribing the king of Damascus to break his alliance with Baasha and attack the cities of northern Israel, Asa succeeded in compelling Baasha to abandon the fortification of Ramah. Then, taking the abandoned material, he fortified with it Geba and Mizpeh, both towns about seven miles north of Jerusalem, the first on the south side of a deep ravine which itself formed a natural defense, and the second, on the highroad from Jerusalem to the north. This passage shows how the northern frontier of Judah varied with circumstances. In the time of Rehoboam it had been at Aijalon, several miles farther north; in the reign of Asa it varied from five to seven miles from Jerusalem. During much of the divided kingdom only a part of the tribe of Benjamin belonged to the kingdom of Judah.

THE REIGN OF BAASHA AND THE FALL OF HIS DYNASTY,

1 Kings 15: 33—16: 14

1 Kings 15. 33] In the third year of Asa king of Judah began Baasha the son of Ahijah to reign over all Israel in Tirzah, and reigned twenty and four 34] years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin.

16. And the word of the LORD came to Jehu the son of Hanani against Baasha, 2] saying, Forasmuch as I exalted thee out of the dust, and made thee ²⁹ prince over my people Israel; and thou hast walked in the way of Jeroboam, and hast made my people Israel to sin, to provoke 3] me to anger with their sins; behold, I will utterly sweep away Baasha and his house; and I will make thy house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat. 4] Him that dieth of Baasha in the city shall the dogs eat; and him that dieth of his in the field shall the fowls of the 5] air eat. Now the rest of the acts of Baasha, and what he did, and his might, are they not written in the book of the 6] chronicles of the kings of Israel? And

Baasha slept with his fathers, and was buried in Tirzah: and Elah his son 7] reigned in his stead. And moreover by the prophet Jehu the son of Hanani came the word of the LORD against Baasha, and against his house, both because of all the evil that he did in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger with the work of his hands, in being like the house of Jeroboam, and because he smote ³⁰ him.

8] In the twenty and sixth year of Asa king of Judah began Elah the son of Baasha to reign over Israel in Tirzah, 9] and reigned two years. And his servant Zimri, captain of half his chariots, conspired against him: now he was in Tirzah, drinking himself drunk in the house of Arza, which was over the 10] household in Tirzah: and Zimri went in and smote him, and killed him, in the twenty and seventh year of Asa king of 11] Judah, and reigned in his stead. And it came to pass, when he began to reign, as soon as he sat on his throne, that he smote all the house of Baasha: he left him not a single man child, neither of

²⁹ Or, leader.

³⁰ Or, it.

12] his kinsfolks, nor of his friends. Thus did Zimri destroy all the house of Baasha, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake against Baasha by Jehu 13] the prophet, for all the sins of Baasha, and the sins of Elah his son, which they sinned, and wherewith they made

Israel to sin, to provoke the LORD, the God of Israel, to anger with their vanities. Now the rest of the acts of Elah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

Neither Jeroboam nor Baasha succeeded in founding a dynasty.

THE REIGN OF OMRI, 1 *Kings* 16: 15-28

1 *Kings* 16. 15] In the twenty and seventh year of Asa king of Judah did Zimri reign seven days in Tirzah. Now the people were encamped against Gibbethon, which belonged to the Philistines. 16] And the people that were encamped heard say, Zimri hath conspired, and hath also smitten the king: wherefore all Israel made Omri, the captain of the host, king over Israel that day in the 17] camp. And Omri went up from Gibbethon, and all Israel with him, and they 18] besieged Tirzah. And it came to pass, when Zimri saw that the city was taken, that he went into the ⁸¹ castle of the king's house, and burnt the king's 19] house over him with fire, and died, for his sins which he sinned in doing that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and in his sin which he did, to make Israel to 20] sin. Now the rest of the acts of Zimri, and his treason that he wrought, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

21] Then were the people of Israel divided into two parts: half of the people followed Tibni the son of Ginath, to make him king; and half followed Omri.

22] But the people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni the son of Ginath: so Tibni 23] died, and Omri reigned. In the thirty and first year of Asa king of Judah began Omri to reign over Israel, and reigned twelve years: six years reigned 24] he in Tirzah. And he bought the hill ⁸² Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver; and he ⁸³ built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, the 25] owner of the hill ⁸² Samaria. And Omri did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and dealt wickedly 26] above all that were before him. For he walked in all the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and in his sins wherewith he made Israel to sin, to provoke the LORD, the God of Israel, to anger 27] with their vanities. Now the rest of the acts of Omri which he did, and his might that he shewed, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of 28] the kings of Israel? So Omri slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria: and Ahab his son reigned in his stead.

The first book of *Kings*, in the passage just quoted, graphically describes how one Israelitish general, Zimri, seized the throne only to be overthrown after a brief reign of seven days by a more powerful general, Omri. Omri was one of Israel's ablest kings. Although the Bible dismisses his reign in a few verses, we fortunately know from outside sources something of his accomplishments and reputation. One thing of importance, however, the Bible does tell: Omri's founding of the city of Samaria. From the time of Jeroboam to that of Omri the residence of the

⁸¹ Or, palace.

⁸² Heb. Shomeron.

⁸³ Or, fortified the hill.

kings of Israel had been at Tirza, a place the location of which has not yet been identified. Omri selected a circular hilltop, about twelve miles northwest of Shechem, that was surrounded on three sides by deep valleys and on the fourth (the eastern side) was connected with the adjacent hills by a ridge which was considerably lower than the top of the hill. It was an ideal place to fortify, and Omri surrounded it with a strong wall. On the summit of the hill he built a strong palace, the foundations of which were laid bare a few years ago by Harvard University.³⁴ In course of time this city gave its name to the central part of Palestine, and its name to the oldest Jewish sect, the Samaritans.

Mesha, king of Moab, who ruled just after Omri's time, wrote an inscription on a stone pillar which was found at Diban in Moab about seventy years ago. In his inscription Mesha says: ³⁵ "Omri, king of Israel oppressed Moab many days because Chemosh ³⁶ was angry with his land." This is evidence that Omri reduced the Moabites to a state of vassalage. Other neighboring lands probably suffered the same fate. His fame was so great that a king in far-off Assyria seventy or more years after his death referred to the Hebrew territory as "the land of Omri."³⁷ Omri made an alliance with Ethbaal, king of Tyre, by marrying his son Ahab to Ethbaal's daughter, Jezebel.

This brings us to the end of the first half-century after Solomon's death. It was a half-century of constant hostilities between Israel and Judah. In Israel there were frequent changes of dynasty; in Judah the dynasty of David maintained itself. Israel was, however, much the more powerful and important kingdom of the two.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Kings of Israel

Jeroboam I, 937-915 B. C.

Nadab, 915-913

Baasha, 913-889

Elah, 889-888

Zimri, 7 days

Omri, 888-876.

Kings of Judah

Rehoboam, 937-920 B. C.

Abijah, 919-916

Asa, 915-874

³⁴ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 143 and Fig. 52.

³⁵ See G. A. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

³⁶ Chemosh was the god of Moab.

³⁷ See G. A. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EPOCH-MAKING REIGNS OF AHAB AND JEHOSHAPHAT

THE reign of Ahab marks an epoch in the history of Israel. Politically it was not more brilliant than that of his father, but religiously it was much more significant. It is for their religion that the Hebrew people are especially noteworthy, and in the reign of Ahab a religious movement began, more important than any that had occurred since the days of Moses.

A SUMMARY OF AHAB'S REIGN, *1 Kings* 16: 29-34

1 Kings 16. 29] And in the thirty and eighth year of Asa king of Judah: began Ahab the son of Omri to reign over Israel: and Ahab the son of Omri reigned over Israel in Samaria twenty and two 30] years. And Ahab the son of Omri did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD above all that were before him. 31] And it came to pass, as if it had been a light thing for him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, that he took to wife ¹ Jezebel the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal, and wor-

32] shipped him. And he reared up an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, 33] which he had built in Samaria. And Ahab made ² the Asherah; and Ahab did yet more to provoke the LORD, the God of Israel, to anger than all the kings 34] of Israel that were before him. ³ In his days did Hiel the Beth-elite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son Segub; according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of Joshua the son of Nun.

Two facts are of great importance to the understanding of the reign of Ahab. The first is the marriage with Jezebel, just mentioned, and the second, the alliance with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah. The first made an ally of the powerful commercial city of Tyre: the second insured an era of peace and cooperation between the two Hebrew kingdoms. For fifty years they had been at war; they had weakened each other and made themselves the prey of their neighbors. Now, by becoming friends, they inaugurated a period of internal peace, and strengthened each other.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JEHOSHAPHAT, *1 Kings* 22: 41-44

1 Kings 22. 41] ⁴ And Jehoshaphat the son of Asa began to reign over Judah

in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel. Jehoshaphat was thirty and five-

¹ Heb. *Izebel*.

² See *2 Kings* 13: 6.

³ See *Josh.* 6: 26.

⁴ See *2 Chr.* 20: 31, &c.

years old when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and five years in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Azubah the daughter of Shilhi. And he walked in all the way of Asa his father; he turned not aside from it, doing that

which was right in the eyes of the LORD: howbeit the high places were not taken away; the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places. And Jehoshaphat made peace with the king of Israel.

The "peace with the king of Israel" which Jehoshaphat made was cemented by the marriage of Jehoshaphat's son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (see *2 Kings* 8: 18).

THE PROPHET ELIJAH CHAMPIONS YAHWEH AGAINST THE BAALS

At this point the prophet Elijah appears. In order to understand his work we need to remember that originally the religion of Yahweh was the religion of nomads. These nomads had settled in agricultural Canaan among the Canaanites and had taken over for Yahweh the Canaanite high places or shrines. With them they had taken over Canaanite ritual and customs, and, as has been pointed out, Yahweh was becoming the God of an agricultural people. In other words he was becoming agriculturalized. Then came Jezebel, the Tyrian princess, who was, according to the custom of the age (Solomon had done the same), permitted to have a place for the worship of the Baal of Tyre (he was called Melqart), the god of an artisan and commercial people. The worship of the Tyrian Baal was more ornate and sensuous than that of the Canaanite Baals by as much as that of the Canaanite agricultural Baals was more ornate and sensuous than that of the nomadic Yahweh. Elijah, from Tishbeh, in the east-Jordan country on the edge of the desert, was not only a worshiper and a prophet of Yahweh, but a champion of the nomadic ideal. Thus three ideals in religion were struggling for the mastery in the reign of Ahab. The dramatic story as told by the first book of *Kings* is as follows:

1 Kings 17. And Elijah the Tishbite, who was ⁵ of the sojourners of Gilead, said unto Ahab, As the LORD, the God of Israel, liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, **2]** but according to my word. And the **3]** word of the LORD came unto him, saying, Get thee hence, and turn thee eastward, and hide thyself by the brook Cherith, that is before Jordan. And it shall be, that thou shalt drink of the brook; and I have commanded the ravens **5]** to feed thee there. So he went and did according unto the word of the LORD:

for he went and dwelt by the brook **6]** Cherith, that is before Jordan. And the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening; and he drank of the brook. **7]** And it came to pass after a while, that the brook dried up, because there was no rain in the land.

8] And the word of the LORD came **9]** unto him, saying, Arise, get thee to Zarephath, which belongeth to Zidon, and dwell there: behold, I have commanded a widow woman there to sustain **10]** thee. So he arose and went to Zare-

⁵ According to the Sept., of Tishbeh of Gilead.

phath; and when he came to the gate of the city, behold, a widow woman was there gathering sticks: and he called to her, and said, Fetch me, I pray thee, a little water in a vessel, that I may drink. 11] And as she was going to fetch it, he called to her, and said, Bring me, I pray thee, a morsel of bread in thine 12] hand. And she said, As the LORD thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but an handful of meal in the barrel, and a little oil in the cruse: and, behold, I am gathering two sticks, that I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we 13] may eat it, and die. And Elijah said unto her, Fear not; go and do as thou hast said: but make me thereof a little cake first, and bring it forth unto me, and afterward make for thee and for 14] thy son. For thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, The barrel of meal shall not waste, neither shall the cruse of oil fail, until the day that the LORD 15] sendeth rain upon the earth. And she went and did according to the saying of Elijah: and she, and he, and her house, 16] did eat *many* days. The barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail, according to the word of the 17] LORD, which he spake by Elijah. And it came to pass after these things, that

the son of the woman, the mistress of the house, fell sick; and his sickness was so sore, that there was no breath left in 18] him. And she said unto Elijah, What have I to do with thee, O thou man of God? ⁶ thou art come unto me to bring my sin to remembrance, and to slay my 19] son! And he said unto her, Give me thy son. And he took him out of her bosom, and carried him up into the chamber, where he abode, and laid him upon 20] his own bed. And he cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, hast thou also brought evil upon the widow with whom I sojourn, by slaying her 21] son? And he stretched himself upon the child three times, and cried unto the LORD, and said, O LORD my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come into him 22] again. And the LORD hearkened unto the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he re- 23] vived. And Elijah took the child, and brought him down out of the chamber into the house, and delivered him unto his mother: and Elijah said, See, thy son 24] liveth. And the woman said to Elijah, Now I know that thou art a man of God, and that the word of the LORD in thy mouth is truth.

This introductory chapter concerning Elijah affords a good picture of the dire effects of a famine in that country brought on by lack of rainfall; also, of what it was believed a prophet could do. The account of the religious struggle begins in the next chapter.

1 Kings 18. And it came to pass after many days, that the word of the LORD came to Elijah, in the third year, saying, Go, shew thyself unto Ahab; and I 2] will send rain upon the earth. And Elijah went to shew himself unto Ahab. And the famine was sore in Samaria. 3] And Ahab called Obadiah, which was over the household. (Now Obadiah 4] feared the LORD greatly: for it was so, when Jezebel cut off the prophets of the LORD, that Obadiah took an hundred prophets, and hid them by fifty in a cave, and fed them with bread and wa- 5] ter.) And Ahab said unto Obadiah,

Go through the land, unto all the fountains of water, and unto all the brooks: peradventure we may find grass and save the horses and mules alive, ⁷ that we lose 6] not all the beasts. So they divided the land between them to pass throughout it: Ahab went one way by himself, and Obadiah went another way by himself. 7] And as Obadiah was in the way, behold, Elijah met him: and he knew him, and fell on his face, and said, Is it thou, 8] my lord Elijah? And he answered him, It is I: go, tell thy lord, Behold, 9] Elijah is *here*. And he said, Wherein have I sinned, that thou wouldest deliver

⁶ Or, art thou &c.

⁷ Or, and lose none of.

thy servant unto the hand of Ahab, to 10] slay me? As the LORD thy God liveth, there is no nation or kingdom, whither my lord hath not sent to seek thee: and when they said, He is not here, he took an oath of the kingdom and nation, that they found thee not. And now thou sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah *is here*. And it shall come to pass, as soon as I am gone from thee, that the spirit of the LORD shall carry thee whither I know not; and so when I come and tell Ahab, and he cannot find thee, he shall slay me: but I thy servant fear the LORD from my youth. 13] Was it not told my lord what I did when Jezebel slew the prophets of the LORD, how I hid an hundred men of the LORD's prophets by fifty in a cave, and 14] fed them with bread and water? And now thou sayest, Go, tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah *is here*: and he shall slay 15] me. And Elijah said, As the LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, I will surely shew myself unto him to-day. 16] So Obadiah went to meet Ahab, and told him: and Ahab went to meet Elijah. 17] And it came to pass, when Ahab saw Elijah, that Ahab said unto him, Is it 18] thou, thou troubler of Israel? And he answered, I have not troubled Israel; but thou, and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the LORD, and thou hast followed the 19] Baalim. Now therefore send, and gather to me all Israel unto mount Carmel, and the prophets of Baal four hundred and fifty, and the prophets of the Asherah four hundred, which eat at Jez- 20] ebel's table. So Ahab sent unto all the children of Israel, and gathered the prophets together unto mount Carmel. 21] And Elijah came near unto all the people, and said, How long halt ye between two opinions? if the LORD be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him. And the people answered him not a 22] word. Then said Elijah unto the people, I, even I only, am left a prophet of the LORD; but Baal's prophets are four 23] hundred and fifty men. Let them

therefore give us two bullocks; and let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut it in pieces, and lay it on the wood, and put no fire under: and I will dress the other bullock, and lay it on the 24] wood, and put no fire under. And call ye on the name of your god, and I will call on the name of the LORD: and the God that answereth by fire, let him be God. And all the people answered 25] and said, It is well spoken. And Elijah said unto the prophets of Baal, Choose you one bullock for yourselves, and dress it first; for ye are many, and call on the name of your god, but put no 26] fire under. And they took the bullock which was given them, and they dressed it, and called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O Baal, ⁸ hear us. But there was no voice, nor any that answered. And they ⁹ leaped about the altar which was made. 27] And it came to pass at noon, that Elijah mocked them, and said, Cry aloud: for he is a god; either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, 28] and must be awaked. And they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with ¹⁰ knives and lances, till the blood gushed out upon them. 29] And it was so, when midday was past, that they prophesied until the time of the offering of the *evening* oblation; but there was neither voice, nor any to 30] answer, nor any ¹¹ that regarded. And Elijah said unto all the people, Come near unto me; and all the people came near unto him. And he repaired the altar of the LORD that was thrown down. 31] And Elijah took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the LORD came, saying, Israel shall be 32] thy name. And with the stones he built an altar in the name of the LORD; and he made a trench about the altar, as great as would contain ¹² two measures of seed. And he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in pieces, and laid it on the wood. And he said, Fill

⁸ Or, *answer*.

⁹ Or, *limped*.

¹⁰ Or, *swords*.

¹¹ Heb. *attention*.

¹² Or, *a two-seah measure*.

four barrels with water, and pour it on the burnt offering, and on the wood. 34] And he said, Do it the second time; and they did it the second time. And he said, Do it the third time; and they 35] did it the third time. And the water ran round about the altar; and he filled 36] the trench also with water. And it came to pass at the time of the offering of the *evening* oblation, that Elijah the prophet came near, and said, O LORD, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Israel, let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel, and that I am thy servant, and that I have done all these things 37] at thy word. Hear me, O LORD, hear me, that this people may know that thou, LORD, art God, ¹³ and *that* thou hast 38] turned their heart back again. Then the fire of the LORD fell, and consumed the burnt offering, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the 39] water that was in the trench. And when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces: and they said, The LORD, he 40] is God; the LORD, he is God. And Elijah said unto them, Take the prophets of Baal; let not one of them escape. And they took them: and Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon, and 41] slew them there. And Elijah said unto Ahab, Get thee up, eat and drink; for there is the sound of abundance of 42] rain. So Ahab went up to eat and to drink. And Elijah went up to the top of Carmel; and he bowed himself down upon the earth, and put his face between 43] his knees. And he said to his servant, Go up now, look toward the sea. And he went up, and looked, and said, There is nothing. And he said, Go again seven 44] times. And it came to pass at the seventh time, that he said, Behold, there ariseth a cloud out of the sea, as small as a man's hand. And he said, Go up, say unto Ahab, ¹⁴ Make ready *thy chariot*, and get thee down, that the rain stop 45] thee not. And it came to pass in a little while, that the heaven grew black with clouds and wind, and there was a

great rain. And Ahab rode, and went to 46] Jezreel. And the hand of the LORD was on Elijah; and he girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel.

19. And Ahab told Jezebel all that Elijah had done, and withal how he had slain all the prophets with the sword. 2] Then Jezebel sent a messenger unto Elijah, saying, So let the gods do to me, and more also, if I make not thy life as the life of one of them by to-morrow 3] about this time. ¹⁵ And when he saw that, he arose, and went for his life, and came to Beer-sheba, which belongeth to 4] Judah, and left his servant there. But he himself went a day's journey into the wilderness, and came and sat down under a ¹⁶ juniper tree: and he requested for himself that he might die; and said, It is enough; now, O LORD, take away my life; for I am not better than my fa- 5] thers. And he lay down and slept under a juniper tree; and, behold, an angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise 6] and eat. And he looked, and, behold, there was at his head a cake baken on the ¹⁷ coals, and a cruse of water. And he did eat and drink, and laid him down 7] again. And the angel of the LORD came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat; because the 8] journey is too great for thee. And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of 9] God. And he came thither unto a cave, and lodged there; and, behold, the word of the LORD came to him, and he said unto him, What doest thou here, 10] Elijah? And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD, the God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword: and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away. 11] And he said, Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the LORD. And, behold, the LORD passed by, and a great

¹³ Or, *for thou didst turn their heart backward.*

¹⁴ Or, *Yoke.*

¹⁵ According to some ancient authorities, *And he was afraid, and arose.*

¹⁶ Or, *broom.*

¹⁷ Or, *hot stones.*

and strong wind rent the mountains, and brake in pieces the rocks before the LORD; but the LORD was not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; but the LORD was not in the earthquake: and 12] after the earthquake a fire; but the LORD was not in the fire: and after the 13] fire ¹⁸ a still small voice. And it was so, when Elijah heard it, that he wrapped his face in his mantle, and went out, and stood in the entering in of the cave. And, behold, there came a voice unto him, and said, What doest thou here, Elijah? 14] And he said, I have been very jealous for the LORD, the God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek 15] my life, to take it away. And the LORD said unto him, Go, return on thy way ¹⁹ to the wilderness of Damascus: and when thou comest, thou shalt anoint 16] Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be king over Israel: and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abel-meholah shalt

thou anoint to be prophet in thy room. 17] And it shall come to pass, that him that escapeth from the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay: and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha 18] slay. Yet will I leave *me* seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth 19] which hath not kissed him. So he departed thence, and found Elisha the son of Shaphat, who was plowing, with twelve yoke of *oxen* before him, and he with the twelfth: and Elijah passed over unto him, and cast his mantle upon him. 20] And he left the oxen, and ran after Elijah, and said, Let me, I pray thee, kiss my father and my mother, and then I will follow thee. And he said unto him, Go back again; for what have I done to 21] thee? And he returned from following him, and took the yoke of oxen, and slew them, and ²⁰ boiled their flesh with the instruments of the oxen, and gave unto the people, and they did eat. Then he arose, and went after Elijah, and ministered unto him.

This dramatic story, told by some writer who lived near the events, has interwoven in its strands elements of supernatural marvels, but its main theme is genuine history. Men in Elijah's time knew nothing of natural law and believed that all things were possible to a prophet. Whatever one may think of the wonders in the account, Elijah's championship of the pure nomadic ideals of the worship of Yahweh in opposition to the agricultural and commercial Baals is genuine history. In his exaltation of spirit the prophet dared to oppose both king and queen and the host of the prophets of Baal; but, like many a religious devotee, Elijah was a man of fluctuating moods. When the exaltation of spirit which enabled him successfully in public to defy the court and all its favorites had passed, his exaltation gave way to depression, and Jezebel's threat caused him to run away; he went to the wilderness and prayed to die. Then, with spirit refreshed by religious communion, he later returned to other tasks.

Elijah inaugurated a new era in the religion of Israel, not alone because he sought to revive the nomadic purity of the worship of Yahweh, but in part because he championed popular rights, when the king and queen overrode them, and he insisted that Yahweh would punish those who in-

¹⁸ Heb. *a sound of gentle stillness.*
¹⁹ Or, *by the wilderness to.*

²⁰ Or, *roasted.*

fringed those rights. He thus linked the service of Yahweh with economic and social justice. This is brought out in the story of Naboth and his vineyard in *1 Kings 21*.

1 Kings 21. And it came to pass after these things, that Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel; hard by the palace of Ahab king of Sa-
2] maria. And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house; and I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it: or,
3] if it seem good to thee, I will give thee 3] the worth of it in money. And Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my
4] fathers unto thee. And Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased because of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had said, I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers. And he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face,
5] and would eat no bread. But Jezebel his wife came to him, and said unto him, Why is thy spirit so sad, that thou eat-
6] est no bread? And he said unto her, Because I spake unto Naboth the Jezreelite, and said unto him, Give me thy vineyard for money; or else, if it please thee, I will give thee *another* vineyard
for it: and he answered, I will not give
7] thee my vineyard. And Jezebel his wife said unto him, Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? arise, and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth
8] the Jezreelite. So she wrote ²¹ letters in Ahab's name, and sealed them with his seal, and sent the letters unto the elders and to the nobles that were in his
9] city, *and* that dwelt with Naboth. And she wrote in the letters, saying, Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth ²² on high
10] among the people: and set two men, sons of ²³ Belial, before him, and let them bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst ²⁴ curse God and the king. And then carry him out, and stone him,

11] that he die. And the men of his city, even the elders and the nobles who dwelt in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, according as it was written in the letters which she had sent unto them.
12] They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth ²⁵ on high among the people.
13] And the two men, sons of Belial, came in and sat before him: and the men of Belial bare witness against him, even against Naboth, in the presence of the people, saying, Naboth did ²⁴ curse God and the king. Then they carried him forth out of the city, and stoned him with
14] stones, that he died. Then they sent to Jezebel, saying, Naboth is stoned, and
15] is dead. And it came to pass, when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned, and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab, Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money: for Na-
16] both is not alive, but dead. And it came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, that Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, to take possession of it.

17] And the word of the LORD came
18] to Elijah the Tishbite, saying, Arise, go down to meet Ahab king of Israel, which dwelleth in Samaria: behold, he is in the vineyard of Naboth, whither he is gone down to take possession of it.
19] And thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus saith the LORD, Hast thou killed, and also taken possession? and thou shalt speak unto him, saying, Thus saith the LORD, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs
20] lick thy blood, even thine. And Ahab said to Elijah, Hast thou found me, O mine enemy? And he answered, I have found thee: because thou hast sold thyself to do that which is evil in the sight
21] of the Lord. Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will utterly sweep

²¹ Or, a letter.

²² Or, at the head of.

²³ That is, worthlessness.

²⁴ Or, renounce.

²⁵ Or, at the head of.

thee away, and will cut off from Ahab every man child, and him that is shut up and him that is left at large in Is-22] rael: and I will make thine house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah, for the provocation wherewith thou hast provoked me to an-23] ger, and hast made Israel to sin. And of Jezebel also spake the LORD, saying, The dogs shall eat Jezebel ²⁶ by the ram-24] part of Jezreel. Him that dieth of Ahab in the city the dogs shall eat; and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls 25] of the air eat. (But there was none like unto Ahab, which did sell himself to do that which was evil in the sight of the

LORD, whom Jezebel his wife stirred up. 26] And he did very abominably in following idols, according to all that the Amorites did, whom the LORD cast out 27] before the children of Israel.) And it came to pass, when Ahab heard those words, that he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his flesh, and fasted, and 28] lay in sackcloth, and went softly. And the word of the LORD came to Elijah the 29] Tishbite, saying, Seest thou how Ahab humbleth himself before me? because he humbleth himself before me, I will not bring the evil in his days: but in his son's days will I bring the evil upon his house.

This story needs little comment. The sturdy Hebrew landowner, Naboth, in whom the early Hebrew sense of manly independence was still strong, the emotional king who acts like a naughty child, the unscrupulous queen who does not hesitate at falsehood and judicial murder to accomplish her ends, the prophet, once more fearless and strong, who dares to predict to the king's face the fall of his dynasty because of his oppression, are all clearly and graphically portrayed.

AHAB'S FIRST SYRIAN WAR, 1 Kings 20

1 Kings 20. And Ben-hadad the king of Syria gathered all his host together: and there were thirty and two kings with him, and horses and chariots: and he went up and besieged Samaria, and 2] fought against it. And he sent messengers to Ahab king of Israel, into the city, 3] and said unto him, Thus saith Ben-hadad, Thy silver and thy gold is mine; thy wives also and thy children, even the 4] goodliest, are mine. And the king of Israel answered and said, It is according to thy saying, my lord, O king; I am 5] thine, and all that I have. And the messengers came again, and said, Thus speaketh Ben-hadad, saying, I sent indeed unto thee, saying, Thou shalt deliver me thy silver, and thy gold, and 6] thy wives, and thy children; but I will send my servants unto thee to-morrow about this time, and they shall search thine house, and the houses of thy serv-

ants; and it shall be, that ²⁷ whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it 7] in their hand, and take it away. Then the king of Israel called all the elders of the land, and said, Mark, I pray you, and see how this man seeketh mischief: for he sent unto me for my wives, and for my children, and for my silver, and for my gold; and I denied him not. 8] And all the elders and all the people said unto him, Hearken thou not, neither 9] consent. Wherefore he said unto the messengers of Ben-hadad, Tell my lord the king, All that thou didst send for to thy servant at the first I will do: but this thing I may not do. And the messengers departed, and brought him word 10] again. And Ben-hadad sent unto him, and said, The gods do so unto me, and more also, if the dust of Samaria shall suffice for handfuls for all the people 11] that ²⁸ follow me. And the king of

²⁶ According to some ancient authorities, *in the portion*, as in 2 Kings 9: 10, 36.

²⁷ Heb. *all the desire of thine eyes*.
²⁸ Heb. *are at my feet*.

Israel answered and said, Tell him, Let not him that girdeth on *his armour* boast 12] himself as he that putteth it off. And it came to pass, when *Ben-hadad* heard this message, as he was drinking, he and the kings, in the ²⁹ pavilions, that he said unto his servants, ³⁰ Set yourselves in array. And they set themselves in array 13] against the city. And, behold, a prophet came near unto Ahab king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the LORD, Hast thou seen all this great multitude? behold, I will deliver it into thine hand this day; and thou shalt know that I am the 14] LORD. And Ahab said, By whom? And he said, Thus saith the LORD, By the ³¹ young men of the princes of the provinces. Then he said, Who shall ³² be- 15] gin the battle? And he answered, Thou. Then he mustered the young men of the princes of the provinces, and they were two hundred and thirty two: and after them he mustered all the people, even all the children of Israel, being 16] seven thousand. And they went out at noon. But Ben-hadad was drinking himself drunk in the ³⁰ pavilions, he and the kings, the thirty and two kings that 17] helped him. And the young men of the princes of the provinces went out first; and Ben-hadad sent out, and they told him, saying, There are men come 18] out from Samaria. And he said, Whether they be come out for peace, take them alive: or whether they be come 19] out for war, take them alive. So these went out of the city, the young men of the princes of the provinces, and the 20] army which followed them. And they slew every one his man; and the Syrians fled, and Israel pursued them: and Ben-hadad the king of Syria escaped 21] ³³ on an horse with horsemen. And the king of Israel went out, and smote the horses and chariots, and slew the 22] Syrians with a great slaughter. And the prophet came near to the king of Israel, and said unto him, Go, strengthen thyself, and mark, and see what thou

doest: for at the return of the year the king of Syria will come up against thee.

23] And the servants of the king of Syria said unto him, Their god is a god of the hills; therefore they were stronger than we: but let us fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be 24] stronger than they. And do this thing; take the kings away, every man out of his place, and put ³⁴ captains in 25] their room: and number thee an army, like the army that thou hast lost, horse for horse, and chariot for chariot: and we will fight against them in the plain, and surely we shall be stronger than they. And he hearkened unto their 26] voice, and did so. And it came to pass at the return of the year, that Ben-hadad mustered the Syrians, and went up 27] to Aphek, to fight against Israel. And the children of Israel were mustered, and were victualled, and went against them: and the children of Israel encamped before them like two little flocks of kids; but the Syrians filled the country. 28] And ³⁵ a man of God came near and spake unto the king of Israel, and said, Thus saith the LORD, Because the Syrians have said, The LORD is a god of the hills, but he is not a god of the valleys; therefore will I deliver all this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that 29] I am the LORD. And they encamped one over against the other seven days. And so it was, that in the seventh day the battle was joined; and the children of Israel slew of the Syrians an hundred thousand footmen in one day. 30] But the rest fled to Aphek, into the city; and the wall fell upon twenty and seven thousand men that were left. And Ben-hadad fled, and came into the city, 31] ³⁶ into an inner chamber. And his servants said unto him, Behold now, we have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are merciful kings: let us, we pray thee, put sackcloth on our loins, and ropes upon our heads, and go out to the king of Israel: peradventure he will

²⁹ Or, huts.

³⁰ Or, Place the engines. And they placed the engines.

³¹ Or, servants.

³² Heb. bind.

³³ Or, with horse and horsemen.

³⁴ Or, governors. See ch. 10: 15.

³⁵ Or, the.

³⁶ Or, from chamber to chamber.

31] save thy life. So they girded sackcloth on their loins, and *put* ropes on their heads, and came to the king of Israel, and said, Thy servant Ben-hadad saith, I pray thee, let me live. And he said, Is he yet alive? he is my brother. 33] Now the men ³⁷ observed diligently, and hasted ³⁸ to catch whether it were ³⁹ his mind; and they said, Thy brother Ben-hadad. Then he said, Go ye, bring him. Then Ben-hadad came forth to him; and he caused him to come up into 34] the chariot. And *Ben-hadad* said unto him, The cities which my father took from thy father I will restore; and thou shalt make streets for thee in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria. And I, *said Ahab*, will let thee go with this covenant. So he made a covenant with him, and let him go.

35] And a certain man of the sons of the prophets said unto his fellow by the word of the LORD, Smite me, I pray thee. And the man refused to smite him. 36] Then said he unto him, Because thou hast not obeyed the voice of the LORD, behold, as soon as thou art departed from me, a lion shall slay thee. And as soon as he was departed from him, a lion

37] found him, and slew him. Then he found another man, and said, Smite me, I pray thee. And the man smote him, 38] smiting and wounding him. So the prophet departed, and waited for the king by the way, and disguised himself with 39] his headband over his eyes. And as the king passed by, he cried unto the king: and he said, Thy servant went out into the midst of the battle; and, behold, a man turned aside, and brought a man unto me, and said, Keep this man: if by any means he be missing, then shall thy life be for his life, or else thou shalt 40] pay a talent of silver. And as thy servant was busy here and there, he was gone. And the king of Israel said unto him, So shall thy judgement be; thyself 41] hast decided it. And he hasted, and took the headband away from his eyes; and the king of Israel discerned him that 42] he was of the prophets. And he said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Because thou hast let go out of thy hand the man whom I had devoted to destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, 43] and thy people for his people. And the king of Israel went to his house heavy and displeased, and came to Samaria.

Ahab's course in concluding this first war with Syria by a treaty did not meet the approval of all the prophetic guild. Most of the prophets were of quite a different sort from Elijah: they were men who could fall into ecstasies easily, like those of the time of King Saul (see *1 Sam.* 19: 23, 24). They made a profession of telling men for a fee what they wished to know about the future. The *herem* or "ban"—the curse of Yahweh—was of old thought to rest upon those who opposed his people with arms. It will be remembered how Saul was reproved by Samuel for not carrying out such a curse. One of these professional prophets, according to the passage just quoted, similarly reproved Ahab for not killing Ben-hadad, the king of Syria.

In the interval between Ahab's two Syrian wars he joined with Ben-hadad and ten other kings to repel a new invader, the powerful king of Assyria. The Bible does not mention this, but we learn it from the chronicles of Shalmeneser III, who was king of Assyria from 859 to 824 B.C. In his fifth year he invaded Syria and at Qarqar on the Orontes met the armies of twelve allied kings, among whom he names Ahab and

³⁷ Or, *took it as an omen* (Heb. *divined*), and *hasted*.

³⁸ Another reading is, *to catch it from him*.
³⁹ Heb. *from him*.

Ben-hadad.⁴⁰ Shalmeneser claims a victory, but, as he took no territory, it was more nearly a defeat. His coming was, however, ominous. We shall hear of him again. Apparently, however, Ahab and Ben-hadad thought the danger from Shalmeneser ended, for the next year they began again to fight each other.

AHAB'S SECOND WAR WITH SYRIA AND HIS DEATH,

1 Kings 22: 1-40

1 Kings 22. And they continued three years without war between Syria and 2] Israel. ⁴¹ And it came to pass in the third year, that Jehoshaphat the king of Judah came down to the king of Israel. 3] And the king of Israel said unto his servants, Know ye that Ramoth-gilead is ours, and we ⁴² be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria? 4] And he said unto Jehoshaphat, Wilt thou go with me to battle to Ramoth-gilead? And Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, I am as thou art, my people as thy people, my horses as thy 5] horses. And Jehoshaphat said unto the king of Israel, Inquire, I pray thee, at 6] the word of the LORD to-day. Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together, about four hundred men, and said unto them, Shall I go against Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall I forbear? And they said, Go up; for the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king. 7] But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here besides a prophet of the LORD, that 8] we might inquire of him? And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man by whom we may inquire of the LORD, Micaiah the son of Imlah: but I hate him; for he doth not prophesy good concerning me, but evil. And Jehoshaphat said, Let not the king 9] say so. Then the king of Israel called an ⁴³ officer, and said, Fetch quickly 10] Micaiah the son of Imlah. Now the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah sat each on his throne, arrayed in their robes, in ⁴⁴ an open place at the entrance of the gate of Samaria; and all the prophets prophesied before them.

11] And Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the LORD, With these shalt thou push the Syrians until they be consumed. 12] And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, Go up to Ramoth-gilead, and prosper: for the LORD shall deliver it 13] into the hand of the king. And the messenger that went to call Micaiah spake unto him, saying, Behold now, the words of the prophets *declare* good unto the king with one mouth: let thy word, I pray thee, be like the word of one of 14] them, and speak thou good. And Micaiah said, As the LORD liveth, what the LORD saith unto me, that will I speak. 15] And when he was come to the king, the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go to Ramoth-gilead to battle, or shall we forbear? And he answered him, Go up, and prosper; and the LORD shall deliver it into the hand of the king. 16] And the king said unto him, How many times shall I adjure thee that thou speak unto me nothing but the truth in 17] the name of the LORD? And he said, I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd: and the LORD said, These have no master; let them return every man to his house 18] in peace. And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, Did I not tell thee that he would not prophesy good concerning 19] me but evil? And he said, Therefore hear thou the word of the LORD: I saw the LORD sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him 20] on his right hand and on his left. And the LORD said, Who shall ⁴⁵ entice Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-

⁴⁰ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 419.

⁴¹ See *2 Chr.* 18: 2 &c.

⁴² Or, *keep silence*.

⁴³ Or, *eunuch*.

⁴⁴ Heb. a *threshing-floor*.

⁴⁵ Or, *deceive*.

gilead? And one said on this manner: 21] and another said on that manner. And there came forth ⁴⁶ a spirit, and stood before the LORD, and said, I will entice 22] him. And the LORD said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt entice him, and shalt prevail also: go 23] forth, and do so. Now therefore, behold, the LORD hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and the LORD hath spoken evil concerning 24] thee. Then Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah came near, and smote Micaiah on the cheek, and said, Which way went the spirit of the LORD from me to speak 25] unto thee? And Micaiah said, Behold, thou shalt see on that day, when thou shalt go ⁴⁷ into an inner chamber 26] to hide thyself. And the king of Israel said, Take Micaiah, and carry him back unto Amon the governor of the 27] city, and to Joash the king's son: and say, Thus saith the king, Put this fellow in the prison, and feed him with bread of affliction and with water of affliction, 28] until I come in peace. And Micaiah said, If thou return at all in peace, the LORD hath not spoken by me. And he said, ⁴⁸ Hear, ye peoples, all of you.

29] So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah went up to 30] Ramoth-gilead. And the king of Israel said unto Jehoshaphat, I will disguise myself, and go into the battle; but put thou on thy robes. And the king of Israel disguised himself, and went into 31] the battle. Now the king of Syria had commanded the thirty and two cap-

tains of his chariots, saying, Fight neither with small nor great, save only with the 32] king of Israel. And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots, saw Jehoshaphat, that they said, Surely it is the king of Israel; and they turned aside to fight against him: and Jehoshaphat 33] cried out. And it came to pass, when the captains of the chariots saw that it was not the king of Israel, that they 34] turned back from pursuing him. And a certain man drew his bow ⁴⁹ at a venture, and smote the king of Israel between ⁵⁰ the joints of the harness: wherefore he said unto the driver of his chariot, Turn thine hand, and carry me out of 35] the host; for I am sore wounded. And the battle increased that day: and the king was stayed up in his chariot against the Syrians, and died at even: and the blood ran out of the wound into the bot- 36] tom of the chariot. And there went a cry throughout the host about the going down of the sun, saying, Every man to his city, and every man to his country. So the king died, and was brought to Samaria; and they buried the king in 39] Samaria. And they washed the chariot by the pool of Samaria; and the dogs licked up his blood; (⁵¹ now the harlots washed themselves *there*;) according unto the word of the LORD 39] which he spake. Now the rest of the acts of Ahab, and all that he did, and the ivory house which he built, and all the cities that he built, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings 40] of Israel? So Ahab slept with his fathers; and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead.

The chapter just quoted, besides giving a graphic and historical account of Ahab's death, also vividly sets before us how a Hebrew king, like all other monarchs of antiquity, tried, before undertaking a dangerous enterprise, to find out whether or not it would succeed. Babylonians and Romans did this by means of omens; the Hebrews, by means of prophets. Incidentally the story reveals that in the time of Ahab, Yahweh was thought to be responsible for all that happened to a Hebrew, whether it was good or bad. If he was displeased, as he was believed to be with

⁴⁶ Heb. *the spirit*.

⁴⁷ Or, *from chamber to chamber*.

⁴⁸ See *Micah* 1: 2.

⁴⁹ Heb. *in his simplicity*.

⁵⁰ Or, *the lower armour and the breastplate*.

⁵¹ Or, *and they washed the armour*.

Ahab, it was thought that he would not hesitate to authorize one of his attendant spirits to prompt prophets to tell lies. When people thought thus of their God, there was in their theology no room for a Satan; they did not need one; their God was believed to do all that was done.

THE REIGN OF AHAZIAH IN ISRAEL, *1 Kings 22: 51-53 and*
2 Kings 1: 1-18

1 Kings 22. 51] Ahaziah the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in Samaria in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and he reigned 52] two years over Israel. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and walked in the way of his father, and in the way of his mother, and in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, 52 wherein he made Israel to sin. 53] And he served Baal, and worshipped him, and provoked to anger the LORD, the God of Israel, according to all that his father had done.

2 Kings 1. And Moab rebelled against 2] Israel after the death of Ahab. And Ahaziah fell down through the lattice in his upper chamber that was in Samaria, and was sick: and he sent messengers, and said unto them, Go, inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron whether 3] I shall recover of this sickness. But the angel of the LORD said to Elijah the Tishbite, Arise, go up to meet the messengers of the king of Samaria, and say unto them, Is it because there is no God in Israel, that ye go to inquire of Baal-4] zebub the god of Ekron? Now therefore thus saith the LORD, Thou shalt not come down from the bed whither thou 5] art gone up, but shalt surely die. And Elijah departed. And the messengers returned unto him, and he said unto them, 6] Why is it that ye are returned? And they said unto him, There came up a man to meet us, and said unto us, Go turn again unto the king that sent you, and say unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Is it because there is no God in Israel, that thou sendest to inquire of Baal-zebub the god of Ekron? therefore thou shalt not come down from the bed

whither thou art gone up, but shalt surely 7] die. And he said unto them, What manner of man was he which came up to meet you, and told you these words? 8] And they answered him, He was ⁵³ an hairy man, and girt with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said, It 9] is Elijah the Tishbite. Then *the king* sent unto him a captain of fifty with his fifty. And he went up to him: and, behold, he ⁵⁴ sat on the top of the hill. And he spake unto him, O man of God, 10] the king hath said, Come down. And Elijah answered and said to the captain of fifty. If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And there came down fire from heaven, and consumed 11] him and his fifty. And again he sent unto him another captain of fifty with his fifty. And he answered and said unto him, O man of God, thus hath the king 12] said, Come down quickly. And Elijah answered and said unto them, If I be a man of God, let fire come down from heaven, and consume thee and thy fifty. And the fire of God came down from heaven, and consumed him and his fifty. 13] And again he sent the captain of a third fifty with his fifty. And the third captain of fifty went up, and came and fell on his knees before Elijah, and besought him, and said unto him, O man of God, I pray thee, let my life, and the life of these fifty thy servants, be 14] precious in thy sight. Behold, there came fire down from heaven, and consumed the two former captains of fifty with their fifties: but now let my life 15] be precious in thy sight. And the angel of the LORD said unto Elijah, Go down with him: be not afraid of him.

⁵² Or, *who made.*

⁵³ Or, *a man with a garment of hair.*

⁵⁴ Or, *dwelt.*

And he arose, and went down with him 16] unto the king. And he said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Forasmuch as thou hast sent messengers to inquire of Baalzebub the god of Ekron, is it because there is no God in Israel to inquire of his word? therefore thou shalt not come down from the bed whither thou art 17] gone up, but shalt surely die. So he

died according to the word of the LORD which Elijah had spoken. And Jehoram began to reign in his stead in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah; because he had no son. 18] Now the rest of the acts of Ahaziah which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

The historical kernel of this story appears to be that Ahaziah was sick and sought the help of a famous oracle at a Philistine temple at Ekron, for which he was reproved by Elijah, and that the king then tried unsuccessfully to capture Elijah. The story of the destruction by lightning of the men sent to take the prophet shows what men of the next generation thought it possible that a prophet could do.

JEHOSHAPHAT'S EMPIRE AND TRADE, *1 Kings 22: 45-49*

1 Kings 22. 45] Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat and his might that he shewed, and how he warred, are they not written in the book of the chronicles 46] of the kings of Judah? And the remnant of the sodomites, which remained in the days of his father Asa, he 47] put away out of the land. And there

was no king in Edom: a deputy was king. 48] Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion- 49] geber. Then said Ahaziah the son of Ahab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat would not.

The alliance with the kingdom of Israel had given Jehoshaphat such security on his northern frontier that he could again assert the suzerainty over Edom that David and Solomon had exercised, and attempt to revive the commerce of the days of Solomon on the Red Sea.

THE STORY OF ELIJAH'S DEATH, *2 Kings 2: 1-18*

2 Kings 2. And it came to pass, when the LORD would take up Elijah by a whirlwind into heaven, that Elijah went 2] with Elisha from Gilgal. And Elijah said unto Elisha, Tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me as far as Beth-el. And Elisha said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they went down to Beth-el. 3] And the sons of the prophets that were at Beth-el came forth to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy head to-day? And he said, Yea, I know it; 4] hold ye your peace. And Elijah said unto him, Elisha, tarry here, I pray thee;

for the LORD hath sent me to Jericho. And he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy 5] soul liveth, I will not leave thee. So they came to Jericho. And the sons of the prophets that were at Jericho came near to Elisha, and said unto him, Knowest thou that the LORD will take away thy master from thy head to-day? And he answered, Yea, I know it; hold ye your 6] peace. And Elijah said unto him, Tarry here, I pray thee; for the LORD hath sent me to Jordan. And he said, As the LORD liveth, and as thy soul liveth, I will not leave thee. And they two went 7] on. And fifty men of the sons of the prophets went, and stood over against

them afar off: and they two stood by 8] Jordan. And Elijah took his mantle, and wrapped it together, and smote the waters, and they were divided hither and thither, so that they two went over on dry 9] ground. And it came to pass, ⁵⁵ when they were gone over, that Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let ⁵⁶ a double 10] portion of thy spirit be upon me. And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing: *nevertheless*, if thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; 11] but if not, it shall not be so. And it came to pass, as they still went on, and talked, that, behold, *there appeared* ⁵⁷ a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, which parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven. 12] And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the ⁵⁸ chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof! And he saw him no more: and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two 13] pieces. He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went

back, and stood by the bank of Jordan. 14] And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters, and said, Where is the LORD, ⁵⁹ the God of Elijah? and when he also had smitten the waters, they were divided hither and thither: and Elisha went over. 15] And when the sons of the prophets which were at Jericho over against him saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the 16] ground before him. And they said unto him, Behold now, there be with thy servants fifty strong men; let them go, we pray thee, and seek thy master: lest peradventure the spirit of the LORD hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain, or into some valley. And he 17] said, Ye shall not send. And when they urged him till he was ashamed, he said, Send. They sent therefore fifty men; and they sought three days, but 18] found him not. And they came back to him, while he tarried at Jericho; and he said unto them, Did I not say unto you, Go not?

How much of historical truth there may be in the details of Elijah's death, it is difficult to say. All his life he had been a man of mystery. He lived in the desert, from the desert he came mysteriously, he defied kings, he proclaimed a simpler and purer worship of Yahweh, he championed popular rights; he was mysterious even in his death. He had selected Elisha for his successor, and Elisha for more than a generation afterward was the leading person in the two kingdoms. The story of Elijah's death just quoted from the second book of *Kings* shows what was believed about it a generation or two later.

Elisha was a different man from Elijah. He lived among men, not in the desert, and became the head of the organized prophetic guilds. Elijah was responsible for all that made the reign of Ahab significant. He began in Israel a social and spiritual movement which, carried on in later generations by others, made the religion of Israel different from any other in the world. Since it was Israel's religion that made her so important in the history of the world, it was a true instinct which led both Jews and Christians to associate Elijah with Moses (see *Mark* 9:4).

⁵⁵ Or, as they went.

⁵⁶ That is, the portion of the firstborn. See *Deut.* 21: 17.

⁵⁷ Or, chariots.

⁵⁸ Or, chariot.

⁵⁹ Or, the God of Elijah, even he? and when he had smitten &c.

THE WAR OF JEHOSHAPHAT AND JEHORAM WITH MESHA OF MOAB, *2 Kings 3: 1-27*

2 Kings 3. Now Jehoram the son of Ahab began to reign over Israel in Samaria in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and reigned ²] twelve years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD; but not like his father, and like his mother: for he put away the ⁶⁰ pillar of Baal that ³] his father had made. Nevertheless he cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin; he departed not therefrom.

⁴] Now Mesha king of Moab was a sheepmaster; and he rendered unto the king of Israel ⁶¹ the wool of an hundred thousand lambs, and of an hundred thousand ⁵] sand rams. But it came to pass, when Ahab was dead, that the king of Moab rebelled against the king of Israel. ⁶] And king Jehoram went out of Samaria at that time, and mustered all Israel. ⁷] And he went and sent to Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, saying, The king of Moab hath rebelled against me: wilt thou go with me against Moab to battle? And he said, I will go up: I am as thou art, my people as thy people, ⁸] my horses as thy horses. And he said, Which way shall we go up? And he answered, The way of the wilderness of ⁹] Edom. So the king of Israel went, and the king of Judah, and the king of Edom: and they made a circuit of seven days' journey: and there was no water for the host, nor for the beasts that followed them. And the king of Israel said, Alas! for the LORD hath called these three kings together to deliver them ¹¹] into the hand of Moab. But Jehoshaphat said, Is there not here a prophet of the LORD, that we may inquire of the LORD by him? And one of the kings of Israel's servants answered and said, Elisha the son of Shaphat is here, which poured water on the hands ¹²] of Elijah. And Jehoshaphat said, The word of the LORD is with him. So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and

the king of Edom went down to him. ¹³] And Elisha said unto the king of Israel, What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father, and to the prophets of thy mother. And the king of Israel said unto him, Nay: for the LORD hath called these three kings together to deliver them into the hand ¹⁴] of Moab. And Elisha said, As the LORD of hosts liveth, before whom I stand, surely, were it not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, ¹⁵] nor see thee. But now bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the ¹⁶] LORD came upon him. And he said, Thus saith the LORD, Make this valley ¹⁷] full of trenches. For thus saith the LORD, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain, yet that valley shall be filled with water: and ye shall drink, both ye and your cattle and your beasts. ¹⁸] And this is but a light thing in the sight of the LORD: he will also deliver ¹⁹] the Moabites into your hand. And ye shall smite every fenced city, and every choice city, and shall fell every good tree, and stop all fountains of water, and mar every good piece of land ²⁰] with stones. And it came to pass in the morning, about the time of offering the oblation, that, behold, there came water by the way of Edom, and the ²¹] country was filled with water. Now when all the Moabites heard that the kings were come up to fight against them, they ⁶² gathered themselves together, all that were able to ⁶³ put on armour, and upward, and stood on the border. ²²] And they rose up early in the morning, and the sun shone upon the water, and the Moabites saw the water over ²³] against them as red as blood: and they said, This is blood; the kings ⁶⁴ are surely destroyed, and they have smitten each man his fellow: now therefore, ²⁴] Moab, to the spoil. And when they

⁶⁰ Or, obelisk.

⁶¹ Or, an hundred thousand lambs, and an hundred thousand rams, with the wool.

⁶² Or, were called together.

⁶³ Heb. gird themselves with a girdle.

⁶⁴ Or, have surely fought together.

came to the camp of Israel, the Israelites rose up and smote the Moabites, so that they fled before them: and they went forward ⁶⁵ into the land smiting the 25] Moabites. And they beat down the cities; and on every good piece of land they cast every man his stone, and filled it; and they stopped all the fountains of water, and felled all the good trees: until in Kir-hareseth *only* they left the stones thereof; howbeit the slingers went about 26] it, and smote it. And when the king

of Moab saw that the battle was too sore for him, he took with him seven hundred men that drew sword, to break through unto the king of Edom: but they 27] could not. Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And ⁶⁶ there was great wrath against Israel: and they departed from him, and returned to their own land.

For several reasons the chapter just quoted is very interesting. The defeat of the joint armies of Israel and Judah in which Ahab had lost his life had left the east-Jordan lands down to the borders of Moab in the hands of the king of Damascus. In order to subdue the rebellious king of Moab, the armies of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram had to approach Moab by going around the south end of the Dead Sea. It was an almost impossible route for an army. The way went down from the highlands of Judah, which are more than 3,000 feet above sea-level, to the Dead Sea plain, which is 1,300 feet below sea-level; when this was accomplished the armies had to clamber up again more than 5,000 feet to the heights of Moab. No wonder that in the salt plains at the south of the Dead Sea they nearly perished with thirst. When they asked the prophet Elisha, who was with them, where to find water, he called a musician to play before him and help him fall into an ecstasy before he could tell. At least, so the Biblical narrator believed. Elisha thus showed that he was of the old ecstatic type of prophet rather than of the spiritual type of Elijah.

Kir, the capital of Moab (probably the modern Kerak), was on the top of a hill. Though difficult to take, the allied armies reduced it to such straits that Mesha, thinking his god Chemosh offended or he would not have permitted them to be so beleaguered, brought out his son and offered him in sacrifice on the wall in the sight of both armies. This is proof that at this period human sacrifice was sometimes practised. Mesha, in his inscription, claims to have thrown off the yoke of Israel during the reign of Ahab.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE J DOCUMENT

During the prosperous reign of Ahab there lived in Judah a marvelous story-teller, whose name we do not know. He employed the name Yahweh (Jehovah) for God and so critics have designated him by the symbol J. He was a literary genius. In a few words he makes scenes and situations stand out before one so that the actors seem almost alive. He has been

⁶⁵ Heb. *into it*

⁶⁶ Or, *there came great wrath upon Israel.*

called "the Unknown Homer of the Hebrews" and there is something like Homer in the simplicity and power of his style. It was he who told the story of the Garden of Eden in *Genesis* 2: 4b—3: 24; the story of the tower of Babel in *Genesis* 11: 1-9; the story of Isaac's marriage in *Genesis* 24; of Isaac and Rebecca at Gerar in *Genesis* 26; and many others. Many of his narratives have been quoted by name in the preceding pages. With this writer historical writing began in Israel. This fact, together with the work of Elijah, makes the period of Ahab and Jehoshaphat mark a new epoch in the development of the Hebrew people.

THE DEATH OF JEHOSHAPHAT, 1 *Kings* 22: 50

1 <i>Kings</i> 22. 50] ⁶⁷ And Jehoshaphat slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his		father: and Jehoram his son reigned in his stead.
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CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

Kings of Israel

Ahab,	875-853 B.C.
Ahaziah,	853-852
Jehoram,	852-842

Kings of Judah

Jehoshaphat,	873-849 B.C.
Jehoram,	849-843

⁶⁷ See 2 *Chr.* 21: 1.

CHAPTER XIV

THE TIMES OF ELISHA

THE ACCESSION OF JEHORAM OF JUDAH

THE alliance made by Ahab and Jehoshaphat, by which Jehoshaphat's son married Ahab's daughter led to the duplication of names in the two families. Jehoshaphat's son was named Jehoram (or Joram); Ahab's son, who became Jehoram's brother-in-law was named Ahaziah. Ahaziah named his son Joram (or Jehoram), and the Judean Jehoram named his son Ahaziah. Thus the two brothers-in-law showed their admiration for each other. It happened that Ahaziah, son of Ahab, died before Jehoshaphat, so that Jehoram of Israel became king before his uncle of Judah ascended the throne of that country. By the year 848 B.C., however, each Hebrew kingdom was ruled by a Jehoram. The Biblical account of the reign of Jehoram of Judah is as follows:

1 Kings 8. 16] And in the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel, ¹ Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of **17]** Judah began to reign. ² Thirty and two years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned eight years in **18]** Jerusalem. And he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab: for he had ³ the daughter of Ahab to wife: and he did that which was **19]** evil in the sight of the LORD. Howbeit the LORD would not destroy Judah, for David his servant's sake, as he

promised him to give unto him a lamp **20]** ⁴ for his children alway. In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves. **21]** Then Joram passed over to Zair, and all his chariots with him: and he rose up by night, and smote the Edomites which compassed him about, and the captains of the chariots: and the people fled to **22]** their tents. So Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, unto this day. Then did Libnah revolt at the same time.

The passage just quoted makes it clear that Jehoram lost the control of Edom which his father had established.

While the two Jehorams were reigning the prophet Elisha was at the height of his fame. Many stories are told of his power in *2 Kings*. One of the most important of these is the story of Naaman, the Syrian general.

¹ Some ancient authorities omit the words *Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah*.

² See *2 Chr.* 21: 5, &c.

³ See ver. 26.

⁴ Another reading is, *and to his children*.

THE STORY OF NAAMAN, 2 Kings 5: 1-19

2 Kings 5. Now Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, was a great man ⁵ with his master, and honourable, because by him the LORD had given ⁶ victory unto Syria: he was also a mighty man of valour, *but he was a* 2] leper. And the Syrians had gone out in bands, and had brought away captive out of the land of Israel a little maid; and she ⁷ waited on Naaman's wife. 3] And she said unto her mistress, Would God my lord were ⁵ with the prophet that is in Samaria! then would he re- 4] cover him of his leprosy. And ⁸ one went in, and told his lord, saying, Thus and thus said the maid that is of the 5] land of Israel. And the king of Syria said, Go to, go, and I will send a letter unto the king of Israel. And he departed, and took with him ten talents of silver, and six thousand ⁹ pieces of gold, and 6] ten changes of raiment. And he brought the letter to the king of Israel, saying, And now when this letter is come unto thee, behold, I have sent Naaman my servant to thee, that thou mayest re- 7] cover him of his leprosy. And it came to pass, when the king of Israel had read the letter, that he rent his clothes, and said, Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy? but consider, I pray you, and see how he seek- 8] eth ¹⁰ a quarrel against me. And it was so, when Elisha the man of God heard that the king of Israel had rent his clothes, that he sent to the king, saying, Wherefore hast thou rent thy clothes? let him come now to me, and he shall know that there is a prophet in Israel. 9] So Naaman came with his horses and with his chariots, and stood at the door 10] of the house of Elisha. And Elisha sent a messenger unto him, saying, Go and wash in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and ¹¹ thou

11] shalt be clean. But Naaman was wroth, and went away, and said, Behold, I thought, He will surely come out to me, and stand, and call on the name of the LORD his God, and wave his hand over the place, and recover the leper. 12] Are not ¹² Abanah and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them, and be clean? So he turned and 13] went away in a rage. And his servants came near, and spake unto him, and said, My father, if the prophet had bid thee do some great thing, wouldest thou not have done it? how much rather then, when he saith to thee, Wash, and be 14] clean? Then went he down, and dipped *himself* seven times in Jordan, according to the saying of the man of God: and his flesh came again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he was 15] clean. And he returned to the man of God, he and all his company, and came, and stood before him: and he said, Behold now, I know that there is no God in all the earth, but in Israel: now therefore, I pray thee, take a ¹³ present of 16] thy servant. But he said, As the LORD liveth, before whom I stand, I will receive none. And he urged him to take 17] it; but he refused. And Naaman said, If not, yet I pray thee let there be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth; for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the LORD. 18] In this thing the LORD pardon thy servant; when my master goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, when I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the LORD pardon thy servant in this thing. 19] And he said unto him, Go in peace. So he departed from him ¹⁴ a little way.

⁵ Heb. *before*.

⁶ Heb. *salvation*.

⁷ Heb. *was before*.

⁸ Or, *he*.

⁹ Or, *shekels*.

¹⁰ Or, *an occasion*.

¹¹ Heb. *be thou clean*.

¹² Another reading is, *Amanah*.

¹³ Heb. *blessing*.

¹⁴ Or, *some way*.

This narrative shows that Elisha's fame had spread among the Syrians (or Arameans) of Damascus, so that an Aramean general of that kingdom sought his aid for the cure of his leprosy. Although Damascus and Israel were frequently at war, Elisha granted him the help he asked. It should be noted that under the term translated "leprosy" the Hebrews included not only actual leprosy, which has been until recent times incurable, but also many skin diseases, many of which yielded to treatment, while others passed away without treatment (see *Lev.* 14:3). It is not necessary to suppose that Naaman's leprosy was more than a skin disease. As real leprosy gradually eats away the members of the body, Naaman was naturally most anxious about it. His request to take two mules' loads of earth from Palestine to Damascus, to make, so to speak, a little Palestine in Damascus on which to worship Yahweh, shows that at this time Yahweh was regarded as to such a degree the God of the land of Palestine, that he could only be worshiped on Palestinian soil. Even Elisha thought this, apparently, for he granted Naaman's request.

ELISHA AND THE KING OF DAMASCUS, 2 *Kings* 6:8-23

2 Kings 6. 8] Now the king of Syria warred against Israel; and he took counsel with his servants, saying, In such and such a place shall be my ¹⁵ camp. **9]** And the man of God sent unto the king of Israel, saying, Beware that thou pass not such a place; for thither the **10]** Syrians are coming down. And the king of Israel sent to the place which the man of God told him and warned him of; and he saved himself there, not **11]** once nor twice. And the heart of the king of Syria was sore troubled for this thing; and he called his servants, and said unto them, Will ye not shew me which of us is for the king of Israel? **12]** And one of his servants said, Nay, my lord, O king: but Elisha, the prophet that is in Israel, telleth the king of Israel the words that thou speakest in **13]** thy bed-chamber. And he said, Go and see where he is, that I may send and fetch him. And it was told him, saying, **14]** Behold, he is in Dothan. Therefore sent he thither horses, and chariots, and a great host: and they came by night, **15]** and compassed the city about. And when the ¹⁶ servant of the man of God

was risen early, and gone forth, behold, an host with horses and chariots was round about the city. And his servant said unto him, Alas, my master: how **16]** shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more **17]** than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha. **18]** And when they came down to him, Elisha prayed unto the LORD, and said, Smite this ¹⁷ people, I pray thee, with blindness. And he smote them with blindness according to the word of Elisha. **19]** And Elisha said unto them, This is not the way, neither is this the city: follow me, and I will bring you to the man whom ye seek. And he led them to **20]** Samaria. And it came to pass, when they were come into Samaria, that Elisha said, LORD, open the eyes of these men, that they may see. And the LORD opened their eyes, and they saw; and, behold, they were in the midst of Sa-

¹⁵ Or, *encamping*.

¹⁶ Or, *minister*.

¹⁷ Heb. *nation*.

21] maria. And the king of Israel said unto Elisha, when he saw them, My father, shall I smite them? shall I smite 22] them? And he answered, Thou shalt not smite them: wouldest thou smite those whom thou hast taken captive with thy sword and with thy bow? set bread

and water before them, that they may eat and drink, and go to their master. 23] And he prepared great provision for them: and when they had eaten and drunk, he sent them away, and they went to their master. And the bands of Syria came no more into the land of Israel.

However much legend there may be mingled in this story of Elisha's deliverance, it shows us of what the Hebrews believed Elisha capable. As a man of God, he was believed to have all divine power to protect him.

THE SYRIAN SIEGE OF SAMARIA, *2 Kings* 6: 24—7: 20

2 Kings 6. 24] And it came to pass after this, that Ben-hadad king of Syria gathered all his host, and went up, and 25] besieged Samaria. And there was a great famine in Samaria: and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore ¹⁸ *pieces* of silver, and the fourth part of a kab of dove's 26] dung for five ¹⁸ *pieces* of silver. And as the king of Israel was passing by upon the wall, there cried a woman unto him, 27] saying, Help, my lord, O king. And he said, ¹⁹ If the LORD do not help thee, whence shall I help thee? out of the threshing-floor, or out of the winepress? 28] And the king said unto her, What aileth thee? And she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son, that we may eat him to-day, and we will eat 29] my son to-morrow. So we boiled my son, and did eat him: and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son, that we may eat him: and she hath hid her 30] son. And it came to pass, when the king heard the words of the woman, that he rent his clothes; (now he was passing by upon the wall;) and the people looked, and, behold, he had sackcloth within upon 31] his flesh. Then he said, God do so to me, and more also, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on 32] him this day. But Elisha sat in his house, and the elders sat with him; and the king sent a man from before him: but ere the messenger came to him, he said to the elders, See ye how this son of a murderer hath sent to take away mine

head? look, when the messenger cometh, shut the door, and ²⁰ hold the door fast against him: is not the sound of his master's feet behind him? And while he yet talked with them, behold, the messenger came down unto him: and he said, Behold, this evil is of the LORD; why should I wait for the LORD any longer? 7] And Elisha said, Hear ye the word of the LORD: thus saith the LORD, Tomorrow about this time shall a ²¹ measure of fine flour be *sold* for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, in the 2] gate of Samaria. Then the captain on whose hand the king leaned answered the man of God, and said, Behold, if the LORD should make windows in heaven, might this thing be? And he said, Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shalt not eat thereof.

3] Now there were four leprous men at the entering in of the gate: and they said one to onther, Why sit we here un- 4] til we die? If we say, We will enter into the city, then the famine is in the city, and we shall die there: and if we sit still here, we die also. Now therefore come, and let us fall unto the host of the Syrians: if they save us alive, we shall live; and if they kill us, we shall but 5] die. And they rose up in the twilight, to go unto the camp of the Syrians: and when they were come to the outermost part of the camp of the Syrians, behold, 6] there was no man there. For the Lord had made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of

¹⁸ Or, shekels.

¹⁹ Or, *Nay, let the LORD help thee!*

²⁰ Heb. *thrust him back with the door.*

²¹ Heb. *seah.*

horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us. 7] Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp 8] as it was, and fled for their life. And when these lepers came to the outermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver, and gold, and raiment, and went and hid it; and they came back, and entered into another tent, and carried 9] thence also, and went and hid it. Then they said one to another, We do not well: this day is a day of good tidings, and we hold our peace: if we tarry till the morning light, ²² punishment will overtake us: now therefore come, let us 10] go and tell the king's household. So they came and called unto the ²³ porter of the city: and they told them, saying, We came to the camp of the Syrians, and, behold, there was no man there, neither voice of man, but the horses tied, and the asses tied, and the tents as 11] they were. And ²⁴ he called the porters; and they told it to the king's 12] household within. And the king arose in the night, and said unto his servants, I will now shew you what the Syrians have done to us. They know that we be hungry; therefore are they gone out of the camp to hide themselves in the field, saying, When they come out of the city, we shall take them alive, and get into the 13] city. And one of his servants an-

swered and said, Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left ²⁵ in the city, (behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it; behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel that are consumed:) and let us send and see. 14] They took therefore two chariots with horses; and the king sent after the host of the Syrians, saying, Go and see. 15] And they went after them unto Jordan: and, lo, all the way was full of garments and vessels, which the Syrians had cast away in their haste. And the messengers returned, and told the king. 16] And the people went out, and spoiled the camp of the Syrians. So a measure of fine flour was sold for a shekel, and two measures of barley for a shekel, accord- 17] ing to the word of the LORD. And the king appointed the captain on whose hand he leaned to have the charge of the gate: and the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died as the man of God had said, who spake when the king 18] came down to him. And it came to pass, as the man of God had spoken to the king, saying, Two measures of barley for a shekel, and a measure of fine flour for a shekel, shall be to-morrow about this time in the gate of Samaria; 19] and that captain answered the man of God, and said, Now, behold, if the LORD should make windows in heaven, might such a thing be? and he said, Behold, thou shalt see it with thine eyes, 20] but shalt not eat thereof: it came to pass even so unto him; for the people trode upon him in the gate, and he died.

ELISHA IN DAMASCUS, *2 Kings 8: 7-15*

2 Kings 8. 7] And Elisha came to Damascus; and Ben-hadad the king of Syria was sick; and it was told him, saying, The man of God is come hither. 8] And the king said unto Hazael, Take a present in thine hand, and go meet the man of God, and inquire of the LORD by him, saying, Shall I recover of this

9] sickness? So Hazael went to meet him, and took a present ²⁶ with him, ²⁷ even of every good thing of Damascus, forty camels' burden, and came and stood before him, and said, Thy son Ben-hadad king of Syria hath sent me to thee, saying, Shall I recover of this 10] sickness? And Elisha said unto him,

²² Or, *our iniquity will find us out.*

²³ Or, *porters.*

²⁴ Or, *the porters called.*

²⁵ Heb. *in it.*

²⁶ Heb. *in his hand.*

²⁷ Or, *and.*

Go, ²⁸ say unto him, Thou shalt surely recover; howbeit the LORD hath shewed 11] me that he shall surely die. And he settled his countenance stedfastly *upon him*, until he was ashamed: and the man 12] of God wept. And Hazael said, Why weepeth my lord? And he answered, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash in pieces their little ones, and rip up their women with child. 13] And Hazael said, But what is thy

servant, which is but a dog, that he should do this great thing? And Elisha answered, The LORD hath shewed me that thou shalt be king over Syria. 14] Then he departed from Elisha, and came to his master; who said to him, What said Elisha to thee? And he answered, He told me that thou shouldst 15] surely recover. And it came to pass on the morrow, that he took the coverlet, and dipped it in water, and spread it on his face, so that he died: and Hazael reigned in his stead.

The respect paid by Ben-hadad to Elisha in spite of his previous efforts to capture him, is quite in accordance with the ancient point of view. A prophet, as a man of God, was sacrosanct, and to harm him would, it was believed, bring dire disaster on oneself.

THE DEATH OF JEHOAM OF JUDAH AND THE REIGN OF AHAZIAH, *2 Kings* 8: 23-29

2 Kings 8. 23] And the rest of the acts of Joram, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? 24] And Joram slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead.

25] ²⁹ In the twelfth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel did Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah begin 26] to reign. Two and twenty years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in Jerusalem. And his mother's name was Athaliah the ³⁰ daughter of Omri king of Israel.

27] And he walked in the way of the house of Ahab, and did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did the house of Ahab: for he was the son in 28] law of the house of Ahab. And he went with Joram the son of Ahab to war against Hazael king of Syria at Ramoth-gilead: and the Syrians 29] wounded Joram. And king Joram returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had given him at Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Syria. And Ahaziah the son of Jehoram king of Judah went down to see Joram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because he was sick.

THE BLOODY REVOLUTION OF JEHU, *2 Kings* 9: 1-10: 14

2 Kings 9. And Elisha the prophet called one of the sons of the prophets, and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and take this vial of oil in thine hand, and go 2] to Ramoth-gilead. And when thou comest thither, look out there Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from

among his brethren, and carry him to an 3] inner chamber. Then take the vial of oil, and pour it on his head, and say, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then open the door, 4] and flee, and tarry not. So the young man, even the young man the prophet, 5] went to Ramoth-gilead. And when

²⁸ According to another reading, *say, Thou shalt not recover: for the LORD &c.*

²⁹ See *2 Chr.* 22: 1, &c.

³⁰ Or, *granddaughter*. See ver. 18.

he came, behold, the captains of the host were sitting; and he said, I have an errand to thee, O captain. And Jehu said, Unto which of all us? And he said, To 6] thee, O captain. And he arose, and went into the house; and he poured the oil on his head, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of 7] the LORD, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of the LORD, at the hand 8] of Jezebel. For the whole house of Ahab shall perish: and I will cut off from Ahab every man child, and him that is shut up and him that is left at 9] large in Israel. And I will make the house of Ahab like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah. 10] And the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel, and there shall be none to bury her. And he opened the 11] door, and fled. Then Jehu came forth to the servants of his lord: and one said unto him, Is all well? wherefore came this mad fellow to thee? And he said unto them, Ye know the man and what 12] his talk was. And they said, It is false; tell us now. And he said, Thus and thus spake he to me, saying, Thus saith the LORD, I have anointed thee king 13] over Israel. Then they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put it under him ³¹ on the top of the stairs, and blew the trumpet, saying, Jehu is king. 14] So Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi conspired against Joram. (Now Joram kept Ramoth-gilead, he and all Israel, because of Hazael king 15] of Syria: but king ³² Joram was returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Syrians had given him, when he fought with Hazael king of Syria.) And Jehu said, If this be your mind, then let none escape and go forth out of the city, to go to tell it in Jezreel. 16] So Jehu rode in a chariot, and went

to Jezreel; for Joram lay there. And Ahaziah king of Judah was come down 17] to see Joram. Now the watchman stood on the tower in Jezreel, and he spied the company of Jehu as he came, and said, I see a company. And Joram said, Take an horseman, and send to meet them, and let him say, ³³ Is it 18] peace? So there went one on horseback to meet him, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And Jehu said, What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me. And the watchman told, saying, The messenger came to them, 19] but he cometh not again. Then he sent out a second on horseback, which came to them, and said, Thus saith the king, Is it peace? And Jehu answered, What hast thou to do with peace? turn 20] thee behind me. And the watchman told, saying. He came even unto them, and cometh not again: and the driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nim- 21] shi; for he driveth furiously. And Joram said, ³⁴ Make ready. And they made ready his chariot. And Joram king of Israel and Ahaziah king of Judah went out, each in his chariot, and they went out to meet Jehu, and found him in the portion of Naboth the Jezreelite. 22] And it came to pass, when Joram saw Jehu, that he said, Is it peace, Jehu? And he answered, What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and 23] her witchcrafts are so many? And Joram turned his hands, and fled, and said to Ahaziah. There is treachery, O 24] Ahaziah. And Jehu ³⁵ drew his bow with his full strength, and smote Joram between his arms, and the arrow went out at his heart, and he sunk down in 25] his chariot. Then said Jehu to Bidkar his captain, Take up, and cast him in the portion of the field of Naboth the Jezreelite: for remember how that, when I and thou rode together after Ahab his father, the LORD ³⁶ laid this 26] burden upon him; Surely I have seen yesterday the blood of Naboth, and the blood of his sons, saith the LORD; and I

³¹ Or, *on the bare steps.*

³² Heb. *Jehoram*, and in vv. 17, 21, 22, 23,

24.
³³ Or, *Is all well?*

³⁴ Or, *Yoke.*

³⁵ Heb. *filled his hand with the bow.*

³⁶ Or, *uttered this oracle against him.*

will requite thee in this ³⁷ plat, saith the LORD. Now therefore take and cast him into the plat of *ground*, according to the 27] word of the LORD. ³⁸ But when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he fled by the way of the garden house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot: *and they smote him* at the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and 28] died there. And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David.

29] And in the eleventh year of Joram the son of Ahab began Ahaziah to reign over Judah.

30] And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel heard of it; and she painted her eyes, and tired her head, and 31] looked out at the window. And as Jehu entered in at the gate, she said, ³⁹ Is it peace, thou Zimri, thy master's 32] murderer? And he lifted up his face to the window, and said, Who is on my side? who? And there looked out to him 33] two or three eunuchs. And he said, Throw her down. So they threw her down: and some of her blood was sprinkled on the wall, and on the horses: 34] and he trode her under foot. And when he was come in, he did eat and drink; and he said, See now to this cursed woman, and bury her: for she is a 35] king's daughter. And they went to bury her: but they found no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the 36] palms of her hands. Wherefore they came again, and told him. And he said, This is the word of the LORD, which he spake by his servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, In the portion of Jezreel shall 37] the dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel: and the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung upon the face of the field in the portion of Jezreel; so that they shall not say, This is Jezebel.

10. Now Ahab had seventy sons in Samaria. And Jehu wrote letters, and sent to Samaria, unto the rulers of Jezreel, even the elders, and unto them that brought up *the sons of Ahab*, saying,

2] And now as soon as this letter cometh to you, seeing your master's sons are with you, and there are with you chariots and horses, a fenced city also, and 3] armour; look ye out the best and meetest of your master's sons, and set him on his father's throne, and fight for 4] your master's house. But they were exceedingly afraid, and said, Behold, the two kings stood not before him: how 5] then shall we stand? And he that was over the household, and he that was over the city, the elders also, and they that brought up *the children*, sent to Jehu, saying, We are thy servants, and will do all that thou shalt bid us; we will not make any man king: do thou that which 6] is good in thine eyes. Then he wrote a letter the second time to them, saying, If ye be on my side, and if ye will hearken unto my voice, take ye the heads of the men your master's sons, and come to me to Jezreel by to-morrow this time. Now the king's sons, being seventy persons, were with the great men of the city, 7] which brought them up. And it came to pass, when the letter came to them, that they took the king's sons, and slew them, even seventy persons, and put their heads in baskets, and sent them unto him 8] to Jezreel. And there came a messenger, and told him, saying, They have brought the heads of the king's sons. And he said, Lay ye them in two heaps at the entering in of the gate until the 9] morning. And it came to pass in the morning, that he went out, and stood, and said to all the people, Ye be righteous: behold, I conspired against my master, and slew him: but who smote all 10] these? Know now that there shall fall unto the earth nothing of the word of the LORD, which the LORD spake concerning the house of Ahab: for the LORD hath done that which he spake by his 11] servant Elijah. So Jehu smote all that remained of the house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his great men, and his familiar friends, and his priests, until 12] he left him none remaining. And he arose and departed, and went to Samaria. And as he was at the ⁴⁰ shearing

³⁷ Or, *portion*.

³⁸ See 2 Chr. 22: 9.

³⁹ Or, *Is it well*.

⁴⁰ Or, *house of gathering*.

house of the shepherds in the way, 13] Jehu met with the brethren of Ahaziah king of Judah, and said, Who are ye? And they answered, We are the brethren of Ahaziah: and we go down to salute the children of the king and the

14] children of the queen. And he said, Take them alive. And they took them alive, and slew them at the ⁴¹ pit of the ⁴⁰ shearing house, even two and forty men; neither left he any of them.

By this bloody revolution, which the prophet Elisha encouraged, the dynasty of Omri was blotted out, and the king of Judah, who was a grandson of Ahab, was also slain with many of his kinsmen. But this was not all of Jehu's work. An equally cruel religious reform followed.

A BLOODY REFORMATION, *2 Kings* 10: 15-28

2 Kings 10. 15] And when he was departed thence, he lighted on Jehonadab the son of Rechab coming to meet him: and he saluted him, and said to him, Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thine hand. And he gave him his hand; and he took him up to him 16] into the chariot. And he said, Come with me, and see my zeal for the LORD. So they made him ride in his chariot. 17] And when he came to Samaria, he smote all that remained unto Ahab in Samaria, till he had destroyed him, according to the word of the LORD, which 18] he spake to Elijah. And Jehu gathered all the people together, and said unto them, Ahab served Baal a little; 19] but Jehu shall serve him much. Now therefore call unto me all the prophets of Baal, all his worshippers, and all his priests; let none be wanting: for I have a great sacrifice *to do* to Baal; whosoever shall be wanting, he shall not live. But Jehu did it in subtilty, to the intent that he might destroy the worshippers 20] of Baal. And Jehu said, Sanctify a solemn assembly for Baal. And they pro- 21] claimed it. And Jehu sent through all Israel: and all the worshippers of Baal came, so that there was not a man left that came not. And they came into the house of Baal; and the house of Baal

was filled from one end to another. 22] And he said unto him that was over the vestry, Bring forth vestments for all the worshippers of Baal. And he 23] brought them forth vestments. And Jehu went, and Jehonadab the son of Rechab, into the house of Baal; and he said unto the worshippers of Baal, Search, and look that there be here with you none of the servants of the LORD, but the worshippers of Baal only. 24] And they went in to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings. Now Jehu had appointed him fourscore men without, and said, If any of the men whom I bring into your hands escape, *he that letteth him go*, his life shall be for the life of 25] him. And it came to pass, as soon as he had made an end of offering the burnt offering, that Jehu said to the ⁴² guard and to the captains, Go in, and slay them; let none come forth. And they smote them with the edge of the sword; and the guard and the captains cast them out, and went to the city of the house of 26] Baal. And they brought forth the ⁴³ pillars that were in the house of Baal, 27] and burned them. And they brake down the pillar of Baal, and brake down the house of Baal, and made it a draught 28] house, unto this day. Thus Jehu destroyed Baal out of Israel.

This bloody reformation was a part of the struggle between the Baal-ized or agricultural Yahweh and the nomadic Yahweh. Jonadab the son

⁴¹ Or, *cistern*.

⁴² Heb. *runners*.

⁴³ Or, *obelisks*.

of Rechab was a man who represented the nomadic ideals of life. Neither he nor his followers would live in houses, drink wine, or sow fields, till them, or reap a harvest (see *Jer.* 34: 6, 7). They persisted in this type of life down to the time of Jeremiah. They were worshipers of Yahweh and all the newfangled ways of agriculture, unknown in the wilderness, they abhorred. Jonadab helped and encouraged Jehu in his bloody work. It was still a hard and cruel time.

ATHALIAH IN JUDAH, *2 Kings* 11: 1-3

2 Kings 11. ⁴⁴ Now when Athaliah the mother of Ahaziah saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the 2] seed royal. But Jehosheba, the daughter of king Joram, sister of Ahaziah, took Joash the son of Ahaziah, and stole him away from among the king's sons

that were slain, even him and his nurse, ⁴⁵ and put them in the ⁴⁶ bedchamber; and they hid him from Athaliah, so that 3] he was not slain. And he was with her hid in the house of the LORD six years: and Athaliah reigned over the land.

It must be remembered that Athaliah was the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. She had been the wife of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and was the mother of Ahaziah, king of Judah, whom Jehu had slain as a descendant of Ahab, after a reign of but one year. While Ahaziah was king, Athaliah, as queen mother, had a position of dignity and power. In polygamous countries the mother of a young sovereign takes precedence of his wife. Athaliah, the daughter of an able and ambitious mother, had been waiting for years for this dignity, and she was not the woman to see it snatched by fate from her grasp after but a year of power. She accordingly seized the royal scepter in Jerusalem and with a cruelty not only characteristic of the age, but worthy of her mother, put to death all, as she thought, of the possible heirs to the Judean throne. For six years she was left undisturbed in her exercise of authority. It thus happened that for these six years a woman of the house of Omri and Ahab and a granddaughter of the king of Tyre sat on the throne of David.

JEHU SUBMITS TO ASSYRIA

In the preceding chapter it was noted that Shalmeneser III of Assyria, on his first campaign into the west, fought at Qarqar on the Orontes with twelve allied kings, among whom was King Ahab. Year after year through at least thirty-one years of his reign Shalmeneser sent out his armies to plunder and butcher. They went in different directions. The Assyrians were the most cruel and ruthless people known to us during this period, and possessed the best trained army of the time. For centuries they were the terror of western Asia. The chronicles of Shal-

⁴⁴ See *2 Chr.* 22: 10-12.
⁴⁵ Or, who were.

⁴⁶ Or, chamber for the beds.

meneser tell us that he had been in the west in 849 B.C. and had fought with the king of Damascus, and again in 846 B.C. It does not appear that in either of these years he came into contact with the Israelites. It was different, however, in 842 B.C. In this year Shalmeneser came into the west for the fourth time and made a great effort to capture Damascus. Although he failed in taking the city itself, he plundered its territory from Mount Hermon to the Hauran. This happened in the year that Jehu accomplished his bloody revolution and seized the throne of Israel. He was in no position to oppose the powerful Assyrian, and hastened to purchase his favor with a heavy tribute. The payment of this tribute is not mentioned in the Bible. We only know it from Shalmeneser's records. He, however, pictures Jehu as crawling on his hands and knees to kiss Shalmeneser's toe. It is not the position in which Jehu would naturally have posed for his portrait, but it is the only picture of a Hebrew king by a contemporary artist that has come down to us.

THE TENOR OF JEHU'S REIGN, *2 Kings* 10:29-34

2 Kings 10. 29] Howbeit from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, ⁴⁷ wherewith he made Israel to sin, Jehu departed not from after them, *to wit*, the golden calves that were in Beth-el, ^{30]} and that were in Dan. And the LORD said unto Jehu, Because thou hast ⁴⁸ done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, *and* hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Is- ^{31]} rael. But Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the LORD, the God of Israel,

with all his heart: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin.

^{32]} In those days the LORD began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote ^{33]} them in all the coasts of Israel; from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of Arnon, even Gilead and Ba- ^{34]} shan. Now the rest of the acts of Jehu, and all that he did, and all his might, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel?

As Jehu lived before the promulgation of the law of *Deuteronomy*, the compiler of the second book of *Kings* could commend him only in part. He naturally patronized shrines other than that in Jerusalem.

Shalmeneser III of Assyria made a fifth expedition into the west in 839 B.C., but after that the Assyrian did not trouble the Mediterranean coast for several years. During this time Hazael of Damascus and Jehu had time to fight each other as described in the preceding passage.

THE REIGN OF JOASH (JEHOASH) OF JUDAH, *2 Kings* 11:4—12:3

2 Kings 11. 4] ⁴⁹ And in the seventh year Jehoiada sent and fetched the captains over hundreds, of the ⁵⁰ Carites

and of the ⁵¹ guard, and brought them to him into the house of the LORD; and he made a covenant with them, and took an

⁴⁷ Or, *who*.

⁴⁸ Or, *executed well*.

⁴⁹ See *2 Chr.* 23: 1, &c.

⁵⁰ Or, *executioners*.

⁵¹ Heb. *runners*.

oath of them in the house of the LORD, 5] and shewed them the king's son. And he commanded them, saying, This is the thing that ye shall do: a third part of you, that come in on the sabbath, shall be keepers of the watch of the king's 6] house; and a third part shall be at the gate Sur; and a third part at the gate behind the guard: so shall ye keep the watch of the house, and be a bar- 7] rier. And the two companies of you, even all that go forth on the sabbath, shall keep the watch of the house of the 8] LORD about the king. And ye shall compass the king round about, every man with his weapons in his hand; and he that cometh within the ranks, let him be slain: and be ye with the king when he goeth out, and when he cometh in. 9] And the captains over hundreds did according to all that Jehoiada the priest commanded: and they took every man his men, those that were to come in on the sabbath, with those that were to go out on the sabbath, and came to Jehoiada 10] the priest. And the priest delivered to the captains over hundreds the spears and shields that had been king David's, which were in the house of the LORD. 11] And the guard stood, every man with his weapons in his hand, from the right 52 side of the house to the left side of the house, along by the altar and the 12] house, by the king round about. Then he brought out the king's son, and 53 put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him; and they clapped their hands, and said, 54 God save the king. 13] And when Athaliah heard the noise of the guard and of the people, she came to the people into the house of the LORD: 14] and she looked, and, behold, the king stood 55 by the pillar, as the manner was, and the captains and the trumpets by the king; and all the people

of the land rejoiced, and blew with trumpets. Then Athaliah rent her clothes, and 15] cried, Treason, treason. And Jehoiada the priest commanded the captains of hundreds that were set over the host, and said unto them, Have her forth between the ranks; and him that followeth her slay with the sword: for the priest said, Let her not be slain in the 16] house of the LORD. So they made way for her; and she went by the way of the horses' entry to the king's house: and there was she slain.

17] And Jehoiada made a covenant between the LORD and the king and the people, that they should be the LORD's people; between the king also and the 18] people. And all the people of the land went to the house of Baal, and brake it down; his altars and his images brake they in pieces thoroughly, and slew Mattan the priest of Baal before the altars. And the priest appointed 56 officers 19] over the house of the LORD. And he took the captains over hundreds, and the Carites, and the guard, and all the people of the land; and they brought down the king from the house of the LORD, and came by the way of the gate of the guard unto the king's house. And he sat on the 20] throne of the kings. So all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet: and they slew Athaliah with the sword at the king's house.

21] 57 Jehoash was seven years old when he began to reign.

12. In the seventh year of Jehu began Jehoash to reign; and he reigned forty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's 2] name was Zibiah of Beer-sheba. And Jehoash did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD all his days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him. 3] Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.

By this revolution Athaliah was put to death and a descendant of David—a boy king—was put on the throne. The localities mentioned in the chapter are all connected with the palace of Solomon, in which

52 Heb. *shoulder*.

53 Or, *put upon him the crown and the testimony*.

54 Heb. *Let the king live*.

55 Or, *on the platform*.

56 Heb. *offices*.

57 Ch. 12: 1 in Heb.

Athaliah was living, and the temple. The palace adjoined the temple so closely that Athaliah in the palace could hear the shouting in the temple. (For the details of the buildings, see above in ch. XI.)

JOASH REPAIRS THE TEMPLE IN JERUSALEM, *2 Kings* 12:4-16

2 Kings 12. 4] And Jehoash said to the priests, All the money of the hal-
lowed things that is brought into the
house of the LORD, ⁵⁸in current money,
⁵⁹the money of the persons for whom
each man is rated, and all the money that
it cometh into any man's heart to bring
5] into the house of the LORD, let the
priests take it to them, every man from
his acquaintance: and they shall repair
the breaches of the house, wheresoever
6] any breach shall be found. But it was
so, that in the three and twentieth year
of king Jehoash the priests had not re-
7] paired the breaches of the house. Then
king Jehoash called for Jehoiada the
priest, and for the *other* priests, and
said unto them, why repair ye not the
breaches of the house? now therefore
take no *more* money from your acquaint-
ance, but deliver it for the breaches
8] of the house. And the priests con-
sented that they should take no *more*
money from the people, neither repair
9] the breaches of the house. But Jehoi-
ada the priest took a chest, and bored a
hole in the lid of it, and set it beside the
altar, on the right side as one cometh
into the house of the LORD: and the
priests that kept the ⁶⁰door put therein
all the money that was brought into the
10] house of the LORD. And it was so,

when they saw that there was much
money in the chest, that the king's
⁶¹scribe and the high priest came up,
and they ⁶²put up in bags and told the
money that was found in the house of
11] the LORD. And they gave the money
that was weighed out into the hands of
them that did the work, that had the
oversight of the house of the LORD: and
they ⁶³paid it out to the carpenters and
the builders, that wrought upon the
12] house of the LORD, and to the masons
and the hewers of stone, and for buy-
ing timber and hewn stone to repair the
breaches of the house of the LORD, and
for all that ⁶⁴was laid out for the house
13] to repair it. But there were not made
for the house of the LORD cups of sil-
ver, snuffers, basons, trumpets, any ves-
sels of gold, or vessels of silver, of the
money that was brought into the house
14] of the LORD: for they gave that to
them that did the work, and repaired
therewith the house of the LORD.
15] Moreover they reckoned not with the
men, into whose hand they delivered the
money to give to them that did the work:
16] for they dealt faithfully. The money
for the guilt offerings, and the money
for the sin offerings, was not brought
into the house of the LORD: it was the
priests'.

By the twenty-third year of Joash 160 years had passed since Solomon began the temple, and cracks had occurred in the walls and apparently the roof needed repairing. The walls of buildings in Jerusalem are frequently cracked by earthquakes. While the Bible does not mention any as having occurred during this period, it is altogether probable that there had been seismic disturbances, and that it was due to these that repairs were necessary. The chest for offerings, mentioned in verse 9, is the earliest contribution box known to history.

⁵⁸ Or, even the money of every one that passeth the numbering. See *Ex.* 30:13.

⁵⁹ Heb. each man the money of the souls of his estimation. See *Lev.* 27:2.

⁶⁰ Heb. threshold.

⁶¹ Or, secretary.

⁶² Heb. bound up and &c.

⁶³ Heb. brought it forth.

⁶⁴ Heb. went forth.

THE DEATH OF JEHU AND REIGN OF JEHOAHAZ, *2 Kings* 10: 35, 36 and 13: 1-9

2 Kings 10. 35] And Jehu slept with his fathers: and they buried him in Samaria. And Jehoahaz his son reigned in 36] his stead. And the time that Jehu reigned over Israel in Samaria was twenty and eight years.

13. In the three and twentieth year of Joash the son of Ahaziah, king of Judah, Jehoahaz the son of Jehu began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned seven 2] enteen years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, and followed the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to 3] sin; he departed not therefrom. And the anger of the LORD was kindled against Israel, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and into the hand of Ben-hadad the son of 4] Hazael, ⁶⁵ continually. And Jehoahaz besought the LORD, and the LORD hearkened unto him: for he saw the oppres-

sion of Israel, how that the king of Syria 5] oppressed them. (And the LORD gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians: and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents, 6] as beforetime. Nevertheless they departed not from the sins of the house of Jeroboam, wherewith he made Israel to sin, but ⁶⁶ walked therein: and there remained the Asherah also in Samaria.) 7] For he left not to Jehoahaz of the people save fifty horsemen, and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen; for the king of Syria destroyed them, and made them like the dust ⁶⁷ in threshing. 8] Now the rest of the acts of Jehoahaz, and all that he did, and his might, are they not written in the book of the 9] chronicles of the kings of Israel? And Jehoahaz slept with his fathers; and they buried him in Samaria: and Joash his son reigned in his stead.

The reign of Jehoahaz, which fell between 814 and 797 B.C. was apparently one long struggle with the Syrians of Damascus, in which Jehoahaz had the worst of it. Adadnirari IV, king of Assyria, who ruled from 810 to 782 B.C., claims to have received tribute from "the land of Omri" ⁶⁸ (*i. e.*, Israel) as well as from other kingdoms of Palestine and Syria; but evidently he did not trouble them by the presence of his armies, for they were free to fight one another.

HAZAEI ATTACKS JOASH OF JUDAH, *2 Kings* 12: 17, 18

2 Kings 12. 17] Then Hazael king of Syria went up, and fought against Gath, and took it: and Hazael set his face to 18] go up to Jerusalem. And Jehoash king of Judah took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat, and Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah,

had dedicated, and his own hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the LORD, and of the king's house, and sent it to Hazael king of Syria: and he went away from Jerusalem.

Joash secured freedom from invasion by paying tribute. In order to raise funds for this, it was necessary to strip the temple, which for similar purposes had been stripped before, still further of its treasure of silver and gold implements. This act of Joash made both the Hebrew kingdoms for a time tributary to Damascus.

⁶⁶ Heb. *he walked*.

⁶⁷ Or, *to trample on*.

⁶⁸ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 423, 424.

⁶⁵ Heb. *all the days*.

THE DEATH OF JEHOAHAZ AND ACCESSION OF JOASH
(JEHOASH) OF ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 13: 10, 11

2 Kings 13. 10] In the thirty and seventh year of Joash king of Judah began Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned six-*
11] teen years. And he did that which

was evil in the sight of the LORD; he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin; but he walked therein.

As in the reign of the two Jorams (or Jehorams), so again now two monarchs bearing the same name, Joash (or Jehoash), occupied for a year or two contemporaneously the thrones of Israel and Judah.

THE DEATH OF JOASH OF JUDAH AND ACCESSION OF AMAZIAH,
2 Kings 12: 19-21

2 Kings 12. 19] Now the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chron-
20] icles of the kings of Judah? And his servants arose, and made a conspiracy, and smote Joash at the house of Millo, *on the way that goeth down to Silla.*

21] For Jozacar the son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad the son of Shomer, his servants, smote him, and he died; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Amaziah his son reigned in his stead.

Apparently the king, who began his reign when a boy, was not popular in the end, for his reign terminated in a conspiracy in which he lost his life.

THE DEATH OF ELISHA, *2 Kings* 13: 14-21

14] Now Elisha was fallen sick of his sickness whereof he died: and Joash the king of Israel came down unto him, and wept over ⁶⁹him, and said, ⁷⁰My father, my father, the ⁷¹chariots of Is-
15] rael and the horsemen thereof! And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and arrows: and he took unto him bow and
16] arrows. And he said to the king of Israel, Put thine hand upon the bow: and he put his hand *upon it*. And Elisha laid
17] his hands upon the king's hands. And he said, Open the window eastward: and he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot: and he shot. And he said, The LORD's ar-
row of ⁷²victory, even the arrow of ⁷²victory ⁷³over Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou
18] have consumed them. And he said,

Take the arrows: and he took them. And he said unto the king of Israel, Smite upon the ground: and he smote
19] thrice, and stayed. And the man of God was wroth with him, and said, Thou shouldest have smitten five or six times; then hadst thou smitten Syria till thou hadst consumed it: whereas now thou shalt smite Syria but thrice.

20] And Elisha died, and they buried him. Now the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the
21] year. And it came to pass, as they were burying a man, that, behold, they spied a band; and they cast the man into the sepulchre of Elisha: and ⁷⁴as soon as the man touched the bones of Elisha, he revived, and stood up on his feet.

⁶⁹ Heb. *his face*.

⁷⁰ See ch. 2: 12.

⁷¹ Or, *chariot*.

⁷² Heb. *salvation*.

⁷³ Or, *against*.

⁷⁴ Heb. *when the men went and touched*.

Thus died the prophet Elisha, evidently at a great age. In the vigor of his manhood he had made campaigns with kings (see *2 Kings* 3), had promoted revolutions, and defied a foreign king. For a considerable time before his death his name is not mentioned in the records, although foreigners invade the soil of Palestine and reduce her armies to submission. Yet his character had been to his people such a tower of strength that he seemed on his sick-bed to his sovereign "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof"; in other words her one defense. Defenseless Israel! Laid low by the Syrian. As they buried the old prophet, bands of Moabites were invading the country!

CHRONOLOGY

Kings of Israel

Jehoram, 852-842 B. C.
Jehu, 842-814
Jehoahaz, 814-797
Joash, 797-781

Kings of Judah

Jehoram, 848-842 B. C.
Ahaziah, 842
Athaliah, 842-836
Joash, 836-796
Amaziah, 795-774

CHAPTER XV

FROM ELISHA TO ISAIAH

A FAVORABLE TURN IN ISRAELITISH AFFAIRS, *2 Kings 13: 22-25*

2 Kings 13. 22] And Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of 22] Jehoahaz. But the LORD was gracious unto them, and had compassion on them, and had respect unto them, because of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and would not destroy them, neither cast he them from his presence ¹ as 24] yet. And Hazael king of Syria died;

and Ben-hadad his son reigned in his 25] stead. And Jehoash the son of Jehoahaz took again out of the hand of Ben-hadad the son of Hazael the cities which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war. Three times did Joash smite him, and recovered the cities of Israel.

THE death of Hazael of Damascus gave Joash of Israel a new opportunity. Hazael's son and successor, Ben-hadad II, had not his father's military ability and Joash soon won back all Israel's territory that the Syrians had occupied.

WAR BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JUDAH, *2 Kings 14: 1-14*

2 Kings 14. 2 In the second year of Joash son of Joahaz king of Israel began Amaziah the son of Joash king of 2] Judah to reign. He was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was 3] Jehoaddin of Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, yet not like David his father: he did according to all that Joash his father 4] had done. Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high 5] places. And it came to pass, as soon as the kingdom was established in his hand, that he slew his servants which 6] had slain the king his father: but the children of the murderers he put not to death: according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, as the

LORD commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall die 7] for his own sin. He slew of Edom in the Valley of Salt ten thousand, and took ³ Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day.

8] Then Amaziah sent messengers to Jehoash, the son of Jehoahaz son of Jehu, king of Israel, saying, Come, let 9] us look one another in the face. And Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The ⁴ thistle that was in Lebanon sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trode down the thistle. 10] Thou hast indeed smitten Edom, and thine heart hath lifted thee up: glory

¹ Heb. *until now*.

² See *2 Chr. 25: 1*, &c.

³ Or, *the rock*.

⁴ Or, *thorn*.

thereof, and abide at home; for why shouldst thou ⁵meddle to *thy* hurt, that thou shouldst fall, even thou, and 11] Judah with thee? But Amaziah would not hear. So Jehoash king of Israel went up; and he and Amaziah king of Judah looked one another in the face at Beth-shemesh, which belongeth to Judah. And Judah was put to the worse before Israel; and they fled every 13] man to his tent. And Jehoash king

of Israel took Amaziah king of Judah, the son of Jehoash the son of Ahaziah, at Beth-shemesh, and came to Jerusalem, and brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, four hundred cubits. And he took all the gold and silver, and all the vessels that were found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, the hostages also, and returned to Samaria.

In the narrative just quoted we gain an insight into the brusque methods sometimes adopted in ancient international intercourse, and the man who wrote it had a grim sense of humor. Amaziah proposed to Joash a friendly meeting, but Joash, elated by his victories over Ben-hadad II, sent him an insulting reply. This insulting reply he followed by invasion. He sent his army to attack Judah's cities in the Shephelah. Amaziah advancing with his army to repel the invasion, met Joash and his force at Beth-shemesh. Amaziah had expressed his invitation to a friendly conference in the words: "Come, let us look one another in the face." The compiler of *Kings* grimly remarks: "they looked one another in the face at Beth-shemesh." Amaziah was defeated, and Joash followed him to Jerusalem, which he captured, and broke down four hundred cubits of its wall, "from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate." Solomon had enclosed within a wall a part of the westernmost of the two hills on which Jerusalem now stands. The north part of this wall extended from the temple wall westward in a straight line to a point about where the Jaffa Gate now stands. Here it turned sharply southward. The "Corner Gate" was near this corner; the "Gate of Ephraim" was near the temple in the Tyropean Valley south of where the present "Damascus Gate" is. It was given its name because it opened northward toward the land of Ephraim. By breaking down this wall Joash crippled Amaziah's power.

THE DEATH OF JOASH AND ACCESSION OF JEROBOAM II,

2 Kings 13: 12, 13; 14: 15, 16

2 Kings 13. 12] Now the rest of the acts of Joash, and all that he did, and his might wherewith he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of 13] the kings of Israel? And Joash slept with his fathers; and Jeroboam sat upon his throne: and Joash was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel.

2 Kings 14. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoash which he did, and his might, and how he fought with Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of 16] Israel? And Jehoash slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; and Jeroboam his son reigned in his stead.

These quotations show that the compiler of the second book of *Kings* related the death of Joash and the accession of Jeroboam II twice.

⁵ Or, *provoke calamity*.

JEROBOAM II'S PROSPEROUS REIGN, *2 Kings 14: 23-27*

2 Kings 14. 23] In the fifteenth year of Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah Jeroboam the son of Joash king of Israel began to reign in Samaria, **24]** and reigned forty and one years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, **25]** wherewith he made Israel to sin. He restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah, according to the word of the

LORD, the God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of **26]** Gath-hepher. For the LORD saw the affliction of Israel, that it was very bitter: for there was none shut up nor left at large, neither was there any helper **27]** for Israel. And the LORD said not that he would blot out the name of Israel from under heaven: but he saved them by the hand of Jeroboam the son of Joash.

The passage just quoted describes in a few words the peaceful and prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. Happily for him he reigned at a time when the power of Assyria was waning. From the reign of Adadnirari IV, who died the year before Jeroboam ascended the throne, to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III no Assyrian king was sufficiently powerful or energetic to invade the west, and Tiglath-pileser, who became king of Assyria in 745 B.C., was too busy elsewhere to reach Palestine until after Jeroboam's death. Egypt, too, had become weak. Although the twenty-second dynasty was still on the throne during most of Jeroboam's reign, it was tottering to its fall. For a hundred years this dynasty, founded by Sheshonk (Shishak), who invaded Palestine in the time of Rehoboam, had prospered, but the last hundred years of its history was a time of waning power. Damascus was also still weak. Jeroboam II was an able monarch and took advantage of the opportunity; on the north and east he extended his control over all that David had ruled.

THE DEATH OF AMAZIAH AND ACCESSION OF AZARIAH (UZZIAH),
2 Kings 14: 17-22

2 Kings 14. 17] And Amaziah the son of Joash king of Judah lived after the death of Jehoash son of Jehoahaz king **18]** of Israel fifteen years. Now the rest of the acts of Amaziah, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of **19]** the kings of Judah? And they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem; and he fled to Lachish: but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew him

20] there. And they brought him upon horses: and he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers in the city of David. **21]** And all the people of Judah took ⁶ Azariah, who was sixteen years old, and made him king in the room of his **22]** father Amaziah. He built Elath, and restored it to Judah, after that the king slept with his fathers.

THE REIGN OF AZARIAH (UZZIAH) *2 Kings 15: 1-6*

2 Kings 15. In the twenty and seventh year of Jeroboam king of Israel be-

gan ⁷ Azariah son of Amaziah king of **2]** Judah to reign. ⁸ Sixteen years old

⁶ In ch. 15: 13, and *2 Chr.* 26: 1, *Uzziah*.

⁷ In verses 13, 30, &c., *Uzziah*.

⁸ See *2 Chr.* 26: 3, 4.

was he when he began to reign; and he reigned two and fifty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jecoliah of 3] Jerusalem. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that his father Amaziah had done. 4] Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places.

5] ⁹ And the LORD smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a ¹⁰ several house. And Jotham the king's son was over the household, judging the people of the 6] land. Now the rest of the acts of Azariah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah?

The chronological statements concerning the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah, who is called Uzziah in *Isaiah* 6: 1 and elsewhere (and whom we shall hereafter call Uzziah), create difficulties. It is stated in *2 Kings* 14: 2, quoted above, that Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years. That would make his reign end in 774 B.C. The passage just quoted says that Uzziah reigned fifty-two years. When one puts together all known chronological data, Biblical and Assyriological, it appears certain that Uzziah died by 737 B.C. If he reigned fifty-two years his reign should begin in 789 B.C.; but that was fifteen or, according to Jewish reckoning, sixteen years before his father died. Both statements cannot be true unless he reigned conjointly with his father. That may well be the case, but, if it is, the statement that he was sixteen years old when he began to reign cannot be true of his reign as sole king; it must refer either to his age when associated first with his father on the throne, or to the length of time he had reigned conjointly with his father.

Judah under him, after his father's death, became as prosperous as Israel was under Jeroboam II. Elath was a port on the Gulf of Aqaba at the north end of the Red Sea in Edom. The fact that he built this port indicates that he controlled Edom sufficiently to keep a road to Elath open, and that he revived the commerce of Solomon and Jehoshaphat on the Red Sea. The two Hebrew kings, Jeroboam II and Uzziah, thus controlled between them the territories that had comprised the empire of Solomon, if not that of David. For forty years the land enjoyed peace. Trade revived and wealth increased. The rich grew richer, but the poor seemed to grow poorer. It became a time of social ferment. Literature flourished. A new type of prophet appeared. In these two reigns the religious and social advance, begun by Elijah in the reigns of Ahab and Jehoshaphat a century before, was taken up and carried forward.

The first step in this that we can trace is the writing of the so-called "E Document," to which so many references were made in the early chapters of this book. It was written in the northern kingdom (*i. e.*, the kingdom of Israel) about 750 B.C. The home of its author seems to have been the tribe of Ephraim. We do not know his name. *E* is the first letter of the Hebrew word *Elōhīm*, "God," this writer's designation of the divine Being. The J-writer, who had written in Judah in the preceding century,

⁹ See *2 Chr.* 26: 21-23.

¹⁰ Or, *lazar-house*.

preferred the proper name Yahweh (Jehovah) for God, but this Ephraimite writer delighted to use the plural word, which had originally been employed to sum up all the supernatural spirits of which the world was thought to be full, but which had now been welded together into one.

This E-writer differs from J in other ways than the use of a different divine name. J represents God as appearing to men in human form to convey to them his will; E represents him as coming to them in dreams to do this. J saw the work of Yahweh in the operations of nature; E more often supposes that God performed miracles. Each of these writers employed a characteristic vocabulary, which, although one needs to read Hebrew fully to appreciate, can in some degree be detected in the English translation.

E, like J, compiled a written story of the fortunes of the Hebrew people from the time of Abraham to his own day. In the book of *Genesis* it is first quoted in the fifteenth chapter, though the first long extract from it is in the twentieth chapter. From that point onward excerpts from it are made in the Hexateuch, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and probably in *Kings*.

For our present purpose the most important part of the E Document is the code of laws, which this writer believed to be the kernel of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. He calls the code "The Book of the Covenant." It contained the substance of the ten commandments in *Exodus* 20: 1-17, exclusive of many later editorial expansions, and the laws from *Exodus* 20: 24 to 23: 19. These laws are so important that we shall quote them in full. Some of them, as we shall show, had been in force in the life of the nation for a long time, but, so far as appears, they were first codified by E.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, *Ex.* 20: 1-17

1. I am Yahweh thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods in my presence.
2. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh thy God in vain.
4. Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day.
5. Honor thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt do no murder.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
10. Thou shalt not covet.

This form of the ten commandments is quite different from the ten commandments of the time of Moses, which formed the basis of the covenant with Yahweh in Moses' day, and which have been set forth above in ch. VI. The command to worship Yahweh only, is in substance the same, though it is worded in such a way as to show that its author was

not yet a theoretical monotheist, for he assumes the reality of other gods. In the time of Moses it had been thought sufficient to prohibit in the second commandment the making of molten gods, *i.e.*, expensive idols. Now, however, all idols, carved as well as molten, were forbidden. Is it too much to suppose that this had come about because of the violation of this commandment by Jeroboam I and his successors? J's sixth commandment, to observe the Sabbath, becomes E's fourth command. All the other seven of E's commandments differ from J's. They are ethical in content, whereas those of J enjoin correct ritual only. The substitution of ethics for ritual is a mark of the progress that had been made since the days of Moses. It does not seem too much to suppose that this change was in large part due to the stress laid by Elijah upon Yahweh's insistence upon fair dealing between man and man.

E'S CODE OF LAWS, *Ex.* 20:24—23:19

EX. 20. 24] An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offerings, and thy peace offerings, thy sheep and thine oxen: in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will 25] bless thee. And if thou make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stones; for if thou lift up thy tool 26] upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar, that thy nakedness be not discovered thereon.

21. Now these are the judgements 2] which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy an Hebrew ¹¹ servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh 3] he shall go out free for nothing. If he come in by himself he shall go out by himself: if he be married, then his wife 4] shall go out with him. If his master give him a wife, and she bear him sons, or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out 5] by himself. But if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: 6] then his master shall bring him unto ¹² God, and shall bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an

awl; and he shall serve him for ever.

7] And if a man sell his daughter to be a ¹³ maidservant, she shall not go out 8] as the menservants do. If she please not her master, ¹⁴ who hath espoused her to himself, then shall he let her be redeemed: to sell her unto a strange people he shall have no power, seeing he 9] hath dealt deceitfully with her. And if he espouse her unto his son, he shall deal with her after the manner of daughter- 10] ters. If he take him another *wife*; her ¹⁵ food, her raiment, and her duty of 11] marriage, shall he not diminish. And if he do not these three unto her, then shall she go out for nothing, without money.

12] He that smiteth a man, so that he 13] die, shall surely be put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver *him* into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee. 14] And if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbor, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die.

15] And he that smiteth his father, or his mother, shall be surely put to death.

16] And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his

¹¹ Or, *bondman*.

¹² Or, *the judges*.

¹³ Or, *bondwoman*.

¹⁴ Another reading is, *so that he hath not espoused her*.

¹⁵ Heb. *flesh*.

hand, he shall surely be put to death.

17] And he that ¹⁶ curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death.

18] And if men contend, and one smiteth the other with a stone, or with his fist, and he die not, but keep his bed: 19] if he rise again, and walk abroad upon his staff, then shall he that smote him be quit: only he shall pay for ¹⁷ the loss of his time, and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed.

20] And if a man smite ¹⁸ his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand; he shall surely be punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished: for he is his money.

22] And if men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. 23] But if any mischief follow, then thou 24] shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for 25] foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

26] And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, and destroy it; he shall let him go free for 27] his eye's sake. And if he smite out his manservant's tooth, or his maidservant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

28] And if an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die, the ox shall be surely stoned, and his flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner of the ox shall be 29] quit. But if the ox were wont to gore in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his 30] owner also shall be put to death. If there be laid on him a ransom, then he shall give for the redemption of his life 31] whatsoever is laid upon him. Whether he have gored a son, or have gored a

daughter, according to this judgement 32] shall it be done unto him. If the ox gore a manservant or a maidservant; he shall give unto their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

33] And if a man shall open a pit, or if a man shall dig a pit and not cover it, 34] and an ox or an ass fall therein, the owner of the pit shall make it good; he shall give money unto the owner of them, and the dead *beast* shall be his.

35] And if one man's ox hurt another's, that he die; then they shall sell the live ox, and divide the price of it; and the 36] dead also they shall divide. Or if it be known that the ox was wont to gore in time past, and his owner hath not kept him in; he shall surely pay ox for ox, and the dead *beast* shall be his own.

22. ¹⁹ If a man shall steal an ox, or a sheep, and kill it, or sell it; he shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep 2] for a sheep. If ²⁰ the thief be found breaking in, and be smitten that he die, there shall be no ²¹ bloodguiltiness for 3] him. If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness for him: he should make restitution; if he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his 4] theft. If the theft be found in his hand alive, whether it be ox, or ass, or sheep; he shall pay double.

5] If a man shall cause a field or vineyard to be eaten, and shall let his beast loose, and it feed in another man's field; of the best of his own field, and of the best of his own vineyard, shall he make restitution.

6] If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the shocks of corn, or the standing corn, or the field, be consumed; he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.

7] If a man shall deliver unto his neighbour money or stuff to keep, and it be stolen out of the man's house; if the thief be found, he shall pay double. 8] If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall come near unto ²² God, to see whether he have not

16 Or, *revileth*.

17 Heb. *his sitting or ceasing*.

18 Or, *his bondsman, or his bondswoman*.

19 Ch. 21: 37 in Heb.

20 Ch. 22: 1 in Heb.

21 Heb. *blood*.

22 Or, *the judges*.

put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.
 9] For every matter of trespass whether it be for ox, for ass, for sheep, for raiment, *or* for any manner of lost thing, whereof one saith, This is it, the cause of both parties shall come before ²² God; he whom ²² God shall condemn shall pay double unto his neighbour.

10] If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or an ox, or a sheep, or any beast, to keep; and it die, or be hurt, 11] or driven away, no man seeing it: the oath of the LORD shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it, and he 12] shall not make restitution. But if it be stolen from him, he shall make restitution 13] tuition unto the owner thereof. If it be torn in pieces, let him bring it for witness; he shall not make good that which was torn.

14] And if a man ²³ borrow aught of his neighbour, and it be hurt, or die, the owner thereof not being with it, he 15] shall surely make restitution. If the owner thereof be with it, he shall not make it good: if it be an hired thing, ²⁴ it came for its hire.

16] And if a man entice a virgin that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely pay a dowry for her to be 17] his wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins.

18] Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live.

19] Whosoever lieth with a beast shall surely be put to death.

20] He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the LORD only, shall be ²⁵ utterly destroyed. And a stranger shalt thou not wrong, neither shalt thou oppress him: for ye were strangers in the 22] land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict 23] any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear 24] their cry; and my wrath shall wax

hot, and I will kill you with the sword; and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.

25] If thou lend money to any of my people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor; neither shall 26] ye lay upon him usury. If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt restore it unto him by that 27] the sun goeth down: for that is his only covering, it is his garment for his skin: wherein shall he sleep? and it shall come to pass, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious.

28] Thou shalt not revile ²⁶ God, nor 29] curse a ruler of thy people. Thou shalt not delay to offer of ²⁷ the abundance of thy fruits, and of thy liquors. The firstborn of thy sons shalt thou 30] give unto me. Likewise shalt thou do with thine oxen, *and* with thy sheep: seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it me. 31] And ye shall be holy men unto me: therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs.

23. Thou shalt not take up a false report: put not thine hand with the wicked 2] to be an unrighteous witness. Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou ²⁸ speak in a cause to turn aside after a multitude to wrest 3] *judgement*: neither shalt thou favour a poor man in his cause.

4] If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely 5] bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, ²⁹ and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him.

6] Thou shalt not wrest the *judgement* 6] ment of thy poor in his cause. Keep thee far from a false matter; and the innocent and righteous slay thou not: 8] for I will not justify the wicked. And thou shalt take no gift: for a gift bindeth them that have sight, and perverteth the

²³ Heb. *ask*.

²⁴ Or, *it is reckoned in* (Heb. *cometh into*) *its hire*.

²⁵ Heb. *devoted*. See Lev. 27: 29.

²⁶ Or, *the judges*.

²⁷ Heb. *thy fulness and thy tear*.

²⁸ Or, *bear witness*.

²⁹ Or, *and wouldest forbear to release it for him, thou shalt surely release it with him*.

9] ³⁰ words of the righteous. And a stranger shalt thou not oppress: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.

10] And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the increase 11] thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt ³¹ let it rest and lie fallow; that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave the beast of the field shall eat. In like manner thou shalt deal with thy 12] vineyard, and with thy oliveyard. Six days thou shalt do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt ³² rest: that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thy handmaid, and the stranger, 13] may be refreshed. And in all things that I have said unto you take ye heed: and make no mention of the name of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth.

14] Three times thou shalt keep a

15] feast unto me in the year. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep: seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee, at the time appointed in the month Abib (for in it thou camest out from Egypt); and none shall appear before me empty: 16] And the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labors, which thou sowest in the field; and the feast of ingathering, at the end of the year, when thou gatherest in thy labors out of the field. 17] Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the LORD Jehovah.

18] Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my feast remain 19] all night until the morning. The first of the firstfruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of the LORD thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.

One has but to read this code of laws to recognize that they were the laws of an agricultural community. The conditions presupposed are quite different from any that prevailed in the "wilderness" in which the Midianite-Kenites lived, where the original worship of Yahweh developed, and where Moses accepted the conditions on which Yahweh became the God of Israel. True, this code includes simple ritual laws, just as the Koran contains both the secular and the religious laws laid down by Mohammed. Among E's ritual laws are the ritual regulations of J's ten commandments, such as the prohibition to boil a kid in its mother's milk. These ritual laws are somewhat expanded. The months in which the festivals are to be held are specified, but still the exact dates in the different months are not fixed, and the manner in which the offerings are to be sacrificed is left to the imagination.

The agricultural laws were doubtless borrowed in part from the Canaanites, though they may have been developed in part by the Israelites after their settlement in the land. Some elements, such as the principle of retaliation in *Exodus* 21: 23, 24 and some of the ritual elements, were brought in from the desert. What E did was to bring these laws together in a code. Some of them we can trace long before his time.

Thus the Law of the Altar (*Ex.* 20: 24-26) is very ancient. Excavations have brought to light altars of earth and of unhewn stones which existed in pre-Israelitish times. The provision, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and bless thee," means that a Hebrew might build an altar wherever he was convinced that Yahweh

³⁰ Or, *cause*.

³¹ Or, *release it and let it lie fallow*. See *Deut.* 15: 2.

³² Or, *keep sabbath*.

had manifested himself. In accordance with this principle, Gideon, David, Elijah, and others built altars in many different places. The law against witches (*Ex. 22: 18*) was made by King Saul (see *1 Sam. 28: 9*). The law which permitted a homicide to find asylum at an altar of Yahweh (*Ex. 21: 12-14*), was in force at the beginning of the reign of Solomon (see *1 Kings 1: 51; 2: 28*). The law against cursing God and the ruler (*Ex. 22: 28*) is the law under which Naboth was falsely accused in the reign of Ahab (*1 Kings 21: 13*). Perhaps some of the laws were new. The law against taking the outer garment of a poor man for security and keeping it overnight (*Ex. 22: 26*), may be one of these, but it is cited by Amos (ch. 2: 8). However old some of these laws may be, the bringing of them together in a code and interpreting that code as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel and so giving the code the force of divine sanction, was one of the great literary achievements of the reign of Jeroboam II.

THE PROPHET AMOS

Another event of the first importance of this period was the appearance of a new kind of prophet in the person of Amos, a herdsman of Tekoah. Amos appears to have been a contemporary of the E writer. We read in *Amos*:

Amos 7. 14] Then answered Amos, and said to Amaziah, I ³³ was no prophet, neither ³³ was I ³⁴ a prophet's son; but I ³³ was an herdsman, and a dresser of	15] sycomore trees: and the LORD took me from following the flock, and the LORD said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel.
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In these words Amos declares that he was no prophet (*navi'*, i. e., a man bubbling over in ecstasy with words which he cannot control, like King Saul in *1 Samuel 19: 24*), nor was he a member of a prophetic guild (for that is what "a prophet's son" means), but he was a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees. (From these trees a kind of fruit was gathered which poor people ate.) Yahweh, he says, "took me from following the flock" and said, "Go prophesy to my people Israel." Amos's book bears the title "The words of Amos, who was among the herdsmen of Tekoah." Tekoah was a village about six miles southeast of Bethlehem. It is situated on the edge of the hills which slope downward through increasing desolateness to the Dead Sea. In these wastes Amos led his flocks and brooded. Tekoah itself is on high ground. As one looks northward from it one sees Jerusalem nestling on its hills twelve miles away; and fifteen miles beyond, just on the northern horizon, rose Bethel in full view. Tekoah was in the kingdom of Judah, but Bethel lay beyond Judah's northern border in the kingdom of Israel. Bethel was a sanctuary under

³³ Or, *am*.

³⁴ Or, *one of the sons of the prophets*. See *1 Kings 20: 35*.

royal patronage. There were the golden bullocks, placed there by Jeroboam I in violation of the second commandment. There, in connection with the sanctuary, rites were practised which were not in accord with Yahweh's pristine cult. Bethel was a city of fashion. Its rich were growing richer and its poor poorer. As Amos brooded he felt that Yahweh called him to go to Bethel and denounce the sins of its people. So one day he appeared in its streets and, like a member of the Salvation Army, began to sing. One verse of his song has been preserved and its meter shows that he sang it to the tune of a funeral dirge. The verse is as follows:

"Yahweh will roar from Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem,
And the pastures of the shepherds shall mourn, and the top of Carmel shall wither."

A crowd soon gathered, as in modern times it does for the Salvationist, and Amos uttered the following denunciations:

Amos 1. 3] Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Damascus, yea, for four, I will not ³⁵ turn away ³⁶ the punishment thereof; because they have threshed Gilead with threshing in-
4] struments of iron: but I will send a fire into the house of Hazael, and it shall
5] devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. And I will break the bar of Damascus, and cut off ³⁷ the inhabitant from the valley of ³⁸ Aven, and him that holdeth the sceptre from ³⁹ the house of Eden: and the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the LORD.

6] Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Gaza, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they carried away captive ⁴⁰ the whole people, to deliver them
7] up to Edom: but I will send a fire on the wall of Gaza, and it shall devour the
8] palaces thereof: and I will cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon; and I will turn mine hand against Ekron, and the remnant of the Philistines shall perish, saith the LORD God.

9] Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Tyre, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment

thereof; because they delivered up ⁴⁰ the whole people to Edom, and remembered
10] not ⁴¹ the brotherly covenant: but I will send a fire on the wall of Tyre, and it shall devour the palaces thereof.

11] Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Edom, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and ⁴² did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and he kept his wrath for ever:
12] but I will send a fire upon Teman, and it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah.

13] Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of the children of Ammon, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof; because they have ripped up the women with child of Gilead, that they might enlarge their
14] border: but I will kindle a fire in the wall of Rabbah, and it shall devour the palaces thereof, with shouting in the day of battle, with a tempest in the day
15] of the whirlwind: and their king shall go into captivity, he and his princes together, saith the LORD.

2. Thus saith the LORD: For three transgressions of Moab, yea, for four, I will not turn away the punishment

³⁵ Or, *revoke my word*.

³⁶ Heb. *it* (and so in vv. 6, 9, &c.).

³⁷ Or, *him that sitteth on the throne* (and so in ver. 8.).

³⁸ That is, *Vanity*. The Sept. reads, *On*.

³⁹ Or, *Beth-eden*.

⁴⁰ Heb. *an entire captivity*.

⁴¹ Heb. *the covenant of brethren*. See 1 Kings 5: 1, 9: 11-14.

⁴² Heb. *corrupted his compassions*.

thereof; because he burned the bones of
2] the king of Edom into lime: but I will
send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour
the palaces of Kerioth; and Moab shall
die with tumult, with shouting, and
3] with the sound of the trumpet: and
I will cut off the judge from the midst
thereof, and will slay all the princes
thereof with him, saith the LORD.

6] Thus saith the LORD: For three
transgressions of Israel, yea, for four,
I will not turn away the punishment
thereof; because they have sold the
righteous for silver, and the needy for
7] a pair of shoes: that pant after the
dust of the earth on the head of the
poor, and turn aside the way of the meek:
and a man and his father will go unto
the same ⁴³maid, to profane my holy
8] name: and they lay themselves down
beside every altar upon clothes ⁴⁴taken
in pledge, and in the house of their God
they drink the wine of such as have been
9] fined. Yet destroyed I the Amorite
before them, whose height was like the
height of the cedars, and he was strong
as the oaks; yet I destroyed his fruit
from above, and his roots from beneath.
10] Also I brought you up out of the
land of Egypt, and led you forty years
in the wilderness, to possess the land of
11] the Amorite. And I raised up of your
sons for prophets, and of your young
men for Nazirites. Is it not even thus,
O ye children of Israel? saith the LORD.
12] But ye gave the Nazirites wine to
drink; and commanded the prophets, say-
13] ing, Prophesy not. Behold, ⁴⁵I will
press *you* in your place, as a cart presseth
14] that is full of sheaves. And ⁴⁶flight
shall perish from the swift, and the
strong shall not strengthen his force,
neither shall the mighty deliver ⁴⁷him-
15] self: neither shall he stand that
handleth the bow; and he that is swift
of foot shall not deliver *himself*: neither
shall he that rideth the horse de-
16] liver ⁴⁷himself: and he that is

courageous among the mighty shall flee
away naked in that day, saith the LORD.

3. Hear this word that the LORD hath
spoken against you, O children of Israel,
against the whole family which I brought
up out of the land of Egypt, saying,
2] You only have I known of all the
families of the earth: therefore I will
visit upon you all your iniquities.
Shall two walk together, except they
4] have ⁴⁸agreed? Will a lion roar in
the forest, when he hath no prey? will
a young lion cry out of his den, if he
5] have taken nothing? Can a bird fall
in a snare upon the earth, where no gin
is *set* for him? shall a snare spring up
from the ground, and have taken nothing
6] at all? Shall the trumpet be blown in
a city, and the people not be afraid? shall
evil befall a city, and the LORD hath not
7] done it? Surely the LORD God will do
nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto
8] his servants the prophets. The lion
hath roared, who will not fear? the LORD
God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?

9] Publish ye ⁴⁹in the palaces at
Ashdod, and ⁴⁹in the palaces in the
land of Egypt, and say, Assemble your-
selves upon the mountains of Samaria,
and behold what great tumults are
therein, and what oppressions in the
10] midst thereof. For they know not
to do right, saith the LORD, who store up
violence and robbery in their palaces.
11] Therefore thus saith the LORD God:
An adversary *there shall be*, even round
about the land: and he shall bring down
thy strength from thee, and thy palaces
12] shall be spoiled. Thus saith the LORD:
As the shepherd rescueth out of the
mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of
an ear; so shall the children of Israel
be rescued that sit in Samaria in the
corner of a couch, and ⁵⁰on the silken
13] cushions of a bed. Hear ye, and
testify against the house of Jacob, saith
14] the LORD God, the God of hosts. For
in the day that I shall visit the transgres-
sions of Israel upon him, I will also visit

⁴³ Or, *young woman*.

⁴⁴ See *Ex.* 22: 26.

⁴⁵ Or, *I am pressed under you, as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves.*

⁴⁶ Or, *refuge shall fail the swift.*

⁴⁷ Heb, *his soul*, or, *life*.

⁴⁸ Or, *made an appointment.*

⁴⁹ Or, *upon*.

⁵⁰ According to some ancient versions and MSS., *in Damascus on a bed.*

the altars of Beth-el, and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the 15] ground. And I will smite ⁵¹ the winter house with ⁵² the summer house ;

and the houses of ivory shall perish, and ⁵³ the great houses shall have an end, saith the LORD.

This discourse of Amos is noteworthy for its skill. Amos understood the psychology of a crowd. He began by denouncing the sins of all Israel's neighbors—Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab. People are always pleased to hear a preacher denounce other people's sins. They listen eagerly. Thus Amos gained the sympathy of the throng ; then he began to recount their own sins—their immorality practised even in the name of religion and their oppression of the poor. His discourse is also as noteworthy for its theology as for its skill. He assumed that Yahweh controlled all nations, Syrians, Philistines, Phenicians, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites. In other words he was a monotheist—the first monotheist known in Israel. In another passage (ch. 9:7) he says that Yahweh brought the Philistines from Caphtor (Crete) and the Arameans from Kir, just as he brought Israel from Egypt. Amos thus marks a new epoch in religious thought. He was not a philosopher, but a simple shepherd. He does not say that there is and can only be one God, that all heathen gods are figments of the imagination ; but he quietly assumes that Yahweh is the only God and that he controls the world. Five hundred years before Amos, an Egyptian king, Amenophis IV, had made a similar assumption, but he thought the one god the physical sun-disk. In his time men could not yet conceive of a spiritual being, so the monotheism of Amenophis came to nothing. The shepherd of Tekoah lived in a different era and among a different people, so he began a new era in religion.

Amos continued his preaching in Bethel. He denounced the fashionable women of Israel as "cows of Bashan" (ch. 4:1) ; he denounced the idle revelers among her men who "sing idle songs to the sound of the viol ; who invent themselves instruments of music like David ; who drink wine in bowls and anoint themselves with oil ; but are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph" (ch. 6:5, 6).

Two of his utterances are historically of importance. He declares in ch. 5:25 that sacrifice formed no part of the primitive ritual of the nation's life in the wilderness (a positive question is equivalent to a negative assertion)—a statement he could not have made had he known the ritualistic material now embodied in our books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*. As this material had not been compiled in his time, Amos was able to regard pure morality as the basis of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel.

The other important statement is found in ch. 5:14: "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live ; and so Yahweh, the God of hosts, shall be with you as ye say." This shows that Amos's hearers had a kind of heathen

⁵¹ See *Jer.* 36:22.

⁵² See *Jud.* 3:20.

⁵³ Or, *many*.

confidence in Yahweh. As long as he was with them he exercised, they thought, a kind of magic protection over them. However wrong things might go for a time, they must come out right in the end for *immanu Yahweh*, "Yahweh is with us." This might also be expressed by *immanuel*, "God is with us." This expression which Isaiah afterward took up and employed (*Isa.* 7: 14) was already on the lips of the populace in the time of Amos.

Amos continued to preach in Bethel until he predicted that Israel should be invaded by armies and its palaces and sanctuaries laid waste (ch. 7: 7-9). This was reported to King Jeroboam II, who directed the high priest of Bethel to expel Amos from his kingdom (ch. 7: 10-12). Amos, then, after a few parting shots, returned to his native town and either wrote down his prophecies or dictated them to a scribe. This one episode at Bethel is all that we know of his prophetic activity, but the record of this episode marks a new era in Israel's religion and in the religion of the world. Unlike the prophets who depended upon nervous excitement and trance for their oracles, Amos reached his messages by brooding thought and insight. He and the literary prophets who came after him use a new word to represent this insight, *khasah*, "to see." More important still is Amos's practical monotheism, to which attention has already been called. This was one of the most important forward steps ever taken in the history of religion. The third important element in the teaching of Amos was the assumption that the favor of Yahweh (of God) rests on ethics alone, and in no degree on cult or ritual. Fairness in business, personal purity, consideration for the poor—these were, according to Amos, the passports to Yahweh's favor. They were the basis of Yahweh's covenant with Israel.

It must be admitted that, as Amos presented his message, it was somewhat cold. The one motive which he urged to induce the people of Israel to mend their ways was the fear of punishment. "Be good or you will be visited by Yahweh's fierce wrath in the form of a devastating invasion"—was the substance of his preaching. Something more than this is needed to persuade men, and this something was supplied by Amos's contemporary Hosea.

HOSEA

Hosea, a native of the northern kingdom (a late tradition places him in Gilead east of the Jordan), began to prophesy before the end of the reign of Jeroboam II. He was given the insight which made him a prophet through the suffering caused by a domestic tragedy, which is recorded in the first three chapters of his book. They read as follows:

Hosea 1. The word of the LORD that | the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and
came unto Hosea the son of Beeri, in | Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and in the

days of Jeroboam the son of Joash, king of Israel.

2] When the LORD spake at the first ⁵⁴ by Hosea, the LORD said unto Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom: for the land doth commit great whoredom, departing 3] from the LORD. So he went and took Gomer the daughter of Diblaim; and she 4] conceived, and bare him a son. And the LORD said unto him, Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will ⁵⁵ avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease. 5] And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel 6] in the valley of Jezreel. And she conceived again, and bare a daughter. And *the Lord* said unto him, Call her name ⁵⁶ Lo-ruhamah: for I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel, that I 7] should in any wise pardon them. But I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by the LORD their God, and will not save them by bow, nor by sword, nor by battle, by 8] horses, nor by horsemen. Now when she had weaned Lo-ruhamah, she con- 9] ceived, and bare a son. And *the Lord* said, Call his name ⁵⁷ Lo-ammi: for ye are not my people, and I will not be ⁵⁸ your God.

10] ⁵⁹ Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered; and it shall come to pass that, ⁶⁰ in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my people, it shall be said unto them, *Ye are* the sons of the living God. 11] And the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint themselves one head, and shall go up from the land: for great shall be the day of Jezreel.

2. Say ye unto your brethren, ⁶¹ Ammi; and to your sisters, ⁶² Ruhamah.

2] Plead with your mother, plead; for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband: and let her put away her whoredoms from her face, and her adulteries 3] from between her breasts; lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the day that she was born, and make her as a wilderness, and set her like a dry land, and slay 4] her with thirst; yea, upon her children will I have no mercy; for they be 5] children of whoredom. For their mother hath played the harlot: she that conceived them hath done shamefully: for she said, I will go after my lovers, that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, mine oil and my 6] ⁶³ drink. Therefore, behold, I will hedge up thy way with thorns, and I will make a fence against her, that she 7] shall not find her paths. And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek them, but shall not find them: then shall she say, I will go and return to my first husband; for then was it better with me 8] than now. For she did not know that I gave her the corn, and the wine, and the oil, and multiplied unto her silver and gold, which they ⁶⁴ used for Baal. 9] Therefore will I ⁶⁵ take back my corn in the time thereof, and my wine in the season thereof, and will pluck away my wool and my flax which should have 10] covered her nakedness. And now will I discover her ⁶⁶ lewdness in the sight of her lovers, and none shall de- 11] liver her out of mine hand. I will also cause all her mirth to cease, her feasts, her new moons, and her sabbaths, and all her ⁶⁷ solemn assemblies. 12] And I will lay waste her vines and her fig trees, whereof she hath said, These are my hire that my lovers have given me: and I will make them a forest, and the beasts of the field shall eat them. 13] And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim, ⁶⁸ unto which she burned incense; when she decked herself with

⁵⁴ Or, *with*.

⁵⁵ Heb. *visit*.

⁵⁶ That is, *That hath not obtained mercy*.

⁵⁷ That is, *Not my people*.

⁵⁸ Heb. *for you*.

⁵⁹ Ch. 2: 1 in Heb.

⁶⁰ Or, *instead of that which was said*.

⁶¹ That is, *My people*.

⁶² That is, *That hath obtained mercy*.

⁶³ Heb. *drinks*.

⁶⁴ Or, *made into the image of Baal*.

⁶⁵ Or, *return and take away*.

⁶⁶ Or, *shame*.

⁶⁷ Or, *appointed feasts*.

⁶⁸ Or, *wherein she burned incense to them*.

her ⁶⁹ earrings and her jewels, and went after her lovers, and forgat me, saith ¹⁴ the LORD. Therefore, behold, I will allure her, and bring her into the wilderness, and speak ⁷⁰ comfortably unto her. ¹⁵ And I will give her her vineyards from thence, and the valley of ⁷¹ Achor for a door of hope: and she shall ⁷² make answer there, as in the days of her youth, and as in the day when she came up out ¹⁶ of the land of Egypt. And it shall be at that day, saith the LORD, that thou shalt call me ⁷³ Ishi; and shalt call me ¹⁷ no more ⁷⁴ Baali. For I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be ¹⁸ ⁷⁵ mentioned by their name. And in that day will I make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field, and with the fowls of heaven, and with the creeping things of the ground: and I will break the bow and the sword and the battle out of the land, and will make ¹⁹ them to lie down safely. And I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgement, and in loving-²⁰ kindness, and in mercies. I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulness: and ²¹ thou shalt know the LORD. And it shall come to pass in that day, I will answer, saith the LORD, I will answer the

heavens, and they shall answer the ²² earth; and the earth shall answer the corn, and the wine, and the oil; and ²³ they shall answer ⁷⁶ Jezreel. And I will sow her unto me in the ⁷⁷ earth; and I will have mercy upon ⁷⁸ her that had not obtained mercy; and I will say to ⁷⁹ them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, *Thou art my God.*

3. And the LORD said unto me, Go yet, love a woman beloved ⁸⁰ of her friend and an adulteress, even as the LORD loveth the children of Israel, though they turn unto other gods, and ⁸¹ love cakes ² of raisins. So I bought her to me for fifteen *pieces* of silver, and an homer of barley, and an ⁸² half homer of barley: ³ and I said unto her, Thou shalt abide for me many days; thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be any man's wife: so will I also be toward ⁴ thee. For the children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without ⁸³ pillar, and without ephod or ⁵ teraphim: afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the LORD their God, and David their king; and shall come with fear unto the LORD and to his goodness in the latter days.

These chapters, couched in the terms of ancient Hebrew thought, are by most understood to mean that Hosea's wife was unfaithful to him, that he only gradually became conscious of her infidelity, that he tried to save her, but she went from bad to worse, that she left him for others and was finally sold into slavery, that he then bought her back and secluded her in the effort to win back her affection. As he brooded over his domestic tragedy, trying to understand why this had happened to him, he saw that Yahweh had permitted all this to happen to him in order that he might understand what Yahweh himself suffered. He then represented all his misfortunes as having come upon him providentially; or, as he put it, he had been commanded by Yahweh to marry this unprincipled woman.

As he had gained this insight through domestic suffering, he represented

⁶⁹ Or, nose-rings.

⁷⁰ Heb. to her heart.

⁷¹ That is, Troubling. See Josh. 7: 26.

⁷² Or, sing.

⁷³ That is, My husband.

⁷⁴ That is, My master.

⁷⁵ Or, remembered.

⁷⁶ That is, Whom God soweth.

⁷⁷ Or, land.

⁷⁸ Heb. Lo-ruhamah.

⁷⁹ Heb. Lo-ammi. See ch. 1: 6, 9, 10.

⁸⁰ Or, of her husband, yet an &c.

⁸¹ Or, them that love.

⁸² Heb. lethech.

⁸³ Or, obelisk.

the covenant of Yahweh with Israel as a marriage covenant, and the worship of the Baals was adultery. In Hebrew a husband was a *baal*, the "owner" or "master" of his wife. Yahweh had been called Baal in the days of Gideon, Saul, and David. He was probably so called down to Hosea's own time. This Hosea now forbids "Thou shalt call me Ishi ['My man'], and shalt call me no more Baali ['My owner']" (ch. 2: 16). This was the beginning of a new differentiation of Yahweh from the Canaanite Baals. It was also the beginning of the portrayal of Yahweh as a God of love; not *Eros*, but *Philia*, pure, affectionate love. In the chapters quoted Hosea represents Yahweh as a husband; sometimes he represents him as an affectionate Father. Thus in ch. 11: 1 he says:

"When Israel was a child, then I loved him,
And called my son out of Egypt."

Hosea, like Amos, predicted desolation unless Israel mended her ways, but, according to him, Yahweh would send the desolation not in vengeance, but in love; as a lover seeks to take the loved one apart, where he can speak to her alone, so Yahweh would bring Israel again into the wilderness, that he might speak to her heart (ch. 2: 14). Hosea was as monotheistic as Amos, but much more tender.

A reign that could produce three such men as the writer of the E Document, Amos, and Hosea was indeed a noteworthy epoch.

THE DEATH OF JEROBOAM II AND THE REIGN OF ZECHARIAH, *2 Kings* 14: 28, 29; 15: 8-12

2 Kings 14. 28] Now the rest of the acts of Jeroboam, and all that he did, and his might, how he warred, and how he recovered Damascus, and Hamath, *which had belonged to Judah*, for Israel, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? **29]** And Jeroboam slept with his fathers, even with the kings of Israel; and Zechariah his son reigned in his stead.

15. 8] In the thirty and eighth year of Azariah king of Judah did Zechariah the son of Jeroboam reign over Israel in **9]** Samaria six months. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD,

as his fathers had done: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. **10]** And Shallum the son of Jabesh conspired against him, and smote him before the people, and slew him, and **11]** reigned in his stead. Now the rest of the acts of Zechariah, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles **12]** of the kings of Israel. This was the word of the LORD which he spake unto Jehu, saying, Thy sons to the fourth generation shall sit upon the throne of Israel. And so it came to pass.

Thus the dynasty of Jehu fell after ruling Israel for a hundred years.

THE REIGNS OF SHALLUM AND MENAHEM, *2 Kings* 15: 13-22

2 Kings 15. 13] Shallum the son of Jabesh began to reign in the nine and thirtieth year of Uzziah king of Judah;

and he reigned the space of a month in **14]** Samaria. And Menahem the son of Gadi went up from Tirzah, and came

to Samaria, and smote Shallum the son of Jabesh in Samaria, and slew him, and 15] reigned in his stead. Now the rest of the acts of Shallum, and his conspiracy which he made, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the 16] kings of Israel. Then Menahem smote Tiphshah, and all that were therein, and the borders thereof, from Tirzah: because they opened not to him, therefore he smote it; and all the women therein that were with child he ripped up.

17] In the nine and thirtieth year of Azariah king of Judah began Menahem the son of Gadi to reign over Israel, and reigned ten years in Samaria. 18] And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not

all his day from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel 19] to sin. There came against the land Pul the king of Assyria; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to con- 20] firm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not 21] there in the land. Now the rest of the acts of Menahem, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel? 22] And Menahem slept with his fathers; and Pekahiah his son reigned in his stead.

The number of years that Menahem reigned has been accidentally enlarged in transmission. The chronology of this period is pretty well known from other sources and not more than three years (840-837) can be allowed to him. The Pul, king of Assyria, is Tiglath-pileser III, whose name was *Pulu* before he became king. In one of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions we have his record of taking tribute from Menahem.⁸⁴ This was in the year 738 B.C.

THE REIGN OF PEKAHIAH, 2 Kings 15: 23-26

2 Kings 15. 23] In the fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekahiah the son of Menahem began to reign over Israel in Samaria, and reigned two years. 24] And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to sin. 25] And Pekah the son of Remaliah, his

captain, conspired against him, and smote him in Samaria, in the ⁸⁵ castle of the king's house, with Argob and Arieah; and with him were fifty men of the Gileadites: and he slew him, and reigned 26] in his stead. Now the rest of the acts of Pekahiah, and all that he did, behold, they are written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel.

THE CALL OF THE PROPHET ISAIAH, Isa. 6: 1-9

Isa. 6. In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his 2] ⁸⁶ train filled the temple. Above him stood the seraphim: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and 3] with twain he did fly. And one cried

unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD of hosts: ⁸⁷ the whole earth 4] is full of his glory. And the foundations of the thresholds were moved at the voice of him that cried, and the 5] house was filled with smoke. Then said I, Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and

⁸⁴ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 425.

⁸⁵ Or, *palace*.

⁸⁶ Or, *skirts*.

⁸⁷ Heb. *the fulness of the whole earth is his glory*.

I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the 6] King, the LORD of hosts. Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a ⁸⁸ live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: 7] and he touched my mouth with it, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips; and

thy iniquity is taken away, and thy sin 8] ⁸⁹ purged. And I heard the voice of the LORD, saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then I said, 9] Here am I; send me. And he said, Go, and tell this people, Hear ye ⁹⁰ indeed, but understand not; and see ye ⁹⁰ indeed, but perceive not.

This is the record given by Isaiah of the experience which made him a prophet. The vision was in Isaiah's soul, but it took the form of the sacred objects of worship with which this youth of Jerusalem was familiar. Isaiah was a native of Jerusalem; the temple with which he was familiar was that built by Solomon. The important fact is, however, the call which led this youth to a career which made him the adviser of kings, the first citizen of his country, and one of the outstanding men of all time.

THE DEATH OF KING UZZIAH (AZARIAH), *2 Kings* 15:7

2 Kings 15. 7] And Azariah slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead.

The death of this old, leprous king brought to an end one of the great epochs in the history of this remarkable people.

CHRONOLOGY

Kings of Israel

Jeroboam II, 781-740 B.C.

Zechariah, 740

Shallum, 740

Menahem, 740-737

Pekahiah, 737-735

Kings of Judah

Amaziah, 795-774 B.C.

Azariah (Uzziah), 789-737

Jotham, 752-736

⁸⁸ Or, *hot stone*.

⁸⁹ Or, *expiated*.

⁹⁰ Or, *continually*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TIMES OF ISAIAH

THE REIGN OF JOTHAM, *2 Kings 15: 32-38*

2 Kings 15. 32] In the second year of Pekah the son of Remaliah king of Israel began Jotham the son of Uzziah **33]** king of Judah to reign. ¹ Five and twenty years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jerusha the daughter of Zadok. **34]** And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD: he did according to all that his father Uzziah had done. **35]** Howbeit the high places were not taken away: the people still sacrificed

and burned incense in the high places. He built the upper gate of the house of the **36]** LORD. Now the rest of the acts of Jotham, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of **37]** the kings of Judah? In those days the LORD began to send against Judah Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the **38]** son of Remaliah. And Jotham slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father: and Ahaz his son reigned in his stead.

IT will be remembered that Azariah (Uzziah) was a leper during the latter part of his reign and, as such, was compelled to live in seclusion. His son Jotham, either as regent or as an associate king, exercised during this period most of the royal prerogatives (*2 Kings 15: 5*, quoted in the previous chapter). Most, if not all, of the sixteen years assigned to his reign must have been included in the fifty-two years assigned to his father. It is doubtful whether he survived his father at all, but, in our chronology, we have assumed that he had a year of independent reign after his father's death. The reference to the reign of Pekah in verse 32 is difficult to reconcile with other known facts. There seems to be some mistake.

THE REIGN OF PEKAH IN ISRAEL, *2 Kings 15: 27-31*

2 Kings 15. 27] In the two and fiftieth year of Azariah king of Judah Pekah the son of Remaliah began to reign over Israel in Samaria, *and reigned* twenty **28]** years. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD: he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, wherewith he made Israel to **29]** sin. In the days of Pekah king of Israel came Tiglath-pileser king of

Assyria, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maacah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali; and he carried them **30]** captive to Assyria. And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham **31]** the son of Uzziah. Now the rest of

¹ See *2 Chr. 27: 1*, &c.

the acts of Pekah and all that he did, | the chronicles of the kings of Israel.
 behold, they are written in the book of |

After the overthrow of the dynasty of Jehu, one usurper after another sat on the throne of Israel. The second book of *Kings* assigns to them all reigns that are too long. From Assyrian chronological sources we know that the reigns of all of them occupied not more than eight years. The passage just quoted relates how Tiglath-pileser of Assyria attacked Israel in the days of Pekah and diminished his territory. We shall return to this a little later. Pekah took part in certain interesting events before that happened. Tiglath-pileser himself confirms this narrative.²

THE ACCESSION OF KING AHAZ OF JUDAH, 2 *Kings* 16: 1-6

2 *Kings* 16. In the seventeenth year of Pekah the son of Remaliah Ahaz the son of Jotham king of Judah began to 2] reign. Twenty years old was Ahaz when he began to reign; and he reigned sixteen years in Jerusalem: and he did not that which was right in the eyes of the LORD his God, like David his father. 3] But he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, yea, and made his son to pass through the fire, according to the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out from before the children of

4] Israel. And he sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, 5] and under every green tree. Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war: and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. 6] At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drave the Jews from ³Elath: and the ⁴Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there, unto this day.

The attack of Rezin and Pekah on Jerusalem and King Ahaz, mentioned in the passage just quoted, occurred in the year 735 B. C. The book of *Isaiah* gives an interesting incident which occurred at this crisis.

AHAZ AND ISAIAH, *Isa.* 7: 1-17

Isa. 7. And it came to pass in the days of Ahaz the son of Jotham, the son of Uzziah, king of Judah, that Rezin the king of Syria, and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up to Jerusalem to war against it; but could 2] not prevail against it. And it was told the house of David, saying, Syria ³is confederate with Ephraim. And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the forest are moved with the wind.

3] Then said the LORD unto Isaiah, Go

forth now to meet Ahaz, thou, and ⁶Shear-jashub thy son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool, in the high 4] way of the fuller's field; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither let thine heart be faint, because of these two tails of smoking firebrands, for the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria, 5] and of the son of Remaliah. Because Syria hath counselled evil against thee, Ephraim *also*, and the son of Remaliah, saying, Let us go up against Judah, and vex it, and let us make a breach therein

² See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 426.

³ Heb. *Eloth*.

⁴ According to another reading, *Edomites*.

⁵ Heb. *resteth on Ephraim*.

⁶ That is, *A remnant shall return*.

for us, and set up a king in the midst of
7] it, even the son of Tabeel: thus saith
the Lord God, It shall not stand, neither
8] shall it come to pass. For the head of
Syria is Damascus, and the head of
Damascus is Rezin: and within three-
score and five years shall Ephraim be
broken in pieces, that it be not a people:
9] and the head of Ephraim is Samaria,
and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's
son. If ye will not believe, surely ye shall
not be established.

10] And the LORD spake again unto
11] Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the
LORD thy God; ⁷ask it either in the
12] depth or in the height above. But
Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I
13] tempt the LORD. And he said, Hear

ye now, O house of David; is it a small
thing for you to weary men, that ye will
14] weary my God also? Therefore the
LORD himself shall give you a sign; be-
hold, ⁸a ⁹virgin ¹⁰shall conceive, and
bear a son, and shall call his name ¹¹Im-
15]manuel. ¹²Butter and honey shall he
eat, ¹³when he knoweth to refuse the
16] evil, and choose the good. For be-
fore the child shall know to refuse the
evil, and choose the good, the land whose
two kings thou abhorrest shall be for-
17]saken. The LORD shall bring upon
thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy
father's house, days that have not come,
from the day that Ephraim departed
from Judah; *even* the king of Assyria.

This passage is important in many ways. It gives a graphic picture of the popular consternation in Jerusalem as it was threatened with attack by these two more powerful kings. Ahaz, their own king, was but a boy twenty or twenty-one years old. Isaiah, who but two years before had heard his prophetic call, apparently made his first public appearance at this time. To encourage the king and assuage the fears of the people, he felt called to meet the king and urge him to ask a sign of Yahweh that Jerusalem would be delivered; this Ahaz refused to do. Then said Isaiah, "Yahweh himself will give you a sign: behold a young woman [the Hebrew does not use the word for "virgin"] shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. . . . For before the child shall know to refuse evil and choose good, the land whose two kings thou abhorrest shall be forsaken." Isaiah was probably statesman enough to understand that Tiglath-pileser of Assyria, who had twice been on the Mediterranean coast within four years, would soon come again, and would give the kings of Damascus and Israel enough to do to defend themselves. What he said was in substance this: "A young mother who is bearing a child shall have such confidence in the popular faith that Yahweh will not forsake his people [see *Amos* 5:14, quoted in the last chapter], that she will name her child Immanuel ["God is with us"]. That young mother's faith," said the prophet, "God will honor, for before this child is old enough to distinguish between right and wrong, the lands of both thy enemies will be forsaken." Isaiah's words were fulfilled. In 733 B.C. Tiglath-pileser made another expedition into Syria, captured Damascus, which Shalmeneser III, in the preceding century, had been unable to do, invaded Galilee and captured many of its cities as

⁷ According to some ancient authorities,
make it deep unto Sheol.

⁸ Or, the

⁹ Or, maiden.

¹⁰ Or, is with child, and beareth.

¹¹ That is, God is with us.

¹² Or, Curds.

¹³ Or, that he may know.

2 Kings 15:29, already quoted, records, and created such discontent among the Israelites that they made a conspiracy and put Pekah to death.¹⁴ This was the occasion, the purpose, and the fulfillment of this famous prophecy, although by a later devout writer it was applied differently.

ISAIAH'S FIRST MESSIANIC PROPHECY

In connection with this invasion of Tiglath-pileser, while the Assyrian was ravaging the towns of northern Galilee and the prophet was reflecting on the impotence of the Hebrew kings, Isaiah uttered his first Messianic prophecy. It must be remembered that "Messiah" means "Anointed" and was a term applied to Hebrew kings such as Saul and David. This prophecy of Isaiah in the Revised Version runs thus:

Isa. 9. ¹⁵ But there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish. In the former time he brought into contempt the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he made it glorious, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, ² ¹⁶ Galilee of the nations. ¹⁷ The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the ¹⁸ shadow of death, upon them ³ hath the light shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, ¹⁹ thou hast increased their joy: they joy before thee according to the joy in harvest, as men rejoice

4] when they divide the spoil. For the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, thou hast broken as in the day of Midian.

5] For ²⁰ all the armour of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning, for fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called ²¹ Wonderful, Counsellor, Mighty God, ²² Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.

The significance of this prophecy lies in the names given by the prophet to the expected king. They should, in the writer's opinion, be translated: "Wonder-counselor, God of a warrior, Father of booty, and Prince of Peace." They were all names suggested by the activities of Tiglath-pileser, who was one of Assyria's ablest generals and, in some respects, Assyria's first statesman. The prophet was impressed by this combination of military thoroughness and statesmanlike ability. Before his battles Tiglath-pileser carefully planned them; then he fought them as no other Asiatic king of the time could fight; the result was abundant booty; then Tiglath-pileser took measures such as no previous Assyrian king had taken to secure the future peace of the territory he had conquered. Isaiah felt sure that a Hebrew king would sometime be born who would surpass Tiglath-pileser on every count; he would outplan him,

¹⁴ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 426.

¹⁵ Or, *For*.

¹⁶ Or, *the district*.

¹⁷ Ch. 9: 1 in Heb.

¹⁸ Or, *deep darkness*.

¹⁹ Another reading is, *thou didst not in*

crease the joy.

²⁰ Or, *every boot of the booted warrior*.

²¹ Or, *Wonderful counsellor*.

²² Heb. *Father of Eternity, or Father of booty*.

outfight him, surpass him in the quantity of booty taken, and so organize the government of his conquests as to be a very Prince of peace. Later, as we shall see, the prophet had a better vision, but this was the vision of his youth.

AHAZ SUBMITS TO TIGLATH-PILESER AT DAMASCUS,

2 Kings 16: 7-18

2 Kings 16. 7] ²³ So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son; come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise **8]** up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a **9]** present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: and the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried *the people of it* captive to Kir, and slew **10]** Rezin. And king Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and saw the altar that was at Damascus: and king Ahaz sent to Urijah the priest the fashion of the altar, and the pattern of it, according to all the **11]** workmanship thereof. And Urijah the priest built an altar: according to all that king Ahaz had sent from Damascus, so did Urijah the priest make it against king Ahaz came from Damascus. **12]** And when the king was come from Damascus, the king saw the altar: and the king drew near unto the altar, and **13]** ²⁴ offered thereon. And he burnt his burnt offering and his meal offering,

and poured his drink offering, and sprinkled the blood of ²⁵ his peace offerings, **14]** upon the altar. And the brasen altar, which was before the LORD, he brought from the forefront of the house, from between his altar and the house of the LORD, and put it on the north side of his **15]** altar. And king Ahaz commanded Urijah the priest, saying, Upon the great altar burn the morning burnt offering, and the evening meal offering, and the king's burnt offering, and his meal offering, with the burnt offering of all the people of the land, and their meal offering, and their drink offerings; and sprinkle upon it all the blood of the burnt offering, and all the blood of the sacrifice: but the brasen altar shall be **16]** for me to inquire by. Thus did Urijah the priest, according to all that king **17]** Ahaz commanded. And king Ahaz cut off the ²⁶ borders of the bases, and removed the laver from off them; and took down the sea from off the brasen oxen that were under it, and put it upon **18]** a pavement of stone. And the ²⁷ covered way for the sabbath that they had built in the house, and the king's entry without, turned he ²⁸ unto the house of the LORD, because of the king of Assyria.

Thus Judah, as well as Israel, became a vassal of Assyria. From another point of view the passage is interesting. Solomon had placed a great brazen altar on the sacred rock before his temple as the altar of burnt offerings. While at Damascus Ahaz saw an altar (apparently of stone) which greatly pleased him. He sent a pattern of it to Urijah, the high priest of his time, and directed him to make one like it for the temple at Jerusalem. This Urijah did. How impossible it would have been thus to copy an altar of the heathen god Hadad for the temple of Yahweh had

²³ See *2 Chr.* 28: 16, &c.

²⁴ Or, *went up unto it.*

²⁵ Heb. *the peace offerings which were his.*

²⁶ Or, *panels.*

²⁷ Or, *covered place.*

²⁸ Or, *round.*

the priestly portions of *Exodus* been known, can easily be imagined. The brazen altar, removed to one side, the king reserved for his own use.

THE ACCESSION OF HOSHEA OF ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 17: 1, 2

2 Kings 17. In the twelfth year of he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, yet not as the kings of Israel the son of Elah began Hoshea the son of Elah to reign in Samaria over 2] Israel, and reigned nine years. And that were before him.

THE DEATH OF AHAZ AND ACCESSION OF HEZEKIAH,

2 Kings 16: 19, 20; 18: 1-3

2 Kings 16. 19] Now the rest of the acts of Ahaz which he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of 20] the kings of Judah? And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead.

18. Now it came to pass in the third year of Hoshea son of Elah king of Is- rael, that Hezekiah the son of Ahaz king 2] of Judah began to reign. ²⁹ Twenty and five years old was he when he began to reign; and he reigned twenty and nine years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Abi the daughter of Zechariah. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, according to all that David his father had done.

THE REIGN OF HOSHEA AND THE END OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, *2 Kings* 17: 3-6

2 Kings 17. 3] Against him [Hoshea] came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his servant, and 4] brought him presents. And the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea; for he had sent messengers to So king of Egypt, and offered no present to the king of Assyria, as he had done year by year: therefore the king of Assyria shut 5] him up, and bound him in prison. Then the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, 6] and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away unto Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, on the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.

Hoshea ruled over a greatly diminished kingdom. Tiglath-pileser had overrun Galilee, as already related (*2 Kings* 15: 29), had transported the wealthier population, and settled strangers in their places. Hoshea was permitted to rule on condition that he pay tribute to Assyria. All went well, apparently, as long as Tiglath-pileser lived, but in 727 he died and was succeeded by Shalmaneser V, whose relation to Tiglath-pileser is uncertain. Hoshea then rebelled, and as soon as the Assyrian king could manage it, he sent an army to punish Hoshea. After overrunning the Israelite's territory, he laid siege to the city of Samaria. The siege dragged on for three years (725-722)—three years of agony. Before it was ended Shalmaneser had been displaced on the throne by an Assyrian general who, on becoming king, took the name of Sargon. Samaria did

not fall until after Sargon's accession, and he counts it in his chronicles as the first military victory of his reign.²⁸

THE PROPHET ISAIAH AGAIN

During all these years Isaiah was growing in influence as a religious leader in Jerusalem. Like Amos he was a monotheist and assumed that Yahweh ruled all nations. Like Amos, too, he denounced those who grew rich at the expense of the poor. He exclaimed, "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there is no room!" (*Isa.* 5:8). His attitude toward moral and religious questions was the same as that of Amos. He laid as much stress on morality as the earlier prophet had done, and denounced with as much emphasis a religion of ritual practised by immoral people. The first chapter of his book consists of a series of brief utterances made at different times during his career, but they fit well together and contain the gist of his teaching. The following will suffice as an illustration.

Isa. 1. 2] Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth, for the LORD hath spoken: I have ³¹ nourished and brought up children and they have rebelled against me. 3] The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: *but* Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. 4] Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that deal corruptly: they have forsaken the LORD, they have despised the Holy One of Israel, they are estranged *and* 5] *gone* backward. ³² Why will ye be still stricken, that ye revolt more and more? ³³ the whole head is sick, and 6] ³³ the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; *but* wounds, and bruises, and ³⁴ festering sores: they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither 7] mollified with oil. Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, ³⁵ as 8] overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a

vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city. Except the LORD of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been like unto Gomorrah.

10] Hear the word of the LORD, ye ³⁶ rulers of Sodom; give ear unto the ³⁷ law of our God, ye people of Gomorrah. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the LORD: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats. 12] When ye come ³⁸ to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, 13] to trample my courts? Bring no more ³⁹ vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies,—⁴⁰ I cannot away with iniquity and the solemn 14] meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a ⁴¹ trouble unto me; I am weary 15] to bear them. And when ye spread

³⁰ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 427 f.

³¹ Or, *made great and exalted*. See *Ezek.*

^{31: 4.}
³² Or, *Why should ye be stricken any more? ye will revolt &c.*

³³ Or, *every*.

³⁴ Or, *fresh stripes*.

³⁵ Or, *as the overthrow of strangers*.

³⁶ Or, *judges*.

³⁷ Or, *teaching*.

³⁸ Or, *as otherwise read, to see my face*.

³⁹ Heb. *an oblation of vanity*.

⁴⁰ Or, *I cannot away with; it is iniquity even the solemn meeting*.

⁴¹ Or, *cumbrance*.

forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you: yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are 16] full of blood. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings 17] from before mine eyes; cease to do evil: learn to do well; seek judgement; 42 relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow.

18] Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD: though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, 19] they shall be as wool. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of 20] the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword: for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

During the troublous reign of Hoshea Isaiah uttered the following prophecy against the kingdom of Israel.

Isa. 28. Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty which is on the head of the fat valley of them that are 43 overcome with wine! Behold, the LORD hath a mighty and strong one; as a tempest of hail, a destroying storm, as a tempest of mighty waters overflowing, shall he cast down 3] to the earth 44 with the hand. The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim shall be trodden under foot: 4] and the fading flower of his glorious beauty, which is on the head of the fat valley, shall be as the firstripe fig before the summer; which when he that looketh upon it seeth, while it is yet in 5] his hand he eateth it up. In that day shall the LORD of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto

6] the residue of his people: and for a spirit of judgement to him that sitteth in judgement, and for strength to them that 7] turn back the battle 45 at the gate. But these also 46 have erred through wine, and through strong drink 47 are gone astray; the priest and the prophet 48 have erred through strong drink, they are swallowed up of wine, they are gone astray through strong drink; they 46 err in vision, they stumble in judgement. 8] For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, *so that there is no place clean.* 48 Whom will he teach knowledge? and whom will he make to understand the 49 message? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts? 10] For it is precept upon precept, precept upon precept; 50 line upon line, line upon line; here a little, there a little.

THE PROPHET MICAH

During the disturbed years before the fall of Samaria still another prophet appeared in the person of Micah. He lived at Moresheth, later called Marissa by Greeks who settled there. It was in the Shephelah near the modern Beit Jibrin. Moresheth was in an exposed position. Any hostile army which invaded Palestine could much more easily capture the lowland cities on the border of the Philistine plain than cities like Jerusalem in the higher and more broken country. Micah speaks with the passion of a citizen of one of these exposed towns. The first three chapters of the book of *Micah* date from the period before the fall of Samaria. This prophet shares both the monotheism and the social passion of Amos and Isaiah. The following is a sample of his preaching.

42 Or, *set right the oppressor.*

43 Heb. *smitten down.*

44 Or, *with violence.*

45 Or, *to.*

46 Or, *reel.*

47 Or, *stagger.*

48 Or, *Whom shall he teach . . . and whom shall he make . . . breasts. For &c.*

49 Or, *report.*

50 Or, *rule.*

Micah 1. 2] Hear, ye peoples, all of you; hearken, O earth, and ⁵¹all that therein is: and let the Lord God be witness ⁵²against you, the Lord from his 3] holy temple. For, behold, the Lord cometh forth out of his place, and will come down, and tread upon the high 4] places of the earth. And the mountains shall be molten under him, and the valleys shall be cleft, as wax before the fire, as waters that are poured down a 5] steep place. For the transgression of Jacob is all this, and for the sins of the house of Israel. What is the transgression of Jacob? is it not Samaria? and what are the high places of Judah? are 6] they not Jerusalem? Therefore I will make Samaria as an heap of the field, and as the plantings of a vineyard: and I will pour down the stones thereof into the valley, and I will discover the foundations thereof. And all her graven images shall be beaten to pieces, and all her hires shall be burned with fire, and all her idols will I lay desolate: for of the hire of an harlot hath she gathered them, and unto the hire of an harlot shall 8] they return. For this will I wail and howl, I will go stripped and naked: I will make a wailing like the jackals, and

9] a mourning like the ostriches. For her wounds are incurable: for it is come even unto Judah; it reacheth unto the gate of 10] my people, even to Jerusalem. Tell it not in Gath, weep not at all: at ⁵³Beth-le-Aphrah ⁵⁴have I rolled myself in the 11] dust. Pass ye away, O ⁵⁵inhabitant of Shaphir, in nakedness and shame: the ⁵⁵inhabitant of Zaanan is not come forth; the wailing of Beth-ezel shall take 12] from you the ⁵⁶stay thereof. For the ⁵⁵inhabitant of Maroth ⁵⁷waiteth anxiously for good: because evil is come down from the LORD unto the gate of 13] Jerusalem. Bind the chariot to the swift steed, O ⁵⁵inhabitant of Lachish: she was the beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion; for the transgressions 14] of Israel were found in thee. Therefore shalt thou give a parting gift to Moresheth-gath: the houses of Achzib shall be ⁵⁸a deceitful thing unto the 15] kings of Israel. I will yet bring unto thee, O ⁵⁵inhabitant of Mareshah, him that shall possess thee: the glory of Israel shall come even unto Adullam. 16] Make thee bald, and poll thee for the children of thy delight: enlarge thy baldness as the ⁵⁹eagle; for they are gone into captivity from thee.

Palestine is a small country. Samaria, where for three years the Assyrian army was carrying on its siege, is only about fifty miles from Jerusalem, and perhaps sixty from Moresheth. The utterances of Isaiah and Micah help us to see what searchings of heart the death-struggle of the sister kingdom of Israel created in Judah.

WHAT BECAME OF THE TEN "LOST TRIBES"?

In 2 Kings 17: 6, already quoted, it is stated that the king of Assyria "carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river Gozan and in the cities of the Medes." It was long assumed that he carried all the population away, and devout people have speculated as to what became of the "ten lost tribes." Some have thought that the American Indians are their descendants, others that they became the Anglo-Saxon race. Needless to say that neither of these

⁵¹ Heb. *the fulness thereof*.

⁵² Or, *among*.

⁵³ That is, *A house of dust*.

⁵⁴ Another reading is, *roll thyself*.

⁵⁵ Heb. *inhabitant*.

⁵⁶ Or, *standing place*.

⁵⁷ Or, *is in travail*.

⁵⁸ Heb. *achzab*.

⁵⁹ Or, *vulture*.

theories could be held by a student of ethnology. The Assyrian king, Sargon, throws some light on the problem. In the inscription already referred to he says he only carried away 27,290 of the population. The rest remained in their land and were absorbed in the later population, as will be shown in the next section. So the ten tribes were never lost.

SOME NEW-COMERS IN SAMARIA, *2 Kings 17:24-33*

2 Kings 17. 24] And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities **25]** thereof. And so it was, at the beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not the LORD: therefore the LORD sent lions among them, which killed some **26]** of them. Wherefore they spake to the king of Assyria, saying, The nations which thou hast carried away, and placed in the cities of Samaria, know not the manner of the God of the land: therefore he hath sent lions among them, and, behold, they slay them, because they know not the manner of the God of the **27]** land. Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the God

28] of the land. So one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear the **29]** LORD. Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in **30]** their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, **31]** and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the ⁶⁰ gods of Sepharvaim. **32]** So they feared the LORD, and made unto them from among themselves priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places. **33]** They feared the LORD, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away.

This passage reveals how Sargon brought into Samaria as large a population as he took out. At first the foreigners worshiped their own gods. When attacked by lions, they thought Yahweh, the God of Palestine, was angry with them for not worshiping him. They accordingly asked to be taught his cult—a request which was granted. In course of time they intermarried with the native Hebrews whom Sargon had left behind, and by a process which will appear as we proceed, their descendants became the religious sect of the Samaritans.

THE PROSPERITY OF HEZEKIAH OF JUDAH, *2 Kings 18:7, 8*

2 Kings 18. 7] And the LORD was with him; whithersoever he went forth he prospered: and he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not.

8] He smote the Philistines unto Gaza and the borders thereof, from the tower of the watchmen to the fenced city.

⁶⁰ Or, *god*.

THE KING OF ASHDOD REBELS FROM ASSYRIA

In the year 711 the king of Ashdod refused to pay his tribute to Assyria, and the Assyrian king, Sargon, tells us how he sent an army to chastise him.⁶¹ The only mention of this in the Bible is in *Isaiah* 20, which reads as follows:

Isa. 20. In the year that ⁶²Tartan came unto Ashdod, when Sargon the king of Assyria sent him, and he fought 2] against Ashdod and took it; at that time the LORD spake by Isaiah the son of Amoz, saying, Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put thy shoe from off thy foot. And he did so, 3] walking naked and barefoot. And the LORD said, like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot ⁶³three years for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and 4] upon ⁶⁴Ethiopia; so shall the king of

Assyria lead away the captives of Egypt, and the exiles of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, and with buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt. 5] And they shall be dismayed and ashamed, because of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory. 6] And the inhabitant of this coastland shall say in that day, Behold, such is our expectation, whither we fled for help to be delivered from the king of Assyria: and we, how shall we escape?

This passage illustrates the symbolical way in which Isaiah and a number of Hebrew prophets taught. In Hebrew phrase, "naked" does not mean "nude"; it means wearing only the light undergarment, or tunic. Isaiah discarded the outer garment, which was thick and coat-like and warm. Very poor people could afford the tunic only. Isaiah went for three years clad as a very poor man to symbolize the poverty which he believed was coming upon Egypt. In 712 B.C. a new dynasty, the twenty-fifth, from Nubia (Ethiopia) had established itself upon the Egyptian throne. Perhaps it was Shabaka, the new king of Egypt, who induced Azuri, the king of Ashdod, to rebel, and clearly Isaiah thought Sargon would take Egypt. Assyria did ultimately take Egypt, but not until more than forty years after this.

HEZEKIAH'S SICKNESS, 2 *Kings* 20: 1-11

2 Kings 20. ⁶⁵In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And Isaiah the prophet the son of Amoz came to him, and said unto him, Thus saith the LORD, Set thine house in order; for thou shalt 2] die, and not live. Then he turned his face to the wall, and prayed unto 3] the LORD, saying, Remember now, O LORD, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good

in thy sight. And Hezekiah wept sore. 4] And it came to pass, afore Isaiah was gone ⁶⁶out into ⁶⁷the middle part of the city, that the word of the LORD came to 5] him, saying, Turn again, and say to Hezekiah the ⁶⁸prince of my people, Thus saith the LORD, the God of David thy father, I have heard thy prayer, I have seen thy tears: behold, I will heal thee: on the third day thou shalt go up 6] unto the house of the LORD. And I will

⁶¹ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 429.

⁶² The title of the Assyrian commander-in-chief.

⁶³ Or, to be for three years a sign &c.

⁶⁴ Heb. *Cush*.

⁶⁵ See 2 *Chr.* 32: 24.

⁶⁶ Or, out of.

⁶⁷ According to another reading, the middle court.

⁶⁸ Or, leader.

add unto thy days fifteen years; and I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria; and I will defend this city for mine own sake, and 7] for my servant David's sake. And Isaiah said, Take a cake of figs. And they took and laid it on the boil, and he 8] recovered. And Hezekiah said unto Isaiah, What shall be the sign that the LORD will heal me, and that I shall go up unto the house of the LORD the third 9] day? And Isaiah said, This shall be

the sign unto thee from the LORD, that the LORD will do the thing that he hath spoken: ⁶⁹ shall the shadow go forward ten ⁷⁰ steps, or go back ten steps? 10] And Hezekiah answered, It is a light thing for the shadow to decline ten steps: nay, but let the shadow return 11] backward ten steps. And Isaiah the prophet cried unto the LORD: and he brought the shadow ten steps backward, by which it had gone down on the ⁷¹ dial of Ahaz.

In the time of Hezekiah and for a long time afterward prophets were believed to know much better than doctors whether a sickness would be fatal. Indeed, at that period there was very little real knowledge of medicine in any part of the world. Egypt and Babylonia both had some knowledge, but in practice it was largely intermingled with magic.

THE EMBASSY OF MERODACH-BALADAN, 2 Kings 20: 12-19

12] ⁷² At that time ⁷³ Berodach-baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babylon, sent letters and a present unto Hezekiah: for he had heard that Hezekiah 13] had been sick. And Hezekiah hearkened unto them, and shewed them all the house of his ⁷⁴ precious things, the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oil, and ⁷⁵ the house of his ⁷⁶ armour, and all that was found in his treasures: there was nothing in his house, nor in all his dominion, that Hezekiah 14] shewed them not. Then came Isaiah the prophet unto king Hezekiah, and said unto him, What said these men? and from whence came they unto thee? And Hezekiah said, They are come from a far country, even from Babylon. 15] And he said, What have they seen in

thine house? And Hezekiah answered, All that is in mine house have they seen: there is nothing among my treasures that 16] I have not shewed them. And Isaiah said unto Hezekiah, Hear the word of 17] the LORD. Behold, the days come, that all that is in thine house, and that which thy fathers have laid up in store unto this day, shall be carried to Babylon: nothing shall be left, saith the LORD. 18] And of thy sons that shall issue from thee, which thou shalt beget, shall they take away; and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon. 19] Then said Hezekiah unto Isaiah, Good is the word of the LORD which thou hast spoken. He said moreover, Is it not so, if peace and truth shall be in my days?

Thanks to the decipherment of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions during the last seventy-five years, we can now understand this story of Merodach-baladan, whose real name was Marduk-apal-iddin. He was a Chaldean who about 722 B.C. gained possession of the throne of Babylon for a time, but was driven from it by King Sargon of Assyria. He then took refuge in the swamps at the head of the Persian Gulf and bided his time. When Sargon died in 705 B.C. and was suc-

⁶⁹ Or, *the shadow is gone forward ten steps, shall it go back &c.*

⁷⁰ Or, *degrees.*

⁷¹ Heb. *steps.*

⁷² See 2 Chr. 32: 31.

⁷³ In Isa. 39: 1, *Merodachbaladan.*

⁷⁴ Or, *spicery.*

⁷⁵ Another reading is, *all the house.*

⁷⁶ Or, *jewels.*

ceeded by Sennacherib, Merodach-baladan emerged from his swamps and seized the throne of Babylon again. While Sennacherib was consolidating his power in Assyria, Merodach-baladan had a year or two in which to consolidate his power. He wrote letters to different kings, to induce them to join him in resisting Sennacherib. One which he wrote to the king of Elam contained the words (so Sennacherib says): "Assemble thy army! Muster thy forces! Hasten to Babylon! Strengthen our hands! Thou art indeed our reliance." Although Merodach-baladan's embassy to Hezekiah came ostensibly to congratulate him on the recovery of his health, undoubtedly they brought to him letters of similar import, and the fact that Hezekiah showed them all his treasures and resources, indicates that he acceded to Merodach-baladan's proposition and was ready to join the effort to break the power of Assyria. For this Isaiah reproved him. Isaiah correctly estimated the relative power of Sennacherib and Merodach-baladan. Alliance with the latter was rebellion against the former, and such rebellion sowed the seeds of disaster. To Isaiah the prosperity of the nation was the will of Yahweh, hence he believed it Yahweh's will that Judah remain faithful to Assyria. These events date Hezekiah's sickness about 705-704 B.C.

JUDAH INVADED BY SENNACHERIB

Merodach-baladan in Babylon had not rebelled alone against Assyria at the beginning of Sennacherib's reign. The kings of all the cities of Phenicia and Philistia as well as Hezekiah and the kings of Ammon, Moab, and Edom had done the same. It was not until the end of 702 B.C. that Sennacherib had pacified his Mesopotamian dominions and had overthrown the power of Merodach-baladan. It was, then, 701 when he came into the west with a powerful army and marched down the Mediterranean coast. The western allies intrenched themselves at Elteke in the valley of Aijalon, where Sennacherib defeated them.⁷⁷ He took possession of all the cities in the Philistine plain and in the Shephelah, and set up his throne temporarily at Lachish to receive the homage and tribute of the peoples whom he had conquered.⁷⁸ He was then ready to send his army against Jerusalem. The vividly told story in the Bible is as follows:

2 Kings 18. 13] ⁷⁹ Now in the fourteenth [twenty-fourth?] year of king Hezekiah did ⁸⁰ Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced [4] cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king

of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.

⁷⁷ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 432 f.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Fig. 298.

⁷⁹ See *Isa.* 36: 1-39: 8, *2 Chr.* 32: 1 &c.

⁸⁰ Heb. *Sanherib*.

15] And Hezekiah gave *him* all the silver that was found in the house of the LORD, and in the treasures of the king's 16] house. At that time did Hezekiah cut off *the gold from* the doors of the temple of the LORD, and from the ⁸¹ pillars which Hezekiah king of Judah had overlaid, and gave it to the king of Assyria. 17] And the king of Assyria sent ⁸² Tartan and ⁸² Rabsaris and ⁸² Rabshakeh from Lachish to king Hezekiah with a great army unto Jerusalem. And they went up and came to Jerusalem. And when they were come up, they came and stood by the conduit of the upper pool, which is in the high way of the fuller's 18] field. And when they had called to the king, there came out to them Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, which was over the household, and Shebna the ⁸³ scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the ⁸⁴ recorder. And Rabshakeh said unto them. Say ye now to Hezekiah, Thus saith the great king, the king of Assyria, What confidence is this wherein thou 20] trustest? Thou sayest, but they are but ⁸⁵ vain words, *There is* counsel and strength for the war. Now on whom dost thou trust, that thou hast rebelled against 21] me? Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that 22] trust on him. But if ye say unto me, We trust in the LORD our God: is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in 23] Jerusalem? Now therefore, I pray thee, ⁸⁶ give pledges to my master the king of Assyria, and I will give thee two thousand horses, if thou be able on thy part to set riders upon them. 24] How then canst thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants, and put thy trust on Egypt for chariots and for horsemen? Am I now come up without

the LORD against this place to destroy it? The LORD said unto me, Go up against 26] this land, and destroy it. Then said Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, and Shebna, and Joah, unto Rabshakeh, Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the ⁸⁷ Syrian language; for we understand it: and speak not with us in the Jews' language, in the ears of the people that are on the 27] wall. But Rabshakeh said unto them, Hath my master sent me to thy master, and to thee, to speak these words? *hath he not sent me to the men which sit on the wall, to eat their own dung, and to drink their own water with you?* 28] Then Rabshakeh stood, and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and spake, saying, Hear ye the word of the great king, the king of Assyria. 29] Thus saith the king, Let not Hezekiah deceive you; for he shall not be able to deliver you out of his hand: 30] neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the LORD, saying, The LORD will surely deliver us, and this city shall not be given into the hand of the king of Assyria. 31] Harken not to Hezekiah: for thus saith the king of Assyria, ⁸⁸ Make your peace with me, and come out to me; and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern; 32] until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil olive and of honey, that ye may live, and not die: and hearken not unto Hezekiah, when he 33] persuadeth you, saying, The LORD will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations ever delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? 34] Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah? have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? 35] Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of my hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of my

⁸¹ Or, *door posts*.

⁸² The titles of Assyrian officers.

⁸³ Or, *secretary*.

⁸⁴ Or, *chronicler*.

⁸⁵ Heb. *a word of the lips*.

⁸⁶ Or, *make a wager with*.

⁸⁷ Heb. *Aramean*.

⁸⁸ Heb. *Make with me a blessing*.

36] hand? But the people held their peace, and answered him not a word: for the king's commandment was, say-
37] ing, Answer him not. Then came Eliakim the son of Hilkiyah, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and Joah the son of Asaph the recorder, to Hezekiah with their clothes rent, and told him the words of Rabshakeh.

19. And it came to pass, when king Hezekiah heard it, that he rent his clothes, and covered himself with sackcloth, and went into the house of the
2] LORD. And he sent Eliakim, which was over the household, and Shebna the scribe, and the elders of the priests, covered with sackcloth, unto Isaiah the
3] prophet the son of Amoz. And they said unto him, Thus saith Hezekiah, This day is a day of trouble, and of rebuke, and of contumely: for the children are come to the birth, and there is
4] not strength to bring forth. It may be the LORD thy God will hear all the words of Rabshakeh, ⁸⁹ whom the king of Assyria his master hath sent to reproach the living God, and will rebuke the words which the LORD thy God hath heard: wherefore lift up thy prayer for the
5] remnant that is left. So the servants
6] of king Hezekiah came to Isaiah. And Isaiah said unto them, Thus shall ye say to your master, Thus saith the LORD, Be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed
7] me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.

8] So Rabshakeh returned, and found the king of Assyria warring against Libnah: for he had heard that he was de-
9] parted from Lachish. And when he heard say of Tirhakah king of Ethiopia, Behold, he is come out to fight against thee: he sent messengers again unto
10] Hezekiah, saying, Thus shall ye speak to Hezekiah king of Judah, saying, Let not thy God in whom thou trust-

est deceive thee, saying, Jerusalem shall not be given into the hand of the king
11] of Assyria. Behold, thou hast heard what the kings of Assyria have done to all lands, by ⁹⁰ destroying them utterly:
12] and shalt thou be delivered? Have the gods of the nations delivered them, which my fathers have destroyed, Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Telassar?
13] Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of the city of Sepharvaim, of Hena, and Ivvah?
14] And Hezekiah received the letter from the hand of the messengers, and read it: and Hezekiah went up unto the house of the LORD, and spread it before
15] the LORD. And Hezekiah prayed before the LORD, and said, O LORD, the God of Israel, that ⁹¹ sittest upon the cherubim, thou art the God, even thou alone, of all the kingdoms of the earth; thou
16] hast made heaven and earth. Incline thine ear, O LORD, and hear; open thine eyes, O LORD, and see: and hear the words of Sennacherib, wherewith he hath sent him to reproach the living
17] God. Of a truth, LORD, the kings of Assyria have laid waste the nations and
18] their lands, and have cast their gods into the fire: for they were no gods, but the work of men's hands, wood and stone; therefore they have destroyed them.
19] Now therefore, O LORD our God, save thou us, I beseech thee, out of his hand, that all the kingdoms of the earth may know ⁹² that thou art the LORD God, even thou only.

20] Then Isaiah the son of Amoz sent to Hezekiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Whereas thou hast prayed to me against Sennacherib king of Assyria, I have heard thee.
21] This is the word that the LORD hath spoken concerning him: The virgin daughter of Zion hath despised thee and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head ⁹³ at
22] thee. Whom hast thou reproached and blasphemed? and against whom hast thou exalted thy voice and lifted up thine

⁸⁹ Or, *wherewith the king of Assyria hath sent him.*

⁹⁰ Heb. *devoting them.*

⁹¹ Or, *dweldest between.*

⁹² Or, *that thou, O LORD, art God.*

⁹³ Heb. *after.*

eyes on high? *even* against the Holy 23] One of Israel. By thy messengers thou hast reproached the Lord, and hast said, With the ⁹⁴ multitude of my chariots am I come up to the height of the mountains, to the innermost parts of Lebanon; and I will cut down the tall cedars thereof, and the choice ⁹⁵ fir trees thereof: and I will enter into his farthest lodging place, the forest of his fruitful field. I have digged and drunk strange waters, and with the sole of my feet will I dry up all the rivers of 25] ⁹⁶ Egypt. Hast thou not heard how I have done it long ago, and formed it of ancient times? now have I brought it to pass, that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps. 26] Therefore their inhabitants were of small power, they were dismayed and confounded; they were as the grass of the field, and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn 27] blasted before it be grown up. But I know thy sitting down, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy raging 28] against me. Because of thy raging against me, and for that ⁹⁷ thine arro-

gancy is come up into mine ears, therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest. 29] And this shall be the sign unto thee: ye shall eat this year that which groweth of itself, and in the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof. 30] And ⁹⁸ the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward. 31] For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and out of mount Zion they that shall escape: the zeal of ⁹⁹ the LORD 32] shall perform this. Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning the king of Assyria, He shall not come unto this city, nor shoot an arrow there, neither shall he come before it with shield, nor 33] cast a mount against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and he shall not come unto this 34] city, saith the LORD. For I will defend this city to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake.

ISAIAH ALSO DECLARED YAHWEH WOULD PRESERVE MOUNT ZION, *Isa. 31: 4-9*

Isa. 31. 4] For thus saith the LORD unto me, Like as when the lion growleth and the young lion over his prey, if a multitude of shepherds be called forth against him, he will not be dismayed at their voice, nor abase himself for the noise of them: so shall the LORD of hosts come down to fight ¹⁰⁰ upon mount Zion, 5] and ¹⁰⁰ upon the hill thereof. As birds flying, so will the LORD of hosts protect Jerusalem; he will protect and deliver *it*, he will pass over and preserve *it*. 6] Turn ye unto him ¹⁰¹ from whom ¹⁰² ye have deeply revolted, O children

7] of Israel. For in that day they shall cast away every man his idols of silver, and his idols of gold, which your own hands have made unto you for a sin. 8] Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of man; and the sword, not of men, shall devour him: and he shall flee from the sword, and his young men 9] shall become tributary. And his rock shall pass away by reason of terror, and his princes shall be dismayed at the ensign, saith the LORD, whose fire is in Zion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.

⁹⁴ According to another reading, *driving*.

⁹⁵ Or, *cypress*.

⁹⁶ Or, *defence*. Heb. *Mazor*.

⁹⁷ Or, *thy careless ease*.

⁹⁸ Heb. *the escaped of the house of Judah that remain*.

⁹⁹ According to another reading, *the LORD of hosts* and so in *Is. 37: 32*.

¹⁰⁰ Or, *against*.

¹⁰¹ Or, *from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted*.

¹⁰² Heb. *they*.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SENNACHERIB'S ARMY, *2 Kings* 19: 35, 36

35] ¹⁰³ And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand: and when men arose early in the morn-

ing, behold, they were all dead corpses.
36] So Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh.

SENNACHERIB'S ACCOUNT

In Sennacherib's inscription, already referred to, he has this to say of his attempted attack upon Jerusalem: "As to Hezekiah, the Judæan, who had not submitted to my yoke, 46 of his strongholds, fortified cities, and smaller cities of their environs without number, with the onset of battering rams, and the attack of engines, mines, breaches, and axea [?], I besieged, I captured. 200,150 people, small and great, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep without number I brought out of their midst and counted as booty. He himself I shut up like a caged bird in Jerusalem his capital city; I erected beleaguering works against him, and turned back by command every one who came out of his city gate. The cities which I had captured, from his country I cut off and gave them to Mitinti king of Ashdod, Padi king of Ekron, Sillibaal king of Gaza, and diminished his land. In addition to the former tribute, their yearly tax, I added a tax as the impost of my overlordship and laid it upon them. As to Hezekiah himself, the fear of the lustre of my lordship overcame him, and the Urbi [Arabs?] and his favorite soldiers, whom he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his capital city, deserted. With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, rouge, *dakkasi*, lapis lazuli, great *angugmi*-stones, beds of ivory, stationary ivory thrones, elephants' hide, ivory, *ushu*-wood, *ukarinnu*-wood, all sorts of objects, a heavy treasure; also his daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians, he sent after me to Nineveh, my capital city, and sent his messenger to present the gift and to do homage."

It is noteworthy that the boastful Assyrian king does not claim to have taken Jerusalem. The probability is, too, that Hezekiah was not quite so humiliated as to send Sennacherib the women of his palace. But what really happened to Sennacherib's army? Herodotus in his *History* (Book II, 141) relates that Sennacherib was on his way to invade Egypt, when his army was in the night overrun by mice which ate up their bow-strings, in consequence of which they could not fight, and had to go back to Assyria. Putting the accounts of Herodotus and the Bible together, we see that what actually happened was that the Assyrian

¹⁰³ See *2 Chr.* 32: 21.

army was attacked by bubonic plague. The plague first attacks rodents (rats and mice) who in their desperation run wild and spread the infection among men. As was noted above in ch. XI, the Hebrews believed a plague to be inflicted by an angel of Yahweh (*2 Sam.* 24: 16). The Judæans believed this plague sent by Yahweh; it vindicated the word of Isaiah, his prophet. When his army was decimated, Sennacherib was compelled to raise the siege, and go home; thus Jerusalem was delivered.

THE RELIGIOUS CONSEQUENCES

Isaiah's prediction that Yahweh would not permit Jerusalem to be captured and destroyed and the providential vindication of his words by the opportune breaking out of bubonic plague in Sennacherib's army, brought to a head tendencies that had long been maturing. Although David had captured Jerusalem and made the threshing-floor of the Jebusites a sanctuary of Yahweh, there were in his time many other sanctuaries in the land that had for the Hebrews far holier associations. Gibeon was such a place of worship, to which Solomon had gone to be crowned. Solomon had built at the threshing-floor a splendid temple, but it was equipped with heretical implements of bronze and did not commend itself to Hebrews who valued the ancient nomadic and agricultural traditions of their religion. As late as the time of Elijah, Yahweh's real dwelling-place was thought to be the sacred mountain Horeb, far away in the desert, whither Elijah went when discouraged, to hear the "still small voice" (*1 Kings* 19: 8). As time passed on and Jerusalem became more and more the center of the religious life of the people of Judah and king after king descended from David worshiped there, the temple at Jerusalem became in their thought *the* dwelling-place of Yahweh. Thus Amos fifty years before had said to the people of Bethel, "Yahweh will roar from Zion" (*Amos* 1: 2). But now this growing conviction that Jerusalem was the beloved dwelling-place of Yahweh had received striking confirmation. Yahweh's prophet had declared it, and by fulfilling his prophet's word in this incontestable manner, Yahweh had proved it. From this time onward Jerusalem, not Horeb, was regarded as Yahweh's dwelling-place. Thus these events enshrined Jerusalem as the holy city in the heart of every Hebrew and have made it the sacred city of Judaism. As Christianity was born in Judea and the most solemn events in the life of Christ occurred there, Jerusalem became the sacred city of all Christians. Because of these associations, Mohammed made it, next to Mecca, the most sacred city to Mohammedans. Thus the events of the year 701 have had their influence on three religions.

THE DEATH OF HEZEKIAH AND ACCESSION OF MANASSEH,
2 Kings 20: 20, 21

2 Kings 20. 20] Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and all his might, and how he made the pool, and the conduit, and brought water into the city, are they

not written in the book of the chronicles 21] of the kings of Judah? ¹⁰⁴ And Hezekiah slept with his fathers: and Manasseh his son reigned in his stead.

THE PROPHET ISAIAH AND HIS BOOK

After Sennacherib's invasion we lose sight of the prophet Isaiah. A Jewish tradition says that he was put to death by King Manasseh. If this be true, he lived on until after the accession of Manasseh in the year 696 B.C. For forty most eventful years he had been the religious leader in Jerusalem and the political and religious adviser of her kings. Endowed with great political insight, he is the greatest political figure in Hebrew history after David, and in many ways the most influential religious leader after Elijah. His high position gave him influence, and his poetical gifts (see *Isa.* 5: 1-7) made him popular. His prophecies went through various editions, as the book of Isaiah shows, the editors often including work from other pens than his. The result is that he uttered but a small portion of the book which bears his name; but the fact that so much was attributed to him is a witness to his eminence and influence.

 ISAIAH'S LAST MESSIANIC PROPHECY, *Isa.* 11: 1-9

Isa. 11. And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit: 2] and the spirit of the LORD shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of 3] the fear of the LORD; and ¹⁰⁵ his ¹⁰⁶ delight shall be in the fear of the LORD: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither ¹⁰⁷ reprove 4] after the hearing of his ears: but with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the ¹⁰⁸ earth: and he shall smite the ¹⁰⁸ earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he 5] slay the wicked. And righteousness

shall be the girdle of his loins, and faith- 6] fulness the girdle of his reins. And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall 7] lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat 8] straw like the ox. And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand 9] on the ¹⁰⁹ basilisk's den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea.

The portrayal of the ideal kingdom as Isaiah conceived it in his old age is in striking contrast to that of his youth. As a young man he

¹⁰⁴ See *2 Chr.* 32: 33.

¹⁰⁵ Or, *he shall be of quick understanding.*

¹⁰⁶ Heb. *scent.*

¹⁰⁷ Or, *decide.*

¹⁰⁸ Or, *land.*

¹⁰⁹ Or, *adder's.*

thought of a Messiah or king who could outdo the mighty Tiglath-pileser at every point. Now he thinks not so much of the king as of the kingdom; not so much of war and booty as of the establishment of ideal social conditions by the transformation of the beast in man.

CHRONOLOGY

Kings of Israel

Pekahiah, 737-735 B. C.

Pekah, 735-733

Hoshea, 732-722

End of the kingdom of Israel

Kings of Judah

Jotham, 752-736 B. C.

Ahaz, 736-724

Hezekiah, 724-696

CHAPTER XVII

REACTION AND REFORM

WITH the death of Isaiah a great period of Hebrew history came to an end. Both in literature and in religion, it had been a wonderfully creative period. It had seen not only the compilation of the E Document and a code of laws, but the emergence of a new type of prophecy—prophecy based on intelligent insight—which bound religion up with ethics rather than with ritual. Four such prophets had flourished during the period, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. They had all denounced religiosity divorced from morals, and had all implied that Yahweh would bless those who lived upright ethical lives. Nevertheless the period had been one of unparalleled disaster. The Assyrian had blotted out the kingdom of Israel and, having diminished greatly the territory of Judah, had reduced it to abject vassalage. Reactions always occur in history, and one is not surprised that one occurred in Judah now.

THE REIGN OF MANASSEH, *2 Kings 21: 1-18*

2 Kings 21. ¹ Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign; and he reigned five and fifty years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Hephzi-
2] bah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the LORD cast out before the children of Israel.
3] For he built again the high places which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he reared up altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as did Ahab king of Israel, and worshipped all the host of heaven, and served them.
4] And he built altars in the house of the LORD, whereof the LORD said, In
5] Jerusalem will I put my name. And he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of the
6] LORD. And he made his son to pass through the fire, and practised augury, and used enchantments, and ² dealt with them that had familiar spirits, and with

wizards: he wrought much evil in the sight of the LORD, to provoke him to anger. And he set the graven image of Asherah, that he had made, in the house of which the LORD said to David and to Solomon his son, In this house, and in Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, will I put my
8] name for ever: neither will I cause the feet of Israel to wander any more out of the land which I gave their fathers; if only they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them, and according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them.
9] But they hearkened not: and Manasseh seduced them to do that which is evil more than did the nations, whom the LORD destroyed before the children of
10] Israel. And the LORD spake by his
11] servants the prophets, saying, Because Manasseh king of Judah hath done these abominations, and hath done wicked-

¹ See *2 Chr.* 33: 1, &c.

² Or, *appointed*, Heb. *made*.

edly above all that the Amorites did, which were before him, and hath made Judah also to sin with his idols: 12] therefore thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Behold, I bring such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of it, both his ears shall 13] tingle. And I will stretch over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab: and I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down. 14] And I will cast off the remnant of mine inheritance, and deliver them into the hand of their enemies; and they shall become a prey and a spoil to all their 15] enemies; because they have done that which is evil in my sight, and have

provoked me to anger, since the day their fathers came forth out of Egypt, 16] even unto this day. Moreover Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another; beside his sin wherewith he made Judah to sin, in doing that which was evil in the sight of the LORD. 17] Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and all that he did, and his sin that he sinned, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of 18] Judah? ⁸ And Manasseh slept with his fathers, and was buried in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza: and Amon his son reigned in his stead.

The preceding passage portrays in brief but vivid outline the violent reaction which took place during the fifty-five years of Manasseh's reign. The great prophets of the eighth century had taught that Yahweh's favor depended upon ethical uprightness rather than upon the performance of elaborate rites; but in spite of such efforts as the nation had made to obey the prophetic teaching, its political fortunes had steadily declined. The northern kingdom had been blotted out, and at the beginning of the reign of Sennacherib, Hezekiah had been punished for his rebellion and had been reduced to the position of an abject vassal. Sennacherib in 681 B.C. was succeeded by Esarhaddon, who twice marched his army along the Mediterranean coast of Palestine in the effort to conquer Egypt. He died while the second of these expeditions (that of 668 B.C.) was in progress, and was succeeded by Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.). Lower Egypt submitted to Assyria in 668 and in 661 the Assyrian army conquered Upper Egypt and destroyed Thebes. The twenty-fifth dynasty was overthrown and Egypt became an Assyrian province. Judah escaped harm by quiet submission to Assyria. Manasseh's name appears as a faithful vassal in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. He furnished them aid in their Egyptian campaigns.

Under all these circumstances it is not strange that there was a revulsion from the high idealism of the eighth century prophets. Ahaz and Hezekiah had, however unwillingly, been to some extent guided by Isaiah, but Manasseh felt that the departure from old ways was in part responsible for the national disasters. He accordingly revived all kinds of early and discarded religious practices. Apparently Isaiah had induced Hezekiah to suppress some of the sanctuaries in the kingdom. We know that there were many of these. We hear of one at Bethlehem and an-

⁸ See 2 Chr. 33: 20-25.

other at Hebron, and how prominent that at Gibeon had been we have noted more than once. From other sources we know that there was one on the hilltop near practically every town. These Manasseh restored and patronized. Further, he revived the custom of sacrificing children—a custom that had been practised in early times, but which the story of Abraham's so-called sacrifice of Isaac (*Gen. 22*) had been written to abolish. The writer of the second book of *Kings* says that Manasseh's abominations exceeded those of the Amorites. That is his way of summing up these reactionary practices.

During this reaction there were those who cherished the ideals of the great prophets of the preceding century. One of these summed up the difference in a passage which is now a part of the book of *Micah*. Possibly the author was Micah himself. If he was a young man when he prophesied about 725 B.C., he may have lived well into the reign of Manasseh. The passage is as follows:

Micah 6. 6] Wherewith shall I come before the LORD, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a 7] year old? Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give

my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? 8] He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the LORD require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

It is now believed by most scholars that it was during the reign of Manasseh, somewhere about 650 B.C., that such a sympathizer with the ideals of the great prophets of the eighth century, driven into hiding by the attitude of the king, composed the first draft of the book of *Deuteronomy*, which, with the exception of some easily detected later additions, consisted of *Deuteronomy* 4: 44—26: 19. As a literary form he placed this law in the mouth of Moses, representing it as Moses' farewell oration. The basis of the laws in his book was E's "Book of the Covenant" and some other old laws which had come down as mere customs. These he modified at various points to bring them into accord with the humanitarian teaching of the great prophets. One bold ritualistic modification he introduced—a modification in which the prophet Isaiah had probably led the way. To this work we shall return a little later.

THE REIGN OF AMON, 2 *Kings* 21: 19-26

2 Kings 21. 19] Amon was twenty and two years old when he began to reign; and he reigned two years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Meshullemeth the daughter of Haruz of Jotbah. 20] And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, as did Manasseh 21] his father. And he walked in all the

way that his father walked in, and served the idols that his father served, and 22] worshipped them: and he forsook the LORD, the God of his fathers, and walked not in the way of the LORD. 23] And the servants of Amon conspired against him, and put the king to 24] death in his own house. But the peo-

ple of the land slew all them that had conspired against king Amon; and the people of the land made Josiah his son 25] king in his stead. Now the rest of the acts of Amon which he did, are they

not written in the book of the chronicles 26] of the kings of Judah? And he was buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza: and Josiah his son reigned in his stead.

Amon, probably one of the oldest sons of an old man, was advanced in years when he came to the throne, and his two years of power formed a continuation of his father's policies.

KING JOSIAH AND THE FINDING OF THE LAW, *2 Kings 22: 1-20*

2 **Kings 22.** 4 Josiah was eight years old when he began to reign; and he reigned thirty and one years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Jedidah 2] the daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath. And he did that which was right in the eyes of the LORD, and walked in all the way of David his father, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left.

3] And it came to pass in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, that the king sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, the son of Meshullam, the scribe, to the 4] house of the LORD, saying, Go up to Hilkiah the high priest, that he may sum the money which is brought into the house of the LORD, which the keepers of the 5 door have gathered of the people: and let them deliver it into the hand of the workmen that have the oversight of the house of the LORD: and let them give it to the workmen which are in the house of the LORD, to repair the 6] breaches of the house; unto the carpenters, and to the builders, and to the masons; and for buying timber and 7] hewn stone to repair the house. Howbeit there was no reckoning made with them of the money that was delivered into their hand; for they dealt faithfully. And Hilkiah the high priest said unto Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the law in the house of the LORD. And Hilkiah delivered the 9] book to Shaphan, and he read it. And Shaphan the scribe came to the king, and brought the king word again, and said, Thy servants have 6 emptied out

the money that was found in the house, and have delivered it into the hand of the workmen that have the oversight of the 10] house of the LORD. And Shaphan the scribe told the king, saying, Hilkiah the priest hath delivered me a book. And 11] Shaphan read it before the king. And it came to pass, when the king had heard the words of the book of the law, that 12] he rent his clothes. And the king commanded Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam the son of Shaphan, and Achbor the son of Micaiah, and Shaphan the scribe, and Asaiah the king's servant, 13] saying, Go ye, inquire of the LORD for me, and for the people, and for all Judah, concerning the words of this book that is found: for great is the wrath of the LORD that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according unto all that which is 7 written 14] ten concerning us. So Hilkiah the priest, and Ahikam, and Achbor, and Shaphan, and Asaiah, went unto Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum the son of Tikvah, the son of Harhas, keeper of the wardrobe; (now she dwelt in Jerusalem in the 8 second quarter;) and they 15] communed with her. And she said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Tell ye the man that sent you 16] unto me, Thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will bring evil upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the words of the book which the king of 17] Judah hath read: because they have forsaken me, and have burned incense.

4 See *2 Chr. 34: 1, &c.*

5 Heb. *threshold.*

6 Or, *poured out.*

7 Or, *enjoined us.*

8 Heb. *Mishneh.*

unto other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the work of their hands; therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this place, and it shall 18] not be quenched. But unto the king of Judah, who sent you to inquire of the LORD, thus shall ye say to him, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: As touching the words which thou hast 19] heard, because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before the LORD, when thou heardest what

I spake against this place, and against the inhabitants thereof, that they should become ⁹ a desolation and a curse, and hast rent thy clothes, and wept before me; I also have heard thee, saith the 20] LORD. Therefore, behold, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered to thy grave in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil which I will bring upon this place. And they brought the king word again.

For reasons which will appear as we proceed, scholars are convinced that the book of the law found at this time in the temple was the first draft of *Deuteronomy* that had been written in the reign of Manasseh. The heirs of the ideals of the prophets of the eighth century believed it a propitious time to introduce a reform, and they had arranged that the book should be found there. If such a book were found now, it would be submitted to paleographers to see if the writing was of the sort employed in the days of Moses; then it would be submitted to the historical critics to see whether it contained material later than the time of Moses. In Josiah's time these sciences had not been invented. The only test they knew how to apply was the religious test. So they took the book to Huldah, an old prophetess, and asked her opinion of it. She said it was the genuine law of Moses. That is, it corresponded to her idea of what Moses should have taught. So, relying on this assurance, the king put the law into force and based a reform upon it.

THE REFORM, 2 Kings 23: 1-25

2 Kings 23. ¹⁰ And the king sent, and they gathered unto him all the elders of 2] Judah and of Jerusalem. And the king went up to the house of the LORD, and all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem with him, and the priests, and the prophets, and all the people, both small and great: and he read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant which was found 3] in the house of the LORD. And the king stood ¹¹ by the pillar, and made a covenant before the LORD, to walk after the LORD, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all *his* heart, and all *his* soul, to

¹² confirm the words of this covenant that were written in this book: and all 4] the people stood to the covenant. And the king commanded Hilkiah the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the ¹³ door, to bring forth out of the temple of the LORD all the vessels that were made for Baal, and for the Asherah, and for all the host of heaven: and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto 5] Beth-el. And he put down the ¹⁴ idolatrous priests, whom the kings of Judah had ordained to burn incense in the high places in the cities of Judah, and in the

⁹ Or, an astonishment.

¹⁰ See 2 Chr. 34: 29-32.

¹¹ Or, on the platform.

¹² Or, perform.

¹³ Heb. threshold.

¹⁴ Heb. Chemarim. See Hos. 10: 5, Zeph. 1: 4.

places round about Jerusalem; them also that burned incense unto Baal, to the sun, and to the moon, and to the ¹⁵ planets, and to all the host of heaven. And he brought out the Asherah from the house of the LORD, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves of the ¹⁶ common people. And he brake down the houses of the ¹⁷ sodomites, that were in the house of the LORD, where the women wove ¹⁸ hangings for the Asherah. 8] And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beer-sheba; and he brake down the high places of the gates that were at the entering in of the gate of Joshua the governor of the city, which were on a man's left hand at the gate of 9] the city. Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the LORD in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren. And he defiled Topheth, which is in the valley of the ¹⁹ children of Hinnom, that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire 11] to Molech. And he took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of the LORD, by the chamber of Nathan-melech the chamberlain, which was in the precincts; and he burned the chariots 12] of the sun with fire. And the altars that were on the roof of the upper chamber of Ahaz, which the kings of Judah had made, and the altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the LORD, did the king break down, and ²⁰ beat them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into 13] the brook Kidron. And the high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of ²¹ corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the

abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of Moab, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile. 14] And he brake in pieces the ²² pillars, and cut down the Asherim, and filled their places with the bones of men. 15] Moreover the altar that was at Beth-el, and the high place which Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, had made, even that altar and the high place he brake down; and he burned the high place and stamped it small to powder, and burned the Asherah. And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount; and he sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burned them upon the altar, and defiled it, according to the word of the LORD which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these things. 17] Then he said, What monument is that which I see? And the men of the city told him, It is the sepulchre of the man of God, which came from Judah, and proclaimed these things that thou hast done against the altar of Beth-el. 18] And he said, Let him be; let no man move his bones. So they let his bones alone, with the bones of the prophet that 19] came out of Samaria. And all the houses also of the high places that were in the cities of Samaria, which the kings of Israel had made to provoke the LORD to anger, Josiah took away, and did to them according to all the acts that he 20] had done in Beth-el. And he ²³ slew all the priests of the high places that were there, upon the altars, and burned men's bones upon them; and he returned to Jerusalem.

21] And the king commanded all the people, saying, Keep the passover unto the LORD your God, as it is written in 22] this book of the covenant. Surely there was not kept such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, ²⁴ nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah;

¹⁵ Or, twelve signs.

¹⁶ Heb. children of the people.

¹⁷ See 1 Kings 14: 24, 15: 12.

¹⁸ Or, tents. Heb. houses.

¹⁹ According to another reading, son.

²⁰ Or, ran from thence.

²¹ Or, destruction.

²² Or, obelisks.

²³ Or, sacrificed.

²⁴ Or, even in all . . . and of.

23] but in the eighteenth year of king Josiah was this passover kept to the 24] LORD in Jerusalem. Moreover them that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, and the teraphim, and the idols, and all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah and in Jerusalem, did Josiah put away, that he might ¹² confirm the words of the law which were writ-

ten in the book that Hilkiah the priest 25] found in the house of the LORD. And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the LORD with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him.

The principal features of this reform are those required by the law of *Deuteronomy*. The high places, *i. e.*, all sanctuaries except the one in Jerusalem, were abolished. That is provided for in *Deuteronomy* 12, which repeals the law of *Exodus* 20: 24-26, which permitted an altar wherever Yahweh revealed himself. *Deuteronomy* 12, on the contrary, permits but one altar, and that "in the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose." As pointed out in the previous chapter, Jews now believed that Yahweh had unmistakably chosen Jerusalem as his dwelling-place. Another feature of the reform was the destruction of the "pillars" (the stone monoliths which stood near every Semitic altar) and the "Asherahs" (wooden symbols which accompanied these). This measure is several times enjoined in *Deuteronomy* (see ch. 7: 5; 12: 3, etc.). Again Josiah cleansed the temple of all ministers of impurity (sodomites and sacred prostitutes)—an act required by *Deuteronomy* (see *Deut.* 23: 17, 18). Josiah also expelled all wizards from Jerusalem (*2 Kings* 23: 24)—a measure required by *Deuteronomy* 18: 10.

One feature of the law of *Deuteronomy*, however, Josiah was not able to enforce. It is stated above (*2 Kings* 23: 9), "Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of Jehovah in Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren." This statement was made necessary because in *Deuteronomy* 18: 6-8 it is provided that any Levite who comes to the one sanctuary and desires to minister shall have the same right to do so as any of his brethren. The author of the code realized that, if his law ever became operative, it would throw a good many priests out of employment and, to compensate them for this, he provided that they might have the same right to officiate in the temple at Jerusalem as the Levites who were already there. It was an ideal arrangement made by an impractical prophet, and even the king could not enforce it. Just as the clergy of any great church would object to sharing their work and salaries with all the other clergy in the state because those clergymen had lost their jobs, so the priesthood of Jerusalem were too strongly intrenched in their positions to permit the law to be carried out. The fact that the author of the second book of *Kings* thought it necessary to note the failure, and to say in effect that the Levites who came from the country shrines lived on the charity of their brethren, is

an additional proof that the law of *Deuteronomy* was the code on which the reform was based.

THE DEUTERONOMIC LAW

The acceptance of the newly found law book as the law of Moses and its enforcement as the organic law of the nation was an important step in the development of Hebrew law. It meant a profound modification of the "Book of the Covenant" which E had compiled more than a hundred years before. It is worth while to note a part of its contents, though space forbids us to quote it all. Near its beginning, in what is now the fifth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, the ten commandments of E were reproduced with some editorial expansions. Soon after that, in *Deuteronomy* 6:4, 5, there was introduced a great statement which to this day constitutes the confession of faith of every Jew and which the Founder of Christianity declared to be the greatest commandment of the law:

Deut. 6. 4] Hear, O Israel: ²⁵ the
5] LORD our God is one LORD: and thou
shalt love the LORD thy God with all

thine heart, and with all thy soul, and
with all thy might.

The law of the altar has already been referred to, but it is worth while to quote it to show how profoundly *Exodus* 20: 24-26 was modified.

Deut. 12. These are the statutes and the judgements, which ye shall observe to do in the land which the LORD, the God of thy fathers, hath given thee to possess it, all the days that ye live upon 2] the earth. Ye shall surely destroy all the places wherein the nations that ye shall dispossess serve their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, 3] and under every green tree; and ye shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their ²⁶ pillars, and burn their Asherim with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods; and ye shall destroy their name out of 4] that place. Ye shall not do so unto Je-5] hovah your God. But unto the place which the LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes, to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye 6] seek and thither shall ye come; and thither shall ye bring your burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes,

and the heave offerings of your land, and your vows, and your freewill offerings, and the firstlings of your herd and 7] of your flock: and there ye shall eat before the LORD your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand unto, ye and your households, wherein the LORD thy God hath blessed thee. 8] Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes: 9] for ye are not as yet come to the rest and to the inheritance, which the LORD 10] thy God giveth thee. But when ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the LORD your God causeth you to inherit, and he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that 11] ye dwell in safety; then it shall come to pass that the place which the LORD your God shall choose to cause his name to dwell there, thither shall ye bring all that I command you; your

²⁵ Or, the LORD our God, the LORD is one.
Or, the LORD is our God, the LORD is one.

Or, the LORD is our God, the LORD alone.
²⁶ Or, obelisks.

burnt offerings, and your sacrifices, your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye 12] vow unto the LORD: and ye shall rejoice before the LORD your God, ye, and your sons, and your daughters, and your menservants, and your maidservants, and the Levite that is within your gates, forasmuch as he hath no portion nor inheritance with you. Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest: 14] but in the place which the LORD shall choose in one of thy tribes, there thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee. 15] Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh within all thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee: the unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the gazelle, 16] and as of the hart. Only ye shall not eat the blood; thou shalt pour it out 17] upon the earth as water. Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thine oil, or the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, not any of thy vows which thou vowest, nor thy freewill offerings, nor the heave offering of thine hand: 18] but thou shalt eat them before the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates: and thou shalt rejoice before the LORD thy God in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. 19] Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite as long as thou livest upon thy land.

20] When the LORD thy God shall enlarge thy border, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh, because thy soul desireth to eat flesh; thou mayest eat flesh, after all the desire of thy soul. If the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy

flock, which the LORD hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat within thy gates, after all the desire of thy soul. Even as the gazelle and as the hart is eaten, so thou shalt eat thereof: the unclean and the clean shall eat thereof alike. Only be sure that thou eat not the blood: for the blood is the life; and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh. Thou shalt not eat it; thou shalt pour it out upon 25] the earth as water. Thou shalt not eat it; that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee, when thou shalt do that which is right in the eyes 26] of the LORD. Only thy holy things which thou hast, and thy vows, thou shalt take, and go unto the place which the LORD shall choose: and thou shalt offer thy burnt offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the altar of the LORD thy God: and the blood of thy sacrifices shall be poured out upon the altar of the LORD thy God, and thou shalt eat the 28] flesh. Observe and hear all these words which I command thee, that it may go well with thee, and with thy children after thee for ever, when thou doest that which is good and right in the eyes of the LORD thy God.

29] When the LORD thy God shall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goest in to possess them, and thou possessest them, and dwellest in their 30] land; take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared ²⁷ to follow them, after that they be destroyed from before thee; and that thou inquire not after their gods, saying, How do these nations serve 31] their gods? ²⁸ even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the LORD thy God: for every abomination to the LORD, which he hateth, have they done unto their gods; for even their sons and their daughters do they burn in the fire to their gods.

32] ²⁹ What thing soever I command you, that shall ye observe to do: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

²⁷ Heb. *after them*.
²⁸ Or, *that I also may do likewise*.

²⁹ Ch. 13: 1 in Heb.

This law is long and elaborate. It goes into great detail, giving reasons and specifications as though making a profound change. It was, indeed, a profound change. We have seen how Hebrews took over many Canaanite sanctuaries and made them sanctuaries of Yahweh. Now all this was to be reversed and these sanctuaries desecrated. The sanctuary, too, had entered intimately into the life of every Hebrew family. The Semitic peoples did not eat meat every day. The slaying of an animal, even for food, was a solemn occurrence; it was accomplished as a religious act at the sanctuary. This was easy when there was a sanctuary at every village. The Deuteronomic lawgiver was conscious that he was introducing a change that would affect the life of every family: he accordingly provided that animals might be slain at home, if only the blood was poured out on the ground. The abolition of all these shrines led him to modify other laws as we shall see.

THE LAW OF THE HEBREW SLAVE, *Deut.* 15: 12-18

Deut. 15. 12] If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years; then in the seventh year thou shalt let 13] him go free from thee. And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou 14] shalt not let him go empty: thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing-floor, and out of thy winepress: as the LORD thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt 15] give unto him. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and the LORD thy God redeemed thee: therefore I command

16] thee this thing to-day. And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go out from thee; because he loveth thee and thine house, because he is well with 17] thee; then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy ³⁰ servant for ever. And also unto thy ³¹ maidservant 18] thou shalt do likewise. It shall not seem hard unto thee, when thou lettest him go free from thee; for to the double of the hire of an hireling hath he served thee six years: and the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest.

If this law be compared with the corresponding law of the "Book of the Covenant" (*Ex.* 21: 2-6, quoted above in ch. XV), two important modifications appear. If the slave finds it more comfortable to let a master provide for him than to take the responsibility of earning his own living, and so chooses perpetual slavery, *Exodus* 21: 6 provides that his master shall bring him unto God (*i. e.*, to the sanctuary) and pierce his ear against the door-post with an awl and he shall be a slave forever. *Deuteronomy* 15: 16, 17 allows this piercing to be done against the door-post of the master's house. The law of *Exodus* (E's law) presupposes a sanctuary easy of access in every village; *Deuteronomy* had abolished all these village sanctuaries; it presupposes but one in the whole land, which might be miles distant: hence the modification.

Again, *Deuteronomy* enjoins on the master, in case the slave chooses

80 Or, *bondman*.

81 Or, *bondwoman*.

his freedom, the duty of furnishing him liberally out of his threshing-floor and out of his wine-press; *i. e.*, he is to give the poor man a little start in life. The "Book of the Covenant" (E's law) makes no such provision. This is an evidence of a new humanitarian feeling due, doubtless, to the social teaching of the great prophets of the eighth century.

THE LAW OF HOMICIDE SANCTUARY, *Deut.* 19: 1-3

Deut. 19. When the LORD thy God shall cut off the nations, whose land the LORD thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their cities, 2] and in their houses; thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy land, which the LORD thy God

3] giveth thee to possess it. Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders of thy land, which the LORD thy God causeth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every manslayer may flee thither.

In the earlier code (*Ex.* 21:12-14), it was provided that a man who killed another accidentally might take refuge at Yahweh's altar. The provision was made necessary by the primitive Semitic law of blood revenge, which made it a religious duty for a kinsman of a murdered man to avenge his murder. If the killing had been accidental, the avenger would not dare to drag the innocent man from the sacred altar. This law was adequate as long as there was an altar in every town, but entirely inadequate when but one altar was left, and that in the capital city. To compensate for this lack, the author of *Deuteronomy* instituted the "cities of refuge."

THE LAW OF PRIESTLY PRIVILEGE, *Deut.* 18: 6-8

Deut. 18. 6] And if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place 7] which the LORD shall choose; then he shall minister in the name of the LORD

his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand there before the LORD. 8] They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.

How the abolition of the sanctuaries outside of Jerusalem made this law necessary has already been pointed out.

In addition to the changes made necessary by the centralization of the worship the prophetic author also introduced laws to purify the ritual and make it moral.

A LAW FOR THE PURIFICATION OF THE RITUAL, *Deut.* 23: 17, 18

Deut. 23. 17] There shall be no ³²harlot of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a ³³sodomite of the sons 18] of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the

hire of a whore, or the wages of a dog, into the house of the LORD thy God for any vow: for even both these are an abomination unto the LORD thy God.

³² Heb. *kadeshah*. See *Gen.* 38: 21.

³³ Heb. *kadesh*.

The regulations for the three great yearly festivals which the "Book of the Covenant" had provided (*Ex.* 23: 14-17), were expanded to insure greater definiteness.

THE NEW LAW OF FEASTS, *Deut.* 16: 1-17

Deut. 16. Observe the month of Abib, and keep the passover unto the LORD thy God: for in the month of Abib the LORD thy God brought thee forth out of Egypt 2] by night. And thou shalt sacrifice the passover unto the LORD thy God, of the flock and the herd, in the place which the LORD shall choose to cause his name to 3] dwell there. Thou shalt eat no leavened bread with it; seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread therewith, even the bread of affliction; for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste: that thou mayest remember the day when thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of thy life. 4] And there shall be no leaven seen with thee in all thy borders seven days; neither shall any of the flesh, which thou sacrificest the first day at even, remain 5] all night until the morning. Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates, which the LORD thy 6] God giveth thee: but at the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to cause his name to dwell in, there thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even, at the going down of the sun, at the season that thou camest forth out of Egypt. 7] And thou shalt roast and eat it in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose: and thou shalt turn in the morn- 8] ing, and go unto thy tents. Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread: and on the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly to the LORD thy God; thou shalt do no work *therein*.

9] Seven weeks shalt thou number unto thee: from the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn shalt thou begin to number seven weeks. 10] And thou shalt keep the feast of

weeks unto the LORD thy God ⁸⁴ with a tribute of a freewill offering of thine hand, which thou shalt give, according as the LORD thy God blesseth thee: 11] and thou shalt rejoice before the LORD thy God, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite that is within thy gates, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are in the midst of thee, in the place which the LORD thy God shall choose to cause 12] his name to dwell there. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt: and thou shalt observe and do these statutes.

13] Thou shalt keep the feast of ⁸⁵ tabernacles seven days, after that thou hast gathered in from thy threshing- 14] floor and from thy winepress: and thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy manservant, and thy maidservant, and the Levite, and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are within thy 15] gates. Seven days shalt thou keep a feast unto the LORD thy God in the place which the LORD shall choose: because the LORD thy God shall bless thee in all thine increase, and in all the work of thine hands, and thou shalt be altogether joy- 16] ful. Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the LORD thy God in the place which he shall choose; in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of tabernacles: and they shall not appear 17] before the LORD empty: every man ⁸⁶ shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God which he hath given thee.

In addition to laws already codified in the "Book of the Covenant" which this prophetic lawgiver modified, he gathered up some very old customs and included them in his code. Two examples of this will suffice.

⁸⁴ Or, *after the measure of the &c.*

⁸⁵ Heb. *booths*.

⁸⁶ Heb. *according to the gift of his hand*.

THE LAW OF CLEAN AND UNCLEAN MEATS, *Deut.* 14: 1-20

Deut. 14. Ye are the children of the LORD your God: ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between 2] your eyes for the dead. For thou art an holy people unto the LORD thy God, and the LORD hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, ³⁷ above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth.

3] Thou shalt not eat any abominable 4] thing. These are the beasts which ye shall eat: the ox, the sheep, and the 5] goat, the hart, and the gazelle, and the roebuck, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the antelope, and the chamois. 6] And every beast that pareth the hoof, and hath the hoof cloven in two, and ³⁸ cheweth the cud, among the beasts, 7] that ye shall eat. Nevertheless these ye shall not eat of them that chew the cud, or of them that have the hoof cloven: the camel, and the hare, and the ³⁹ coney, because they chew the cud but part not the hoof, they are unclean unto 8] you: and the swine, because he part-

eth the hoof but cheweth not the cud, he is unclean unto you: of their flesh ye shall not eat, and their carcases ye shall not touch.

9] These ye shall eat of all that are in the waters: whatsoever hath fins and 10] scales shall ye eat: and whatsoever hath not fins and scales ye shall not eat; it is unclean unto you.

11] Of all clean birds ye may eat. 12] But these are they of which ye shall not eat: the ⁴⁰ eagle, and the gier eagle, 13] and the ospray; and the glede, and the falcon, and the kite after its kind; 14] and every raven after its kind; 15] and the ostrich, and the night hawk, and the seamew, and the hawk after its 16] kind; the little owl, and the great 17] owl, and the horned owl; and the pelican, and the vulture, and the cor- 18] morant; and the stork, and the heron after its kind, and the hoopoe, and the 19] bat. And all winged creeping things are unclean unto you: they shall not be 20] eaten. Of all clean fowls ye may eat.

Among all savages there are fixed traditions that certain things must not be touched or done, and that certain meats must not be eaten. Scholars call these prohibitions "taboos"—a name given them in Polynesia. Taboos of this sort connected with plants and animals are always connected with totemism where totemism exists.⁴¹ There is no doubt that the prohibitions about the eating of certain animals in the passage just quoted are the survivals of such taboos among the Hebrews from early Semitic times. They had long been practised, but now for the first time they found a place in a written code.

THE LEVIRATE LAW, *Deut.* 25: 5-10

Deut. 25. 5] If brethren dwell together, and one of them die, and have no son, the wife of the dead shall not marry without unto a stranger: her husband's brother shall go in unto her, and take her to him to wife, and perform the duty of an husband's brother unto her. 6] And it shall be, that the firstborn

which she beareth shall succeed in the name of his brother which is dead, that his name be not blotted out of Israel. 7] And if the man like not to take his brother's wife, then his brother's wife shall go up to the gate unto the elders, and say, My husband's brother refuseth to raise up unto his brother a name in

³⁷ Or, *out of*.

³⁸ Heb. *bringeth up*.

⁴¹ On Totemism and Taboo see W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 124 ff., 137 ff., 152 ff., 289 ff., 443 ff., 448 ff.

³⁹ See *Lev.* 11: 5.

⁴⁰ See *Lev.* 11: 13, &c.

Israel, he will not perform the duty of 8] an husband's brother unto me. Then the elders of his city shall call him, and speak unto him: and if he stand, and 9] say, I like not to take her; then shall his brother's wife come unto him in the presence of the elders, and loose his shoe

from off his foot, and spit in his face; and she shall answer and say, So shall it be done unto the man that doth not 10] build up his brother's house. And his name shall be called in Israel, The house of him that hath his shoe loosed.

This law, too, is a survival from a very early type of marriage which had existed among the Semitic people and has been found in many other parts of the world. It is generally connected with or follows a type of marriage which is called "polyandry."⁴²

Space forbids our quoting further from the law of *Deuteronomy*. Enough has been cited to show what a definite and radical development in the religious and civil life of Judah was introduced in the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (*i. e.*, in the year 621 B.C.). With the acceptance of this law as the law of God, the Jews accepted for the first time a written book as their standard. This was the beginning of the canonization of our Bible. *Deuteronomy* 4:44—26:19 is thus the first part of our Bible to be recognized as the word of God.

THE PROPHET JEREMIAH

In the year 626 B.C., five years before the beginning of Josiah's reform, a young man of Anathoth (the modern Anata, three miles north-east of Jerusalem) of priestly family, named Jeremiah, felt called to be a prophet. The visions which gave him the conviction that Yahweh had called him to this service are recorded in the first chapter of the book which bears his name.

JEREMIAH AND THE NEW LAW

Upon the discovery of the Deuteronomic law Jeremiah appears to have left his native town and to have moved to Jerusalem. There was much opposition to the new law and the reform based upon it. The inhabitants of towns other than Jerusalem felt naturally as the people of the cities of our country would, if all churches were abolished except one in Washington. More than this; they felt that some inherent holiness attached to the sanctuaries that had been desecrated, and that disaster would be sure to follow the sacrilege that had been perpetrated in destroying their sacred symbols and defiling the places themselves. The years that followed were accordingly years of religious struggle. Jeremiah seems at first to have thrown himself earnestly into the effort to enforce the new law. This is made clear in *Jeremiah* 11:1-8, which is as follows:

⁴² See G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, p. 66 ff.

Jer. 11. The word that came to Jeremiah from the LORD, saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and speak unto the men of Judah, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and say thou unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Cursed be the man that heareth not the words of this covenant, which I commanded your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the iron furnace, saying, Obey my voice, and do them, according to all which I command you: so shall ye be my people, and I will be your God: [5] that I may establish the oath which I swore unto your fathers, to give them a land flowing with milk and honey, as at this day. Then answered I, and said, Amen, O LORD.

[6] And the LORD said unto me, Proclaim all these words in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, saying, Hear ye the words of this covenant, and do them. For I earnestly protested unto your fathers in the day that I brought them up out of the land of Egypt, even unto this day, rising early and protesting, saying, Obey my voice. Yet they obeyed not, nor inclined their ear, but walked every one in the stubbornness of their evil heart: therefore I brought upon them all the words of this covenant, which I commanded them to do, but they did them not.

Later, when Jeremiah saw that the new law was inducing people to depend too much on outward rules and neglect the inwardness of religion, he seems to have turned against it. This seems to be implied in *Jeremiah* 8: 4-9 (his prophecies are not arranged in chronological order), which reads as follows:

Jer. 8. [4] Moreover thou shalt say unto them, Thus saith the LORD: Shall men fall, and not rise up again? shall one turn away, and not return? Why then is this people of Jerusalem slidden back by a perpetual backsliding? they hold fast [6] deceit, they refuse to return. I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright: no man repenteth him of his wickedness, saying, What have I done? every one ⁴³ turneth to his course, as a horse that rusheth headlong in the battle. [7] Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth

her appointed times; and the turtle and the swallow and the crane observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the ⁴⁴ ordinance of the LORD. [8] How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the LORD is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath [9] ⁴⁵ wrought falsely. The wise men are ashamed, they are dismayed and taken: lo, they have rejected the word of the LORD; and what manner of wisdom is in them?

The reference to the law and the statement that the pen of the scribe had wrought falsely seem to imply that Jeremiah had been disillusioned as to the value of the Deuteronomic law. Perhaps there was already working in his mind a thought to which years afterward he gave expression, that God's law is not an outward law, but an inward law of the heart. As he finally expressed it, it runs thus:

Jer. 31. [31] Behold, the days come, saith the LORD, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and [32] with the house of Judah: not ac-

cording to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; ⁴⁶ which my covenant

⁴³ Or, turneth away in his course.

⁴⁴ Or, judgment.

⁴⁵ Or, made of it falsehood.

⁴⁶ Or, forasmuch as they brake my covenant.

they brake, although I was ⁴⁷an husband 33] band unto them, saith the LORD. But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the LORD; I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, 34] and they shall be my people: and they

shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the LORD: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more.

Another reason why Jeremiah turned against the new law was that, during these years of Josiah's reign, he had reached a new conception of Yahweh and of Yahweh's attitude toward the nations, and some of the provisions of this new law were quite inconsistent with Jeremiah's convictions. It was pointed out in a previous chapter that the prophets of the eighth century were practical monotheists. They assumed for practical purposes that Yahweh ruled the world, but none of them attempted to explain why this was so. Jeremiah is the first to explain it. He saw that there were no heathen gods; they were simply figments of the imagination, or, as Jeremiah puts it, "vanities." Thus Jeremiah was the first philosophical monotheist. His words are:

Jer. 10. 14] Every man ⁴⁸is become brutish *and is* without knowledge; every goldsmith is put to shame by his graven image: for his molten image is falsehood, 15] and there is no breath in them. They are vanity, a work of ⁴⁹delusion: in the time of their visitation they shall perish.

14. 22] Are there any among the vanities of the heathen that can cause rain? or can the heavens give showers? are not thou he, O LORD our God? therefore we will wait upon thee; for thou hast ⁵⁰made all these things.

Holding this belief with reference to God, Jeremiah also held its corollary; viz., that God cares for all nations; that his love is not limited to Jews only. Hosea and Isaiah in the preceding century had thought of God as dealing with other nations, not because he cared for them, but for the sake of using them for Israel's advantage. Thus Isaiah (ch. 10: 5 f.) speaks of Assyria as "the rod" of Yahweh's anger, which he would break, when he had done punishing Israel with it. He thought of Yahweh as caring no more for Assyria than a father cares for a switch with which he punishes his boy. When the punishment is over, he breaks the switch and throws it away without a thought. Jeremiah saw more clearly. He says:

Jer. 16. 19] O LORD, my strength, and my strong hold, and my refuge in the day of affliction, unto thee shall the nations come from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Our fathers have inherited nought but lies, *even* vanity and things 20] wherein there is no profit. Shall a

man make unto himself gods, which yet 21] are no gods? Therefore, behold, I will cause them to know, this once will I cause them to know mine hand and my might; and they shall know that my name is Jehovah.

⁴⁷ Or, *lord over them.*

⁴⁸ Or, *is too brutish to know.*

⁴⁹ Or, *mockery.*

⁵⁰ Or, *done.*

Believing as he did that Yahweh's purpose was to welcome to himself all repentant peoples, Jeremiah could not permanently work for a law which definitely excluded from Yahweh's congregation forever certain nations such as the Ammonites and the Moabites (see *Deut.* 23:3-5). He ceased to work for the reform, therefore, because it was too narrow and unspiritual.

THE SCYTHIAN PERIL

During the later years of Manasseh's reign and that of the two kings who succeeded him, important political changes occurred in Assyria and Egypt. About 650 B.C. Ashurbanipal's brother, who had been made vassal king of Babylon, rebelled, and although the rebellion was put down, it somehow weakened the power of Assyria, so that her influence and power steadily declined. Shortly after that Psammetik I, the viceroy of Egypt under the Assyrians, assumed his independence and founded the twenty-sixth dynasty. It was the first time in three hundred years that the kings of Egypt had been of Egyptian blood, and in consequence a new wave of national consciousness and pride swept over the land. The people revered the pyramid builders who had lived two thousand years before, tried to revive their language, and emulated their art. Psammetik thought of reviving Egypt's Asiatic empire, and laid siege to some of the Philistine cities. Meantime in 626 Ashurbanipal died and under his successors, none of whom ruled many years, the power of Assyria steadily waned.

It was under these circumstances that at some time between 620 and 610 B.C. a horde of uncivilized Scythians poured down the Philistine coast and ravaged it. The Scythians lived a nomadic life on the plains of what is now southern Russia. Once before in the reign of Esarhaddon of Assyria, about 675 B.C., a wave of them had made their way into Asia through the Caucasus Mountains and had threatened to overrun Assyria. The armies of Esarhaddon had been strong enough to keep them out of Assyria. They had divided the horde, so that a part of it went eastward toward Media and a part, westward toward Asia Minor. Now a second horde came and swept down almost to the borders of Egypt, where Psammetik I succeeded in turning them back.⁵¹ They seem not to have invaded the highlands of Palestine, but there was great danger that they would turn inland and invade Judah. The following prophecy of Jeremiah refers to this:

Jer. 4. 3] For thus saith the LORD to the men of Judah and to Jerusalem, Break up your fallow ground, and sow 4] not among thorns. Circumcise your-

selves to the LORD, and take away the foreskins of your heart, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: lest my fury go forth like fire, and burn that

⁵¹ See Herodotus, *History*, Bk. I, 105.

none can quench it, because of the evil
 5] of your doings. Declare ye in Judah,
 and publish in Jerusalem; and say, Blow
 ye the trumpet in the land: cry aloud,
 and say, Assemble yourselves, and let us
 6] go into the fenced cities. Set up a
 standard toward Zion: flee for safety,
 stay not: for I will bring evil from the
 7] north, and a great destruction. A lion
 is gone up from his thicket, and a de-
 stroyer of nations; he is on his way, he
 is gone forth from his place; to make
 thy land desolate, that thy cities be laid
 8] waste, without inhabitant. For this
 gird you with sackcloth, lament and
 howl: for the fierce anger of the LORD
 9] is not turned back from us. And it
 shall come to pass at that day, saith the
 LORD, that the heart of the king shall
 perish, and the heart of the princes; and
 the priests shall be astonished, and the
 10] prophets shall wonder. Then said I,
 Ah, LORD God! surely thou hast greatly
 deceived this people and Jerusalem, say-
 ing, Ye shall have peace; whereas the
 11] sword reacheth unto the soul. At that
 time shall it be said to this people and to
 Jerusalem, A hot wind from the bare
 heights in the wilderness toward the
 daughter of my people, not to fan, nor
 12] to cleanse; ⁶² a full wind from these
 shall come for me: now will I also
 13] ⁶³ utter judgements against them. Be-
 hold, he shall come up as clouds, and his
 chariots *shall be* as the whirlwind: his
 horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto
 14] us! for we are spoiled. O Jerusalem,
 wash thine heart from wickedness, that
 thou mayest be saved. How long shall
 thine evil thoughts lodge within thee?
 15] For ⁶⁴ a voice declareth from Dan,
 and publisheth evil from the hills of
 16] Ephraim: make ye mention to the
 nations; behold, publish against Jeru-
 salem, *that* watchers come from a far
 country, and give out their voice against
 17] the cities of Judah. As keepers of a
 field are they against her round about;
 because she hath been rebellious against

18] me, saith the LORD. Thy way and thy
 doings have procured these things unto
 thee; this is thy wickedness; ⁶⁵ for it is
 bitter, ⁶⁶ for it reacheth unto thine
 heart.

19] My bowels, my bowels! ⁶⁶ I am
 pained at ⁶⁷ my very heart; my heart is
 disquieted in me; I cannot hold my
 peace; because ⁶⁸ thou hast heard, O my
 soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm
 20] of war. Destruction upon destruction
 is cried; for the whole land is spoiled:
 suddenly are my tents spoiled, *and*, my
 21] curtains in a moment. How long shall
 I see the standard, and hear the sound of
 22] the trumpet? For my people is fool-
 ish, they know me not; they are sottish
 children, and they have none understand-
 ing: they are wise to do evil, but to do
 good they have no knowledge.

23] I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was
⁶⁹ waste and void; and the heavens, and
 24] they had no light. I beheld the moun-
 tains, and, lo, they trembled, and all the
 25] hills ⁶⁰ moved to and fro. I beheld,
 and, lo, there was no man, and all the
 26] birds of the heavens were fled. I be-
 held, and, lo, ⁶¹ the fruitful field was a
 wilderness, and all the cities thereof were
 broken down at the presence of the
 27] LORD, *and* before his fierce anger. For
 thus saith the LORD, The whole land shall
 be a desolation; yet will I not make a
 28] full end. For this shall the earth
 mourn, and the heavens above be black:
 because I have spoken it, I have purposed
 it, and I have not repented, neither will
 29] I turn back from it. The whole city
 fleeth for the noise of the horsemen and
 bowmen; they go into the thickets, and
 climb up upon the rocks: every city is
 forsaken, and not a man dwelleth therein.
 30] And thou, when thou art spoiled,
 what wilt thou do? Though thou cloth-
 est thyself with scarlet, though thou
 deckest thee with ornaments of gold,
 though thou ⁶² enlargeth thine eyes with
 paint, in vain dost thou make thyself fair;
 thy lovers despise thee, they seek thy

⁶² Or, a wind too strong for this.

⁶³ See ch. 1: 16.

⁶⁴ Or, there is a voice of one that declareth
 etc.

⁶⁵ Or, surely.

⁶⁶ Another reading is, I will wait patiently.

⁶⁷ Heb. the walls of my heart.

⁶⁸ Or, as otherwise read, my soul heareth.

⁶⁹ See Gen. 1: 2.

⁶⁰ Or, moved lightly.

⁶¹ Or, Carmel.

⁶² Heb. reddenest.

31] life. For I have heard a voice as of a woman in travail, the anguish as of her that bringeth forth her first child, the voice of the daughter of Zion, that gasp-

eth for breath, that spreadeth her hands, saying, Woe is me now! for my soul fainteth before the murderers.

The Scythian peril called forth the utterances of another prophet. The whole of the little book of *Zephaniah* dates from this time. As an example of his preaching, we quote:

Zeph. i. 2] I will utterly consume all things from off the face of the ground, 3] saith the LORD. I will consume man and beast; I will consume the fowls of the heaven, and the fishes of the sea, and the stumblingblocks with the wicked; and I will cut off man from off the face of the ground, saith the LORD. 4] And I will stretch out mine hand upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and I will cut off the remnant of Baal from this place, and the name of the ⁶³ Chemarim with the 5] priests; and them that worship the host of heaven upon the housetops; and them that worship, which swear to the 6] LORD and swear by ⁶⁴ Malcam; and them that are turned back from following the LORD; and those that have not sought the LORD, nor inquired after him.

7] Hold thy peace at the presence of the LORD God: for the day of the LORD is at hand: for the LORD hath prepared a sacrifice, he hath ⁶⁵ sanctified his guests. 8] And it shall come to pass in the day of the LORD's sacrifice, that I will ⁶⁶ punish the princes, and the king's sons, and all such as are clothed with foreign apparel. And in that day I will ⁶⁸ punish all those that leap over the threshold, which fill their master's house with violence and deceit. And in that day, saith the LORD, there shall be the noise of a cry from the fish gate, and an howling from the ⁶⁷ second quarter, and a great 11] crashing from the hills. Howl, ye in-

habitants of ⁶⁸ Maktesh, for all ⁶⁹ the people of Canaan are undone: all they that were laden with silver are cut off. 12] And it shall come to pass at that time, that I will search Jerusalem with ⁷⁰ candles; and I will ⁶⁶ punish the men that are ⁷¹ settled on their lees, that say in their heart, The LORD will not do good, 13] neither will he do evil. And their wealth shall become a spoil, and their houses a desolation: yea, they shall build houses, but shall not inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, but shall not 14] drink the wine thereof. The great day of the LORD is near, it is near and hasteth greatly, even the voice of the day of the LORD; the mighty man crieth there 15] bitterly. That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of wateness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and 16] thick darkness, a day of the trumpet and alarm, against the fenced cities, and 17] against the high ⁷² battlements. And I will bring distress upon men, that they shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the LORD: and their blood shall be poured out as dust, and 18] their flesh as dung. Neither their silver nor their gold shall be able to deliver them in the day of the LORD's wrath; but the whole land shall be devoured by the fire of his jealousy: for he shall make an end, yea, a ⁷³ terrible end, of all them that dwell in the land.

Such were the forebodings of Jeremiah and Zephaniah in face of the Scythian peril. The horde turned backward, however, without invading the hill-country of Judah, and the disaster was averted. The Vulgate

⁶³ See 2 Kings 23: 5, Hos. 10: 5.

⁶⁴ Or, *their king*.

⁶⁵ See 1 Sam. 16: 5.

⁶⁶ Heb. *visit upon*.

⁶⁷ Heb. *Mishneh*.

⁶⁸ Or, *The mortar*.

⁶⁹ Or, *the merchant people*.

⁷⁰ Heb. *lamps*.

⁷¹ Or, *thickened*.

⁷² Or, *corner towers*.

⁷³ Or, *speedy*.

(Latin) version of the opening words of *Zephaniah* 1:15, *Dies iræ dies illa*, was taken by St. Bernard centuries later as the theme of one of the great hymns of the Middle Ages.

THE PROPHET NAHUM

In 625 B.C., the next year after Ashurbanipal died, Babylon gained her independence. Nabopolassar, a Chaldean, rebelled and maintained himself on the throne. At first he controlled only Babylon and a little district around it, but as years went on he gained southern Babylonia also. Beginning also about 740 B.C. there had gradually arisen to the eastward a kingdom of Media. Assyria grew weaker and weaker. Nabopolassar formed an alliance with the Medes, and together they overthrew the last of the Assyrian kings and destroyed Nineveh in 610 B.C. As the fall of the great and cruel oppressor approached, a Hebrew prophet, Nahum, predicted its overthrow. He did it with such evident relish, and looked forward with such satisfaction to the avenging of all the wrongs that Israel had suffered at her hands, that his book has been called a "screech of vengeance." *Nahum* 3:1-19 will afford an example of his feeling and style.

Nah. 3. Woe to the bloody city! it is all full of lies and rapine; the prey de-
2] parteth not. The noise of the whip, and the noise of the rattling of wheels; and prancing horses, and jumping
3] chariots; the horseman ⁷⁴ mounting, and the flashing sword, and the glittering spear; and a multitude of slain, and a great heap of carcases; and there is none end of the corpses; they stumble upon
4] their corpses: because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well favoured harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts, that selleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts.
5] Behold, I am against thee saith the LORD of hosts, and I will discover thy skirts ⁷⁵ upon thy face; and I will shew the nations thy nakedness, and the king-
6] doms thy shame. And I will cast abominable filth upon thee, and make thee vile, and will set thee as a gazing-
7] stock. And it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid

waste: who will bemoan her? whence
8] shall I seek comforters for thee? Art thou better than No-amon, that was situate among the ⁷⁶ rivers, that had the waters round about her; whose rampart was ⁷⁷ the sea, and her wall ⁷⁸ was of
9] the sea? Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and
10] Lubim were thy helpers. Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets: and they cast lots for her honourable men, and all her great men were bound in
11] chains. Thou also shalt be drunken, thou shalt be hid; thou also shalt seek
12] a strong hold because of the enemy.
12] All thy fortresses shall be *like* fig trees with the firstripe figs: if they be shaken, they fall into the mouth of the
13] eater. Behold, thy people in the midst of thee are women; the gates of thy land are set wide open unto thine enemies: the
14] fire hath devoured thy bars. Draw thee water for the siege, strengthen thy

⁷⁴ Or, *charging*.

⁷⁵ Or, *before*.

⁷⁶ Or, *canals*. See *Ex.* 7:19.

⁷⁷ That is, the Nile.

⁷⁸ Some ancient versions have, *was the waters*.

⁷⁹ Or, *a defence against*.

fortresses: go into the clay, and tread the mortar, ⁸⁰ make strong the brickkiln. 15] There shall the fire devour thee; the sword shall cut thee off, it shall devour thee like the cankerworm: make thyself many as the cankerworm, make thyself 16] many as the locust. Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven: the cankerworm ⁸¹ spoileth, and 17] flieth away. Thy crowned are as the locusts, and thy ⁸² marshals as the swarms of grasshoppers, which camp in

the ⁸³ hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are. 18] Thy shepherds slumber, O king of Assyria: thy worthies are at rest: thy people are scattered upon the mountains, and there is none to gather them. 19] There is no assuaging of thy hurt; thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?

THE END OF JOSIAH'S REIGN

In the year after Nineveh fell, Psammetik I died. His son Necho succeeded him on the throne of Egypt and ruled from 609 to 593 B.C. Necho thought the time opportune to revive the ancient Egyptian empire in Asia. Assyria was no more, and the power of Babylon under Nabopolassar had not yet extended to the upper Euphrates region. He determined accordingly to conquer Asia. How his venture first affected the fortunes of Judah is told in *2 Kings* 23: 28-30, as follows:

2 Kings 23. 28] Now the rest of the acts of Josiah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah? 29] ⁸⁴ In his days Pharaoh-necho king of Egypt went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates: and king Josiah went against him; and he slew

him at Megiddo, when he had seen him. 30] And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem, and buried him in his own sepulchre. ⁸⁵ And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead.

Thus ended one of the most important reigns in Judæan history. What induced Josiah to throw himself in the path of Necho's army with the inferior forces of Judah, we can only conjecture. Perhaps he thought the time opportune to claim for the house of David all the old territory of Israel; perhaps he foresaw vassalage to Egypt and the payment of Egyptian tribute in Necho's success and wished to prevent it. Whatever his reason, he made a gallant attempt, but lost his life.

CHRONOLOGY OF JUDEAN KINGS

Manasseh, 696-641 B.C.

Amon, 641-639

Josiah, 639-609

⁸⁰ Or, lay hold of the brick-mould.

⁸¹ Or, spreadeth himself.

⁸² Or, scribes.

⁸³ Or, walls.

⁸⁴ See *2 Chr.* 35: 20-24.

⁸⁵ See *2 Chr.* 36: 1-4.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF JUDAH

THE BRIEF REIGN OF JEHOAHAZ, *2 Kings 23: 31-35*

2 Kings 23. 31] Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of 32] Libnah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according 33] to all that his fathers had done. And Pharaoh-necoh put him in bonds at Riblah in the land of Hamath, ¹ that he might not reign in Jerusalem; and put the land to a ² tribute of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold.

34] And Pharaoh-necoh made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the room of Josiah his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim: but he took Jehoahaz away; and he came to Egypt, and died 35] there. And Jehoiakim gave the silver and the gold to Pharaoh; but he taxed the land to give the money according to the commandment of Pharaoh: he exacted the silver and the gold of the people of the land, of every one according to his taxation, to give it unto Pharaoh-necoh.

PUT in other words, the passage just quoted means that Necho had conquered northern Syria and temporarily established himself at Riblah, to the south of Kadesh on the Orontes, to receive the submission of the chiefs of the surrounding territory. While he had been doing this, Jehoahaz had as a matter of course succeeded his father in Jerusalem. Then Necho summoned him, as soon as he had leisure to do so, to come to Riblah and give an account of himself. Jehoahaz dared not demur. Necho, to impress the Jews with his power, deposed Jehoahaz, took him a prisoner to Egypt, put his brother Jehoiakim in his place, and imposed a heavy tribute upon Judah. All this took place in the summer of 609 B.C.

THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIAKIM, *2 Kings 23: 36, 37*

2 Kings 23. 36] ³ Jehoiakim was twenty and five years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem: and his mother's name was

Zebidah the daughter of Pedaiah of 37] Rumah. And he did that which was evil in the sight of the LORD, according to all that his fathers had done.

For four years Jehoiakim paid the tribute which Necho had imposed upon him, but in the year 604 B.C., a change came. In that year Necho came into Asia again in the effort to extend his conquests to the Eu-

¹ According to another reading, *when he* reigned.

² Or, *fine*.

³ See *2 Chr.* 36: 5 etc.

phrates. Nine hundred years before, Egyptian kings of the eighteenth dynasty had conquered that region, and Necho sought to emulate them. The king of Babylon, however, also had his eye upon that region. Nabopolassar was, apparently, now old, but he sent his son Nebuchadnezzar with a large army to contest with the Egyptian the conquest of the country. The two armies met near the Hittite city of Carchemish on the Euphrates and Necho was ignominiously defeated. He retreated to Egypt hurriedly with Nebuchadnezzar in hot pursuit. In the forty-sixth chapter of *Jeremiah* is a prophecy which Jeremiah uttered concerning this.

JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY OF NECHO'S DEFEAT BY
NEBUCHADNEZZAR, *Jer.* 46:2-28

Jer. 46. 2] Of Egypt: concerning the army of Pharaoh-neco king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah.

3] Order ye the buckler and shield, and 4] draw near to battle. Harness the horses, and get up, ye horsemen, and stand forth with your helmets; furbish the spears, put on the coats of mail. 5] Wherefore have I seen it? they are dismayed and are turned backward; and their mighty ones are beaten down, and are fled apace, and look not back: terror 6] is on every side, saith the LORD. Let not the swift flee away, nor the mighty man escape; in the north by the river Euphrates have they stumbled and fallen. 7] ⁴Who is this that riseth up like the Nile, whose waters toss themselves 8] like the rivers? Egypt riseth up like the Nile, and his waters toss themselves like the rivers: and he saith, I will rise up, I will cover the earth; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof. 9] Go up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men go forth: Cush and Put, that handle the shield; and the Ludim, that handle and bend the 10] bow. For that day is *a day of the LORD, the LORD of hosts, a day of vengeance, that he may avenge him of his*

adversaries: and the sword shall devour and be satiate, and shall drink its fill of their blood: for the LORD, the LORD of hosts, hath a sacrifice in the north coun- 11] try by the river Euphrates. Go up into Gilead, and take balm, O virgin daughter of Egypt: in vain dost thou use many medicines; there is no healing for 12] thee. The nations have heard of thy shame, and the earth is full of the cry: for the mighty man hath stumbled against the mighty, they are fallen both of them together.

13] The word that the LORD spake to Jeremiah the prophet, how that Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon should come and smite the land of Egypt.

14] Declare ye in Egypt, and publish in Migdol, and publish in Noph and in Tahpanhes: say ye, Stand forth, and prepare thee; for the sword hath de- 15] voured round about thee. ⁵Why are thy strong ones swept away? they stood not, because the LORD did ⁶drive them. 16] He made many to stumble, yea, they fell one upon another: and they said, Arise, and let us go again to our own people, and to the land of our nativity, 17] from the oppressing sword. They cried there, Pharaoh king of Egypt is but a noise; he hath let the appointed time 18] pass by. As I live, saith the King, whose name is the LORD of hosts, surely like Tabor among the mountains, and like

⁴ Or, *Who is this like the Nile that riseth up, like the rivers whose waters toss themselves? Egypt is like the Nile that riseth up &c.*

⁵ Or, according to some ancient authorities,

Why is thy strong one swept away? he stood not &c.

⁶ Or, *thrust them down.*

Carmel by the sea, so shall he come. 19] ⁷ O thou daughter that dwellest in Egypt, ⁸ furnish thyself to go into captivity: for Noph shall become a desolation, and shall be burnt up, without inhabitant. 20] Egypt is a very fair heifer; *but* ⁹ destruction out of the north is come, 21] ¹⁰ it is come. Also her hired men in the midst of her are like calves of the stall; for they also are turned back, they are fled away together, they did not stand: for the day of their calamity is come upon them, the time of their visitation. ¹¹ The sound thereof shall go like the serpent; for they shall march with an army, and come against her with 23] axes, as hewers of wood. They shall cut down her forest, saith the LORD, ¹² though it cannot be searched; because they are more than the locusts, and are 24] innumerable. The daughter of Egypt shall be put to shame; she shall be delivered into the hand of the people of 25] the north. The LORD of hosts, the

God of Israel, saith: Behold, I will punish Amon of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with her gods, and her kings; even Pharaoh, and them that trust in 26] him: and I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants: and afterwards it shall be inhabited, as in the days of old, saith the 27] LORD. ¹³ But fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, neither be dismayed, O Israel: for, lo, I will save thee from afar, and thy seed from the land of their captivity; and Jacob shall return, and shall be quiet and at ease, and none shall 28] make him afraid. Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the LORD; for I am with thee: for I will make a full end of all the nations whither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee; but I will correct thee with judgment, and will in no wise ¹⁴ leave thee unpunished.

Jeremiah's description of the flight is almost as vivid as though he had looked out from some Judæan hilltop and seen the dust raised by the fleeing army. Apparently, when he uttered these words, Jeremiah expected Nebuchadnezzar to invade Egypt. He probably would have done so, but when he was on the border of Egypt he was overtaken by a swift messenger, who informed him that his father, Nabopolassar, had died, and Nebuchadnezzar hurried back to Babylon to secure the crown. This he did, and Egypt escaped. Thus Nebuchadnezzar began a long reign of forty-two years.

By the defeat of Necho the kingdom of Judah became Babylon's vassal instead of Egypt's. The second book of *Kings* speaks of the fact thus:

2 Kings. 24. In his days Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three

years: then he turned and rebelled against him.

The passing of Judah from the dominion of Egypt to that of Babylon was considered by Jeremiah as an event of such importance, that in consequence he now for the first time took measures to put his prophecies into permanent form. He had been preaching and prophesying for

⁷ Or, *O thou that dwellest with the daughter of Egypt.*

⁸ Heb. *make thee vessels of captivity.*

⁹ Or, *the gadfly.*

¹⁰ Or, according to many ancient authorities, *upon her.*

¹¹ Or, *Her sound is like that of the serpent as it goeth.*

¹² Or, *for.*

¹³ See ch. 30: 10, 11.

¹⁴ Or, *hold thee guiltless.*

more than twenty years, but had written nothing; now he felt called to put into writing the substance of his prophecies for the instruction and guidance of the people. If Jeremiah wrote at all, he was not skilful with the pen. He could speak his inspired utterances in the form of Hebrew poetry, but, when he wished to write them, he called an amanuensis named Baruch and dictated to him. The whole story, together with the fortunes of the first draft of his book, is told in *Jeremiah* 36: 1-32.

JEREMIAH BEGINS TO WRITE, *Jer.* 36

Jer. 36. And it came to pass in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, that this word came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, 2] saying, Take thee a roll of a book, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations, from the day I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah, even unto this 3] day. It may be that the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do unto them; that they may return every man from his evil way; that I may forgive their iniquity and their 4] sin. Then Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah; and Baruch wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the LORD, which he had spoken unto him, 5] upon a roll of a book. And Jeremiah commanded Baruch, saying, I am ¹⁵ shut up; I cannot go into the house of the 6] LORD: therefore go thou, and read in the roll, which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the LORD in the ears of the people in the LORD's house upon ¹⁶ the fast day: and also thou shalt read them in the ears of all Judah that 7] come out of their cities. It may be ¹⁷ they will present their supplication before the LORD, and will return every one from his evil way: for great is the anger and the fury that the LORD hath 8] pronounced against this people. And Baruch the son of Neriah did according to all that Jeremiah the prophet commanded him, reading in the book the words of the LORD in the LORD's house.

9] Now it came to pass in the fifth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, in the ninth month, that all the people in Jerusalem, and all the people that came from the cities of Judah unto Jerusalem, proclaimed a fast before the LORD. Then read Baruch in the book the words of Jeremiah in the house of the LORD, in the chamber of Gemariah the son of Shaphan the scribe, in the upper court, at the entry of the new gate of the LORD's house, in the ears 11] of all the people. And when Micaiah the son of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan, had heard out of the book all the words 12] of the LORD, he went down into the king's house, into the scribe's chamber: and, lo, all the princes sat there, even Elishama the scribe, and Delaiah the son of Shemaiah, and Elnathan the son of Achbor, and Gemariah the son of Shaphan, and Zedekiah the son of 13] Hananiah, and all the princes. Then Micaiah declared unto them all the words that he had heard, when Baruch read the book in the ears of the people. 14] Therefore all the princes sent Jehudi the son of Nethaniah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Cushi, unto Baruch, saying, Take in thine hand the roll wherein thou hast read in the ears of the people, and come. So Baruch the son of Neriah took the roll in his hand, and 15] came unto them. And they said unto him, Sit down now, and read it in our ears. So Baruch read it in their ears. 16] Now it came to pass, when they had heard all the words, they turned in fear

15 Or, *restrained*.
16 Or, *a fast day*.

17 Heb. *their supplication will fall*.

one toward another, and said unto Baruch, We will surely tell the king of 17] all these words. And they asked Baruch, saying, Tell us now, How didst thou write all these words at his mouth? 18] Then Baruch answered them, He pronounced all these words unto me with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink in 19] the book. Then said the princes unto Baruch, Go, hide thee, thou and Jeremiah; and let no man know where ye 20] be. And they went in to the king into the court; but they had laid up the roll in the chamber of Elishama the scribe; and they told all the words in the ears 21] of the king. So the king sent Jehudi to fetch the roll: and he took it out of the chamber of Elishama the scribe. And Jehudi read it in the ears of the king, and in the ears of all the princes which 22] stood beside the king. Now the king sat in the winter house in the ninth month: and *there was a fire in the brasier* 23] burning before him. And it came to pass, when Jehudi had read three or four ¹⁸ leaves, that *the king* cut it with the penknife, and cast it into the fire that was in the brasier, until all the roll was consumed in the fire that was in the 24] brasier. And they were not afraid, nor rent their garments, neither the king, nor any of his servants that heard all 25] these words. Moreover Elnathan and Delaiah and Gemariah had made intercession to the king that he would not burn the roll: but he would not hear 26] them. And the king commanded Jerahmeel ¹⁹ the king's son, and Seraiah

the son of Azriel, and Shelemiah the son of Abdeel, to take Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet: but the LORD hid them.

27] Then the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah, after that the king had burned the roll, and the words which Baruch wrote at the mouth of Jeremiah, 28] saying, Take thee again another roll, and write in it all the former words that were in the first roll, which Jehoiakim 29] the king of Judah hath burned. And concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah thou shalt say, Thus saith the LORD: Thou hast burned this roll, saying, Why hast thou written therein, saying, The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast? 30] Therefore thus saith the LORD concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah: He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in 31] the night to the frost. And I will punish him and his seed and his servants for their iniquity; and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and upon the men of Judah, all the evil that I have pronounced against 32] them, but they hearkened not. Then took Jeremiah another roll, and gave it to Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah; who wrote therein from the mouth of Jeremiah all the words of the book which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire: and there were added besides unto them many like words.

This story presents a vivid picture. We can almost see the king sitting in the large room of his palace, in the chill December weather, angered by the words of the prophet, taking the roll from the hands of the scribe, cutting it up, and throwing it into the fire. In spite of the fate of his first literary effort, however, Jeremiah persisted. He secured again the services of Baruch and again dictated the substance of his prophecies, "adding many like things." The second draft was, therefore, longer than the first. It is thought that this second draft constitutes substantially what we now have in *Jeremiah*, chapters 1-20.

¹⁸ Or, columns.

¹⁹ Or, the son of Hammelech.

JEHOIAKIM'S DEATH, *2 Kings 24: 2-7*

2 Kings 24. 2] And the LORD sent against him bands of the Chaldeans, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the children of Ammon, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the LORD, which he spake by the hand of **3]** his servants the prophets. Surely at the commandment of the LORD came this upon Judah, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he did; and also for the innocent blood that he shed; for he

filled Jerusalem with innocent blood: and **5]** the LORD would not pardon. Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of **6]** Judah? So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers: and Jehoiachin his son reigned **7]** in his stead. And the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken, from the brook of Egypt unto the river Euphrates, all that pertained to the king of Egypt.

The Bible, as quoted above, states that, after his defeat by Nebuchadnezzar in 604, Necho never came again into Asia. While this is true, it is probable that it was due to Necho's agents that Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar. From this time onward there were always two parties in Jerusalem, the Babylonian and Egyptian parties. One believed that Judah's safety lay in loyalty to Babylon; to this party Jeremiah belonged. The other held that Judah could become free from Babylon by the aid of Egypt and would be much better off as a vassal of Egypt. Doubtless Jehoiakim's course was due to his having listened to the Egyptian party.

Nebuchadnezzar, too busy elsewhere to punish Jehoiakim at once, encouraged bands of the nations east of the Jordan to harry his territory. In the opinion of many scholars it was about this time, just before or just after 600 B.C., that the prophet Habakkuk gave forth the utterances contained in the book which bears his name. The following prophecy came probably from the situation which existed toward the end of Jehoiakim's reign.

AN ORACLE OF HABAKKUK, *Hab. 1: 5-17*

Hab. 1. 5] Behold ye among the nations, and regard, and wonder marvelously: for ²⁰ I work a work in your days, which ye will not believe though it **6]** be told you. For, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation; which march through the breadth of the earth, to possess dwelling places that **7]** are not theirs. ²¹ They are terrible and dreadful: their judgement and their dignity proceed from themselves.

8] Their horses also are swifter than leopards, and are more fierce than the evening wolves; and their horsemen ²² spread themselves: yea, their horsemen come from far; they fly as an eagle **9]** that hasteth to devour. They come all of them for violence; ²³ their faces are set eagerly ²⁴ as the east wind; and they **10]** gather captives as the sand. ²⁵ Yea, he scoffeth at kings, and princes are a derision unto him: he derideth every

²⁰ Or, *one worketh*.

²¹ Heb. *He*, and so in vv. 8, 9.

²² Or, *bear themselves proudly*.

²³ Heb. *the eagerness* (or *assembling*) of *their faces is &c.*

²⁴ Or, *towards the east. Or, forwards*.

²⁵ Or, *And they scoff &c.*

strong hold; for he heapeth up dust, and
11] taketh it. ²⁶ Then shall he sweep by
as a wind, and shall ²⁷ pass over, and
be guilty: *even* he whose might is his
12] god. Art not thou from everlasting,
O LORD my God, mine Holy One? ²⁸ we
shall not die. O LORD, thou hast or-
dained him for judgement; and thou,
O ²⁹ Rock, hast established him for cor-
13] rection. Thou that art of purer eyes
than to behold evil, and that canst not
look on perverseness, wherefore lookest
thou upon them that deal treacherously,
and holdest thy peace when the wicked

swalloweth up the man that is more
14] righteous than he; and maketh men
as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping
things, that have no ruler over them?
15] He taketh up all of them with the
angle, he catcheth them in his net, and
gathereth them in his drag: therefore
16] he rejoiceth and is glad. Therefore
he sacrificeth unto his net, and burneth
incense unto his drag; because of them
his portion is fat, and his meat ³⁰ plente-
17] ous. Shall he therefore empty his net,
and not spare to slay the nations con-
tinually?

When the military season of 597 opened Nebuchadnezzar was ready to march on Jerusalem with an army. Before he arrived, however, Jehoiakim had died. Probably in the alarm and confusion occasioned by the approach of the Babylonian army he was hastily buried without the usual royal funeral. Jeremiah had declared (*Jer.* 22: 19) that he should be buried like an ass.

THE ACCESSION OF JEHOIACHIN, *2 Kings* 24: 8-10

2 Kings 24. 8] Jehoiachin was eight-
een years old when he began to reign;
and he reigned in Jerusalem three
months: and his mother's name was
Nehusta the daughter of Elnathan of
9] Jerusalem. And he did that which was

evil in the sight of the LORD, according
10] to all that his father had done. At
that time the servants of Nebuchadnezzar
king of Babylon came up to Jerusa-
lem, and the city was besieged.

JEREMIAH'S PROPHECY CONCERNING JEHOIACHIN, *Jer.* 22: 24-30

**Jer. 22. 24] As I live, saith the LORD,
though ³¹ Coniah the son of Jehoiakim
king of Judah were the signet upon my
right hand, yet would I pluck thee
25] thence; and I will give thee into the
hand of them that seek thy life, and into
the hand of them of whom thou art
afraid, even into the hand of Nebuchad-
rezzar king of Babylon, and into the
26] hand of the Chaldeans. And I will
cast thee out, and thy mother that bare
thee, into another country, where ye
were not born; and there shall ye die.
27] But to the land whereunto ³² their**

soul longeth to return, thither shall they
28] not return. Is this man Coniah a
despised broken ³³ vessel? Is he a vessel
wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are
they cast out, he and his seed, and are
cast into the land which they know not?
29] O ³⁴ earth, earth, earth, hear the
30] word of the LORD. Thus saith the
LORD, Write ye this man childless, a
man that shall not prosper in his days:
for no man of his seed shall prosper,
sitting upon the throne of David, and
ruling any more in Judah.

²⁶ Or, *Then shall the wind sweep by, and he shall pass away.*

²⁷ Or, *transgress.*

²⁸ According to an ancient Jewish tradition, *thou diest not.*

²⁹ See *Deut.* 32: 4.

³⁰ Heb. *fat.*

³¹ In *ch.* 24: 1 and *1 Chr.* 3: 16, *Jeconiah.*

In *2 Kings* 24: 6, 8, *Jehoiachin.*

³² Heb. *they lift up their soul.*

³³ Or, *pot.*

³⁴ Or, *land.*

JEHOIACHIN'S CAPTIVITY, *2 Kings* 24: 11-17

2 Kings 24. 11] And Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came unto the city, while his servants were besieging it; **12]** and Jehoiachin the king of Judah went out to the king of Babylon, he, and his mother, and his servants, and his princes, and his ³⁵ officers: and the king of Babylon took him in the eighth year **13]** of his reign. And he carried out thence all the treasures of the house of the LORD, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces all the vessels of gold which Solomon king of Israel had made in the temple of the LORD, as the **14]** LORD had said. And he carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even ten

thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths; none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land. **15]** And he carried away Jehoiachin to Babylon; and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his ³⁵ officers, and the ³⁶ chief men of the land, carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon. **16]** And all the men of might, even seven thousand, and the craftsmen and the smiths a thousand, all of them strong and apt for war, even them the king of Babylon brought captive to Babylon. **17]** ³⁷ And the king of Babylon made Mattaniah his father's brother king in his stead, and changed his name to Zedekiah.

The siege of Jerusalem had lasted three months. One can but pity the boy king, Jehoiachin, the whole of whose brief reign was spent in the horrors of a siege, and who then was taken as a captive to Babylon to pass thirty-seven years in prison. In taking some seven thousand of the more important people of Judah to Babylonia, Nebuchadnezzar was following the policy inaugurated by the Assyrians a hundred and fifty years before. Revolutions are fomented usually by the leading citizens of a nation and, by transporting these, the Babylonian king thought to make it impossible for Judah to rebel again. Jeremiah was left in Jerusalem. He had been a consistent advocate of the belief that it was Yahweh's will that Judah should be subject to Babylon, and doubtless Nebuchadnezzar recognized that he would be a help to his government. Among those who were deported to Babylon at this time was a young priest named Ezekiel who, five years later, began to prophesy in Babylonia and became the prophet Ezekiel. From Ezekiel's book we learn something of the conditions imposed on the captives taken to Babylonia. Ezekiel was settled with a colony of Jews at Tel-abib on the canal Chebar, near the old Babylonian city of Nippur. He had a house of his own and liberty to visit other Jews in their houses. Apparently they were not enslaved; they were simply compelled to become citizens of Babylonia.

THE ACCESSION OF ZEDEKIAH, *2 Kings* 24: 18-20

2 Kings 24. 18] ³⁸ Zedekiah was twenty and one years old when he began to reign; and he reigned eleven years in

Jerusalem: and his mother's name was ³⁹ Hamutal the daughter of Jeremiah of **19]** Libnah. And he did that which was

³⁵ Or, *eunuchs*.

³⁶ Or, *mighty*.

³⁷ See *2 Chr.* 36: 10-13.

³⁸ See *Jer.* 52: 1, &c.

³⁹ Heb. *Hamital*.

evil in the sight of the LORD, according 20] to all that Jehoiakim had done. For through the anger of the LORD did it come to pass in Jerusalem and Judah,

until he had cast them out from his presence: and Zedekiah rebelled against the king of Babylon.

While it is true, as the passage above quoted states, that Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, he did not do so until the ninth year of his reign. Meantime many of the Judæans writhed under the Babylonian yoke. The Egyptian party in particular looked forward confidently to deliverance from Babylon. They had in Jerusalem prophets on their side; Jeremiah called them false prophets. A vivid picture of a scene which occurred at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign is given in the twenty-eighth chapter of *Jeremiah*, which reads as follows:

Jer. 28. And it came to pass the same year, in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the fourth year, in the fifth month, that Hananiah the son of Azzur the prophet, which was of Gibeon, spake unto me in the house of the LORD, in the presence of the priests and of all the people, saying. 2] Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, saying, I have broken the 3] yoke of the king of Babylon. Within two full years will I bring again into this place all the vessels of the LORD's house, that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took away from this place, and 4] carried them to Babylon: and I will bring again to this place Jeconiah the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, with all the captives of Judah, that went to Babylon, saith the LORD: for I will break the yoke 5] of the king of Babylon. Then the prophet Jeremiah said unto the prophet Hananiah in the presence of the priests, and in the presence of all the people that 6] stood in the house of the LORD, even the prophet Jeremiah said, Amen: the LORD do so: the LORD perform thy words which thou hast prophesied, to bring again the vessels of the LORD's house, and all them of the captivity, from 7] Babylon unto this place. Nevertheless hear thou now this word that I speak in thine ears, and in the ears of all the people: 8] The prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied against many countries, and against great kingdoms, of war, and of evil, and 9] of pestilence. The prophet which

prophesieth of peace, when the word of the prophet shall come to pass, then shall the prophet be known, ⁴⁰ that the LORD 10] hath truly sent him. Then Hananiah the prophet took the bar from off the prophet Jeremiah's neck, and brake it. 11] And Hananiah spake in the presence of all the people, saying, Thus saith the LORD: Even so will I break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon within two full years from off the neck of all the nations. And the prophet Jeremiah 12] went his way. Then the word of the LORD came unto Jeremiah, after that Hananiah the prophet had broken the bar from off the neck of the prophet 13] Jeremiah, saying, Go, and tell Hananiah, saying, Thus saith the LORD: Thou hast broken the bars of wood; but thou shalt make in their stead bars 14] of iron. For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: I have put a yoke of iron upon the neck of all these nations, that they may serve Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon; and they shall serve him: and I have given him the 15] beasts of the field also. Then said the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah; the LORD hath not sent thee; but thou makest this 16] people to trust in a lie. Therefore thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will send thee away from off the face of the earth: this year thou shalt die, because thou hast spoken rebellion against the LORD. 17] So Hananiah the prophet died the same year in the seventh month.

⁴⁰ Or, whom the LORD hath truly sent.

Not only were such scenes enacted in public, but, although the Deuteronomic law was now publicly recognized as the norm in religion, in secret even priests harked back to primitive and superstitious cults. Ezekiel, who had served in the temple at Jerusalem and knew its secrets, tells us of this in the eighth chapter of his book, as follows:

Ezek. 8. And it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth *month*, in the fifth *day* of the month, as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the LORD God fell there 2] upon me. Then I beheld, and, lo, a likeness as the appearance of fire; from the appearance of his loins and downward, fire: and from his loins and upward, as the appearance of brightness, ⁴¹ as the 3] colour of ⁴² amber. And he put forth the form of an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem, to the door of the gate of the inner *court* that looketh toward the north; where was the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy. 4] And, behold, the glory of the God of Israel was there, according to the ⁴³ appearance that I saw in the plain. Then said he unto me, Son of man, lift up thine eyes now the way toward the north. So I lifted up mine eyes the way toward the north, and behold northward of the gate of the altar this image of jealousy in the 6] entry. And he said unto me, Son of man, seest thou what they do? even the great abominations that the house of Israel do commit here, ⁴⁴ that I should go far off from my sanctuary? but ⁴⁵ thou shalt again see yet other great 7] abominations. And he brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, 8] behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in the wall, 9] behold a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and see the wicked abominations 10] that they do here. So I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the

idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed 11] upon the wall round about. And there stood before them seventy men of the elders of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and the odour of the cloud 12] of incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the elders of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in his chambers of imagery? for they say, The LORD seeth us not; the LORD hath forsaken the 13] ⁴⁶ earth. He said also unto me, Thou shalt again see yet other great abominations 14] tions which they do. Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the LORD's house which was toward the north; and behold, there sat the women weeping for 15] Tammuz. Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? thou shalt again see yet greater abominations 16] than these. And he brought me into the inner court of the LORD's house, and behold, at the door of the temple of the LORD, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the LORD, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the 17] east. Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen *this*, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have turned again to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they 18] put the branch to their nose. Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.

⁴¹ Or, as amber to look upon.

⁴² See ch. 1: 4.

⁴³ Or, vision.

⁴⁴ Or, to get them far off.

⁴⁵ Or, turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations. So also in vv. 13, 15.

⁴⁶ Or, land.

As in the days of King Manasseh, some Jews, in their desperation, reverted to sun-worship, Tammuz worship, and the veneration of old totemistic, magical pictures of animals. It was the same psychological impulse which leads some people to-day, when a skilled physician fails to cure some physical disease, to consult a voodoo doctor.

Something of the ferment which was at the time going on among the captives in Babylonia is shown by the following letter, which Jeremiah is said to have sent to them:

JEREMIAH'S LETTER TO THE CAPTIVES IN BABYLON,

Jer. 29: 1-32

Jer. 29. Now these are the words of the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem unto the residue of the elders of the captivity, and to the priests, and to the prophets, and to all the people, whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon: 2] (after that Jeconiah the king, and the queenmother, and the eunuchs, *and* the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and the craftsmen, and the smiths, were departed 3] from Jerusalem;) by the hand of Elasah the son of Shaphan, and Gemariah the son of Hilkiah, (whom Zedekiah king of Judah sent unto Babylon to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon,) say- 4] ing, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, unto all the captivity, whom I have caused to be carried away captive from Jerusalem unto Babylon: 5] Build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of 6] them; take ye wives, and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; and multiply ye there, and be 7] not diminished. And seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the LORD for it: for in the peace thereof 8] shall ye have peace. For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: Let not your prophets that be in the midst of you, and your diviners, deceive you, neither hearken ye to your dreams which 9] ye ⁴⁷ cause to be dreamed. For they

prophesy falsely unto you in my name: I have not sent them, saith the LORD. 10] For thus saith the LORD, After seventy years be accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you, and perform my good word toward you, in causing you 11] to return to this place. For I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith the LORD, thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give you ⁴⁸ hope in your 12] latter end. And ye shall call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, 13] and I will hearken unto you. And ye shall seek me, and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart. 14] And I will be found of you saith the LORD, and I will ⁴⁹ turn again your captivity, and I will gather you from all the nations, and from all the places whither I have driven you, saith the LORD; and I will bring you again unto the place whence I caused you to be carried away 15] captive. For ye have said, The LORD hath raised us up prophets in Babylon. 16] For thus saith the LORD concerning the king that sitteth upon the throne of David, and concerning all the people that dwell in this city, your brethren that are not gone forth with you into captivity; 17] thus saith the LORD of hosts: Behold, I will send upon them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, and will make them like vile figs, that cannot be eaten, 18] they are so bad. And I will pursue after them with the sword, with the famine, and with the pestilence, and will deliver them to be ⁵⁰ tossed to and fro

⁴⁷ Or, *dream*.

⁴⁸ Heb. *a latter end and hope*.

⁴⁹ Or, *return to*.

⁵⁰ Or, *a terror unto*.

among all the kingdoms of the earth, to be an execration, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach, among all the nations whither I have driven 19] them: because they have not hearkened to my words, saith the LORD, where-with I sent unto them my servants the prophets, rising up early and sending them; but ye would not hear, saith the 20] LORD. Hear ye therefore the word of the LORD, all ye of the captivity, whom I have sent away from Jerusalem to Babylon.

21] Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, concerning Ahab the son of Kolaiah, and concerning Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, which prophesy a lie unto you in my name: Behold, I will deliver them into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon; and he shall 22] slay them before your eyes; and of them shall be taken up a curse by all the captives of Judah which are in Babylon, saying, The LORD make thee like Zedekiah and like Ahab, whom the king of 23] Babylon roasted in the fire: because they have wrought folly in Israel, and have committed adultery with their neighbours' wives, and have spoken words in my name falsely, which I commanded them not; and I am he that knoweth, and am witness, saith the LORD.

24] And ⁵¹ concerning Shemaiah the Nehelamite thou shalt speak, saying, 25] Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts,

the God of Israel, saying, Because thou hast sent letters in thine own name unto all the people that are at Jerusalem, and to Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, and to all the priests, saying, 26] The LORD hath made thee priest in the stead of Jehoiada the priest, that ye should be officers in the house of the LORD, for every man that is mad, and maketh himself a prophet, that thou shouldst put him in the stocks and in 27] ⁵² shackles. Now therefore, why hast thou not rebuked Jeremiah of Anathoth, which maketh himself a prophet to you, 28] forasmuch as he hath sent unto us in Babylon, saying, *The captivity is long*: build ye houses, and dwell in them; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them? 29] And Zephaniah the priest read this letter in the ears of Jeremiah the prophet. 30] Then came the word of the LORD 31] unto Jeremiah, saying, Send to all them of the captivity, saying, Thus saith the LORD concerning Shemaiah the Nehelamite: Because that Shemaiah hath prophesied unto you, and I sent him not, and he hath caused you to trust in a lie; 32] therefore thus saith the LORD, Behold, I will punish Shemaiah the Nehelamite, and his seed; he shall not have a man to dwell among this people, neither shall he behold the good that I will do unto my people, saith the LORD: because he hath spoken rebellion against the LORD.

Like all others who are forcibly exiled from their native land, the captives in Babylonia were eager to return, and hoped that the power of Babylon would soon be broken. There were not wanting prophets who mistook their own hopes for the divine voice and encouraged the homesick exiles to hope for a speedy return. Jeremiah, however, estimated more accurately the power of Babylon, hence this letter.

While the years of Zedekiah's reign were passing, changes were occurring in Egypt. Necho died in 593 and was succeeded by Psammetik II, who ruled five years, from 593 to 588. He was busy defending himself against the Nubians in the south and did not attempt to interfere with Asiatic affairs. We learn from Josephus that he hired a group of Hebrew mercenaries and stationed them at Elephantine on his southern border as a garrison to help him defend Egypt from the Nubians. We shall hear of the descendants of this garrison later,

⁵¹ Or, *unto*.

⁵² Or, *the collar*.

In 588 B.C., Psammetik II died and was succeeded by Hophra. Hophra apparently felt secure from attack by the Nubians and at once took a hand in the affairs of Asia. It was he who induced Zedekiah, in the ninth year of his reign, to rebel from Babylon. The natural result of this act (probably the simple withholding of tribute) was that Nebuchadnezzar sent an army against Jerusalem. When Zedekiah heard that it was on the way, he sent to ask Jeremiah if Yahweh would not deliver Judah out of Nebuchadnezzar's hand.

ZEDEKIAH'S INQUIRY AND JEREMIAH'S REPLY, *Jer. 21: 1-10*

Jer. 21. The word which came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, when king Zedekiah sent unto him Pashhur the son of Malchiah, and Zephaniah the son of 2] Masseiah the priest, saying, Inquire, I pray thee, of the LORD for us; for Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon maketh war against us: peradventure the LORD will deal with us according to all his wondrous works, that he may go up from us.

3] Then said Jeremiah unto them, 4] Thus shall ye say to Zedekiah: Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, Behold, I will turn back the weapons of war that are in your hands, wherewith ye fight against the king of Babylon, and against the Chaldeans which besiege you, without the walls, and I will gather them 5] into the midst of this city. And I myself will fight against you with an outstretched hand and with a strong arm, even in anger, and in fury, and in great 6] wrath. And I will smite the inhabitants of this city, both man and beast: they shall die of a great pestilence.

7] And afterward, saith the LORD, I will deliver Zedekiah king of Judah, and his servants, and the people, even such as are left in this city from the pestilence, from the sword, and from the famine, into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of those that seek their life: and he shall smite them with the edge of the sword; he shall not spare them, neither have pity, nor 8] have mercy. And unto this people thou shalt say, Thus saith the LORD: Behold, I set before you the way of life 9] and the way of death. He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth out, and falleth away to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a 10] prey. For I have set my face upon this city for evil, and not for good, saith the LORD: it shall be given into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall burn it with fire.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST SIEGE, *2 Kings 25: 1, 2*

2 Kings 25. ⁵⁸ And it came to pass in the ninth year of his reign, in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, that Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came, he and all his army, against Jeru-

salem, and encamped against it; and they 2] built forts against it round about. So the city was besieged unto the eleventh year of king Zedekiah.

During Nebuchadnezzar's siege Hebrews held as slaves had been freed as a war measure. The act had a double purpose: it was hoped that it would ensure the favor of Yahweh, and it was doubtless thought that freemen would fight better than slaves.

⁵⁸ See *2 Chr.* 36: 17-20.

HEBREWS REËNSLAVED, *Jer.* 34: 8-22

Jer. 34. 8] The word that came unto Jeremiah from the LORD, after that the king Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people which were at Jerusalem, to proclaim liberty unto them; that every 9] man should let his manservant, and every man his maidservant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free; that none should serve himself of them, *to* 10] *wit*, of a Jew his brother: and all the princes and all the people obeyed, which had entered into the covenant, that every one should let his manservant, and every one his maidservant, go free, that none should serve themselves of them any 11] more; they obeyed, and let them go: but afterwards they turned, and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for serv- 12] ants and for handmaids: therefore the word of the LORD came to Jeremiah 13] from the LORD, saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them forth out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of ⁵⁴ bondage, 14] saying, At the end of seven years ye shall let go every man his brother that is an Hebrew, which ⁵⁵ hath been sold unto thee, and hath served thee six years, thou shalt let him go free from thee: but your fathers hearkened not unto me, neither inclined their ear. 15] And ye were now turned, and had done that which is right in mine eyes, in proclaiming liberty every man to his neighbour; and ye had made a covenant before me in the house which is called 16] by my name: but ye turned and pro-

faned my name, and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom ye had let go free at their pleasure, to return; and ye brought them into subjection, to be unto you for serv- 17] ants and for handmaids. Therefore thus saith the LORD: Ye have not hearkened unto me, to proclaim liberty, every man to his brother, and every man to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim unto you a liberty, saith the LORD, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be ⁵⁶ tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth. 18] And I will give the men that have transgressed my covenant, which have not performed the words of the covenant which they made before me, ⁵⁷ when they cut the calf in twain and passed be- 19] tween the parts thereof; the princes of Judah, and the princes of Jerusalem, the eunuchs, and the priests, and all the people of the land, which passed be- 20] tween the parts of the calf; I will even give them into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life: and their dead bodies shall be for meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and to the beasts of the earth. 21] And Zedekiah king of Judah and his princes will I give into the hand of their enemies, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and into the hand of the king of Babylon's army, which are gone 22] up from you. Behold, I will command, saith the LORD, and cause them to return to this city; and they shall fight against it, and take it, and burn it with fire: and I will make the cities of Judah a desolation, without inhabitant.

Nebuchadnezzar's army did not reach Jerusalem until the tenth month, which would correspond to our December, in the year 588 B.C. The author of the second book of *Kings* seemed to think that the siege was continuous from this time until Jerusalem fell, but we learn otherwise from the book of *Jeremiah*. Hophra in 587 marched courageously into Palestine to the help of his Judæan ally, and Nebuchadnezzar was compelled to raise the siege of Jerusalem and go to meet Hophra in Phenicia to prevent the Egyptian from cutting off communication with

⁵⁴ Heb. *bondmen*.

⁵⁵ Or, *hath sold himself*.

⁵⁶ Or, *a terror unto*.

⁵⁷ Heb. *the calf which they cut &c.*

Babylon. When this occurred there was rejoicing among the members of the Egyptian party in Jerusalem.

JEREMIAH PROPHECIES THAT NEBUCHADNEZZAR WILL COME BACK, *Jer. 37: 3-10*

Jer. 37. 3] And Zedekiah the king sent Jehucal the son of Shelemiah, and Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest, to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, Pray now unto the LORD our God for us. **4]** Now Jeremiah came in and went out among the people: for they had not put **5]** him into prison. And Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt: and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they brake up **6]** from Jerusalem. Then came the word of the LORD unto the prophet Jeremiah, **7]** saying, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel: Thus shall ye say to the king of Judah, that sent you unto me to in-

quire of me; Behold, Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt into their own land. **8]** And the Chaldeans shall come again, and fight against this city; and they shall **9]** take it, and burn it with fire. Thus saith the LORD: Deceive not ⁵⁸ yourselves, saying, The Chaldeans shall surely depart from us: for they shall not **10]** depart. For though ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but ⁵⁹ wounded man among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and turn this city with fire.

JEREMIAH IS IMPRISONED, *Jer. 37: 11-21*

Jer. 37. 11] And it came to pass that when the army of the Chaldeans was broken up from Jerusalem for fear of **12]** Pharaoh's army, then Jeremiah went forth out of Jerusalem to go into the land of Benjamin, to receive his portion ⁶⁰ there, in the midst of the people. **13]** And when he was in the gate of Benjamin, a captain of the ward was there, whose name was Irijah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Hananiah; and he laid hold on Jeremiah the prophet, saying, Thou fallest away to the Chaldeans. Then said Jeremiah, It is false; I fall not away to the Chaldeans; but he hearkened not to him: so Irijah laid hold on Jeremiah, and brought him **15]** to the princes. And the princes were wroth with Jeremiah, and smote him, and put him in prison in the house of Jonathan the scribe: for they had made **16]** that the prison. When Jeremiah was come into the ⁶¹ dungeon house, and into

the cells, and Jeremiah had remained **17]** there many days; then Zedekiah the king sent, and fetched him: and the king asked him secretly in his house, and said, Is there any word from the LORD? And Jeremiah said, There is. He said also, Thou shalt be delivered into the hand **18]** of the king of Babylon. Moreover Jeremiah said unto king Zedekiah, Wherein have I sinned against thee; or against thy servants, or against this people, that ye have put me in prison? **19]** Where now are your prophets which prophesied unto you, saying, The king of Babylon shall not come against you, nor **20]** against this land? And now hear, I pray thee, O my lord the king: let my supplication, I pray thee, ⁶² be accepted before thee; that thou cause me not to return to the house of Jonathan the **21]** scribe, lest I die there. Then Zedekiah the king commanded, and they committed Jeremiah into the court of the

⁵⁸ Heb. *your souls*.

⁵⁹ Heb. *thrust through*.

⁶⁰ Heb. *from thence*.

⁶¹ Or, *house of the pit*.

⁶² Heb. *fall*.

guard, and they gave him daily a loaf of bread out of the bakers' street, until all the bread in the city was spent. Thus

Jeremiah remained in the court of the guard.

JEREMIAH'S SECOND IMPRISONMENT, *Jer.* 38: 1-13

Jer. 38. And Shephatiah the son of Mattan, and Gedaliah the son of Pashhur, and Jucal the son of Shelemiah, and Pashhur the son of Malchiah, heard the words that Jeremiah spake unto all
2] the people, saying, Thus saith the LORD, He that abideth in this city shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: but he that goeth forth to the Chaldeans shall live, and his life shall be unto him for a prey, and he shall
3] live. Thus saith the LORD, This city shall surely be given into the hand of the army of the king of Babylon, and he
4] shall take it. Then the princes said unto the king, Let this man, we pray thee, be put to death; forasmuch as he weakeneth the hands of the men of war that remain in this city, and the hands of all the people, in speaking such words unto them: for this man seeketh not the welfare of this people, but the hurt.
5] And Zedekiah the king said, Behold, he is in your hand: for the king is not he that can do any thing against you.
6] Then took they Jeremiah, and cast him into the ⁶³dungeon of Malchiah
⁶⁴the king's son, that was in the court of the guard: and they let down Jeremiah with cords. And in the dungeon there was no water, but mire: and Jere-

7] miah sank in the mire. Now when Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, an eunuch, which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon; the king then sitting in the gate of Ben-
8] jamin; Ebed-melech went forth out of the king's house, and spake to the
9] king, saying, My lord the king, these men have done evil in all that they have done to Jeremiah the prophet, whom they have cast into the dungeon; and
⁶⁵he is like to die in the place where he is because of the famine: for there is
10] no more bread in the city. Then the king commanded Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, saying, Take from hence thirty men with thee, and take up Jeremiah the prophet out of the dungeon, before he
11] die. So Ebed-melech took the men with him, and went into the house of the king under the treasury, and took thence old cast clouts and old rotten rags, and let them down by cords into the dun-
12] geon to Jeremiah. And Ebed-melech the Ethiopian said unto Jeremiah, Put now these old cast clouts and rotten rags under thine armholes under the cords.
13] And Jeremiah did so. So they drew up Jeremiah with the cords, and took him up out of the dungeon: and Jeremiah remained in the court of the guard.

ZEDEKIAH AGAIN CONSULTS JEREMIAH, *Jer.* 38: 14-28

Jer. 38. 14] Then Zedekiah the king sent, and took Jeremiah the prophet unto him into the third entry that is in the house of the LORD: and the king said unto Jeremiah, I will ask thee a thing;
15] hide nothing from me. Then Jeremiah said unto Zedekiah, If I declare it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me to death? and if I give thee counsel,
16] thou wilt not hearken unto me. So Zedekiah the king sware secretly unto Jeremiah, saying, As the LORD liveth,

that made us this soul, I will not put thee to death, neither will I give thee into the hand of these men that seek thy life.
17] Then said Jeremiah unto Zedekiah, Thus saith the LORD, the God of hosts, the God of Israel: If thou wilt go forth unto the king of Babylon's princes, then thy soul shall live, and this city shall not be burned with fire; and thou shalt
18] live, and thine house: but if thou wilt not go forth to the king of Babylon's princes, then shall this city be

⁶³ Or, *pit.*

⁶⁴ Or, *the son of Hammelech.*

⁶⁵ Heb. *he is dead.*

given into the hand of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand. 19] And Zedekiah the king said unto Jeremiah, I am afraid of the Jews that are fallen away to the Chaldeans, lest they deliver me into their hand, and they 20] mock me. But Jeremiah said, They shall not deliver thee. Obey, I beseech thee, the voice of the LORD, in that which I speak unto thee: so it shall be well with 21] thee, and thy soul shall live. But if thou refuse to go forth, this is the word 22] that the LORD hath shewed me: Behold, all the women that are left in the king of Judah's house shall be brought forth to the king of Babylon's princes, and those women shall say, ⁶⁶Thy familiar friends have ⁶⁷set thee on, and have prevailed over thee: *now that thy feet are sunk in the mire, they are turned* 23] away back. And they shall bring out all thy wives and thy children to the Chaldeans: and thou shalt not escape out

of their hand, but shalt be taken by the hand of the king of Babylon: and ⁶⁸thou shalt cause this city to be burned with 24] fire. Then said Zedekiah unto Jeremiah, Let no man know of these words, 25] and thou shalt not die. But if the princes hear that I have talked with thee, and they come unto thee, and say unto thee, Declare unto us now what thou hast said unto the king; hide it not from us, and we will not put thee to death: also what the king said unto thee: 26] then thou shalt say unto them, I ⁶⁹presented my supplication before the king, that he would not cause me to return to Jonathan's house, to die there. 27] Then came all the princes unto Jeremiah, and asked him: and he told them according to all these words that the king had commanded. So they left off speaking with him; for the matter was 28] not ⁷⁰perceived. So Jeremiah abode in the court of the guard until the day that Jerusalem was taken.

The preceding quotations graphically describe what Jeremiah suffered because of his conviction that it was hopeless for Judah to oppose Nebuchadnezzar, and, if she did, Jerusalem would be destroyed. He was suspected of treason and doubtless it was only because of a half-superstitious fear that, if they put to death a man of God, greater disaster would come upon them that his life was spared.

TWO ACCOUNTS OF JERUSALEM'S FALL

2 Kings 25: 4-22

2 Kings 25. 4] Then a breach was made in the city, and all the men of war fled by night by the way of the gate between the two walls, which was by the king's garden: (now the Chaldeans were against the city round about:) and the king went by the way of the Arabah. 5] But the army of the Chaldeans pursued after the king, and overtook him in the plains of Jericho: and all his army 6] was scattered from him. Then they took the king, and carried him up unto the king of Babylon to Riblah; and they

Jer. 39: 1-18

Jer. 39. And it came to pass when Jerusalem was taken, ⁷¹(in the ninth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the tenth month, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon and all his army against 2] Jerusalem, and besieged it; in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, a 3] breach was made in the city:) that all the princes of the king of Babylon came in, and sat in the middle gate, even Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim, ⁷²Rab-saris, Nergal-sharezer, ⁷³Rab-

⁶⁶ Heb. *The men of thy peace.*

⁶⁷ Or, *deceived thee.*

⁶⁸ Heb. *thou shalt burn &c.*

⁶⁹ Heb. *caused to fall.*

⁷⁰ Or, *reported.*

⁷¹ See ch. 52: 4, &c., *2 Kings 25: 1-12.*

⁷² Titles of officers.

7] ⁷³ gave judgement upon him. And they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon.

8] Now in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, which was the nineteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard, a servant of the 9] king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem: and he burnt the house of the LORD, and the king's house; and all the houses of Jerusalem, even every great house, burnt he 10] with fire. And all the army of the Chaldeans, that were *with* the captain of the guard, brake down the walls of 11] Jerusalem round about. And the residue of the people that were left in the city, and those that fell away, that fell to the king of Babylon, and the residue of the multitude, did Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard carry away captive. 12] But the captain of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vine- 13] dressers and husbandmen. And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the LORD, and the bases and the brassen sea that were in the house of the LORD, did the Chaldeans break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon. 14] And the pots, and the shovels, and the snuffers, and the spoons, and all the vessels of brass wherewith they ministered, took they away. And the firepans, and the basons; that which was of gold, in gold, and that which was of silver, in silver, the captain of the guard 16] took away. The two pillars, the one sea, and the bases, which Solomon had made for the house of the LORD; the brass of all these vessels was without 17] weight. The height of the one pillar was eighteen cubits, and a chapter of brass was upon it: and the height of the chapter was three cubits; with network and pomegranates upon the chapter round about, all of brass: and like unto these had the second pillar with network. 18] And the captain of the guard took Seraiah the chief priest, and Zephaniah

mag, with all the rest of the princes of 4] the king of Babylon. And it came to pass that when Zedekiah the king of Judah and all the men of war saw them, then they fled, and went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls: and he went out the way of the 5] Arabah. But the army of the Chaldeans pursued after them, and overtook Zedekiah in the plains of Jericho: and when they had taken him, they brought him up to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon to Riblah in the land of Hamath, and 6] he ⁷⁴ gave judgement upon him. Then the king of Babylon slew the sons of Zedekiah in Riblah before his eyes: also the king of Babylon slew all the nobles 7] of Judah. Moreover he put out Zedekiah's eyes, and bound him in fetters, to 8] carry him to Babylon. And the Chaldeans burned the king's house, and the houses of the people, with fire, and brake 9] down the walls of Jerusalem. Then Nebuzaradan the ⁷⁵ captain of the guard carried away captive into Babylon the residue of the people that remained in the city, the deserters also, that fell away to him, and the residue of the people 10] that remained. But Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard left of the poor of the people, which had nothing, in the land of Judah, and gave them vineyards 11] and fields at the same time. Now Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon gave charge concerning Jeremiah to Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard, saying, 12] Take him, and look well to him, and do him no harm; but do unto him 13] even as he shall say unto thee. So Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard sent, and Nebushazban, Rabсарis, and Nergal-sharezer, Rab-mag, and all the chief officers of the king of Babylon; 14] they sent, and took Jeremiah out of the court of the guard, and committed him unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, that he should carry him home: so he dwelt among the people.

15] Now the word of the LORD came

⁷³ Or, *spake with him of judgement.*

⁷⁴ Heb. *spake judgements with him.* See ch.

12: 1.

⁷⁵ See *Gen.* 37: 36.

the second priest, and the three keepers of the ⁷⁶ door: and out of the city he 19] took an ⁷⁷ officer that was set over the men of war; and five men of them that saw the king's face, which were found in the city; and the ⁷⁸ scribe, the captain of the host, which mustered the people of the land; and three-score men of the people of the land, that were found 20] in the city. And Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard took them, and brought them to the king of Babylon to 21] Riblah. And the king of Babylon smote them, and put them to death at Riblah in the land of Hamath. So Judah was carried away captive out of his 22] land. And as for the people that were left in the land of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon had left, even over them he made Gedaliah the

unto Jeremiah, while he was shut up in 16] the court of the guard, saying, Go, and speak to Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will bring my words upon this city for evil, and not for good; and they ⁷⁹ shall be accomplished before thee in that day. 17] But I will deliver thee in that day, saith the LORD: and thou shalt not be given into the hand of the men of whom 18] thou art afraid. For I will surely save thee, and thou shalt not fall by the sword, but thy life shall be for a prey unto thee: because thou hast put thy trust in me, saith the LORD.

son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, governor.

Thus in August of the year 586 B.C. the temple and palace which Solomon had built nearly four hundred years before were destroyed, and the walls of Jerusalem were broken down. The wealthier and more influential people were carried captive to Babylon. The number so transported is not stated; probably it was not more than twenty-five or thirty thousand. The mass of the population consisted of poor peasants; they were left in the land. It is a mistake to think of the whole population as having been deported.

THE GOVERNORSHIP OF GEDALIAH

Jer. 40-42

Jer. 40. The word which came to Jeremiah from the LORD, after that Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had let him go from Ramah, when he had taken him being bound in chains among all the captives of Jerusalem and Judah, which were carried away captive unto Babylon.

2] And the captain of the guard took Jeremiah, and said unto him, The LORD thy God pronounced this evil upon this 3] place: and the LORD hath brought it, and done according as he spake; because ye have sinned against the LORD, and have not obeyed his voice, therefore 4] this thing is come upon you. And now,

⁷⁶ Heb. *threshold*.

⁷⁷ Or, *eunuch*.

⁷⁸ Or, *scribe of the captain of the host*.

2 Kings 25: 23-26

2 Kings 25. 23] ⁸⁰ Now when all the captains of the forces, they and their men, heard that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah governor, they came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan the son of Kareah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite, and Jaazaniah the son of the Maacathite, they and their 24] men. And Gedaliah sware to them and to their men, and said unto them, Fear not because of the servants of the Chaldeans: dwell in the land, and serve the king of Babylon, and it shall be 25] well with you. ⁸¹ But it came to pass

⁷⁹ Or, *shall be before thee*.

⁸⁰ See *Jer. 40: 7-9*.

⁸¹ See *Jer. 41: 1, 2*.

behold, I loose thee this day from the chains which are upon thine hand. If it seem good unto thee to come with me into Babylon, come, and I will look well unto thee; but if it seem ill unto thee to come with me into Babylon, forbear: behold, all the land is before thee; whither it seemeth good and ⁸² convenient unto thee to go, thither go. Now while he was not yet gone back, Go back then, *said he*, to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, whom the king of Babylon hath made governor over the cities of Judah, and dwell with him among the people: or go wheresoever it seemeth ⁸² convenient unto thee to go. So the captain of the guard gave him ⁸³ victuals and a present, and let him go. 6] Then went Jeremiah unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam to Mizpah, and dwelt with him among the people that were left in the land.

7] ⁸⁴ Now when all the captains of the forces which were in the fields, even they and their men, heard that the king of Babylon had made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam governor in the land, and had committed unto him men, and women, and children, ⁸⁵ and of the poorest of the land, of them that were not carried 8] away captive to Babylon; then they came to Gedaliah to Mizpah, even Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and Johanan and Jonathan the sons of Kareah, and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, and the sons of Ephai the Netophathite, and Jezaniah the son of the Maacathite, they and 9] their men. And Gedaliah the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan sware unto them and to their men, saying, Fear not to serve the Chaldeans: dwell in the land, and serve the king of Babylon, and 10] it shall be well with you. As for me, behold, I will dwell at Mizpah, to stand before the Chaldeans, which shall come unto us: but ye, gather ye wine and summer fruits and oil, and put them in your vessels, and dwell in your cities 11] that ye have taken. Likewise when all the Jews that were in Moab, and among the children of Ammon, and in

in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal came, and ten men with him, and smote Gedaliah, that he died, and the Jews and Chaldeans that were 26] with him at Mizpah. And all the people, both small and great, and the captains of the forces, arose, and came to Egypt: for they were afraid of the Chaldeans.

Edom, and that were in all the countries, heard that the king of Babylon had left a remnant of Judah, and that he had set over them Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, 12] the son of Shaphan; then all the Jews returned out of all places whither they were driven, and came to the land of Judah, to Gedaliah, unto Mizpah, and gathered wine and summer fruits very much.

13] Moreover Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were in the fields, came to Gedaliah 14] to Mizpah, and said unto him, Dost thou know that Baalis the king of the children of Ammon hath sent Ishmael the son of Nethaniah to take thy life? But Gedaliah the son of Ahikam believed them not. Then Johanan the son of Kareah spake to Gedaliah in Mizpah secretly, saying, Let me go, I pray thee, and I will slay Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and no man shall know it: wherefore should he take thy life, that all the Jews which are gathered unto thee should be scattered, and the remnant of Judah perish? But Gedaliah the son of Ahikam said unto Johanan the son of Kareah, Thou shalt not do this thing: for thou speakest falsely of Ishmael.

41. ⁸⁶ Now it came to pass in the seventh month, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, the son of Elishama, of the seed royal, and *one* of the chief officers of the king, and ten men with him, came unto Gedaliah the son of Ahikam to Mizpah; and there they did eat bread 2] together in Mizpah. Then arose Ish-

⁸² Or, *right*.

⁸³ Or, *an allowance*.

⁸⁴ See 2 Kings 25: 23, 24.

⁸⁵ Or, *even*.

⁸⁶ See 2 Kings 25: 25.

mael the son of Nethaniah, and the ten men that were with him, and smote Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam the son of Shaphan with the sword, and slew him, whom the king of Babylon had made 3] governor over the land. Ishmael also slew all the Jews that were with him, even with Gedaliah, at Mizpah, and the Chaldeans that were found there, even 4] the men of war. And it came to pass the second day after he had slain Gedaliah, and no man knew it, that there came certain from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, even fourscore men, having their beards shaven and their clothes rent, and having cut themselves, with ⁸⁷ oblations and frankincense in their hand, to bring them to the house of 6] the LORD. And Ishmael the son of Nethaniah went forth from Mizpah to meet them, weeping all along as he went: and it came to pass, as he met them, he said unto them, Come to Gedaliah the son of 7] Ahikam. And it was so, when they came into the midst of the city, that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah slew them, *and cast them* into the midst of the pit, he, and the men that were with him. 8] But ten men were found among them that said unto Ishmael, Slay us not: for we have stores hidden in the field, of wheat, and of barley, and of oil, and of honey. So he forbore, and slew them not 9] among their brethren. Now the pit wherein Ishmael cast all the dead bodies of the men whom he had slain, by the side of Gedaliah, (the same was that which Asa the king had made for fear of Baasha king of Israel,) Ishmael the son of Nethaniah filled it with them 10] that were slain. Then Ishmael carried away captive all the residue of the people that were in Mizpah, even the king's daughters, and all the people that remained in Mizpah, whom Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had committed to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam: Ishmael the son of Nethaniah carried them away captive, and departed to go over to the children of Ammon.

11] But when Johanan the son of Ka-

reah, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, heard of all the evil that Ishmael the son of Nethaniah had 12] done, then they took all the men, and went to fight with Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and found him by the great 13] waters that are in Gibeon. Now it came to pass that when all the people which were with Ishmael saw Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, then 14] they were glad. So all the people that Ishmael had carried away captive from Mizpah cast about and returned, and went unto Johanan the son of Kareah. But Ishmael the son of Nethaniah escaped from Johanan with eight men, and went to the children of Ammon. Then took Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces that were with him, all the remnant of the people whom he had recovered from Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, from Mizpah, after that he had slain Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, even the men of war, and the women, and the children, and the eunuchs, whom he had 17] brought again from Gibeon: and they departed, and dwelt in ⁸⁸ Geruth Chimham, which is by Beth-lehem, to go 18] to enter into Egypt, because of the Chaldeans: for they were afraid of them, because Ishmael the son of Nethaniah had slain Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, whom the king of Babylon made governor over the land.

42. Then all the captains of the forces, and Johanan the son of Kareah, and ⁸⁹ Jezaniah the son of Hoshaiah, and all the people from the least even unto the 2] greatest, came near, and said unto Jeremiah the prophet, Let, we pray thee, our supplication ⁹⁰ be accepted before thee, and pray for us unto the LORD thy God, even for all this remnant; for we are left but a few of many, as thine eyes 3] do behold us: that the LORD thy God may shew us the way wherein we should walk, and the thing that we should do. 4] Then Jeremiah the prophet said unto them, I have heard you; behold, I will

⁸⁷ Or, *meal offerings*.

⁸⁸ Or, *the lodging place of Chimham*.

⁸⁹ In ch. 43: 2, *Azariah*.

⁹⁰ Heb. *fall*.

pray unto the LORD your God according to your words; and it shall come to pass that whatsoever thing the LORD shall answer you, I will declare it unto you; I will keep nothing back from you. 5] Then they said to Jeremiah, The LORD be a true and faithful witness ⁹¹ amongst us, if we do not even according to all the word wherewith the LORD thy God shall 6] send thee to us. Whether it be good, or whether it be evil, we will obey the voice of the LORD our God, to whom we send thee; that it may be well with us, when we obey the voice of the LORD our God.

7] And it came to pass after ten days, that the word of the LORD came unto 8] Jeremiah. Then called he Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces which were with him, and all the people from the least even to the 9] greatest, and said unto them, Thus saith the LORD, the God of Israel, unto whom ye sent me to ⁹² present your supplication before him: If ye will still abide in this land, then will I build you, and not pull you down, and I will plant you, and not pluck you up: for I repent me of the evil that I have done unto you. 11] Be not afraid of the king of Babylon, of whom ye are afraid; be not afraid of him, saith the LORD: for I am with you to save you, and to deliver you 12] from his hand. And I will grant you mercy, that he may have mercy upon you, and cause you to return to your 13] own land. But if ye say, We will not dwell in this land; so that ye obey not the voice of the LORD your God; 14] saying, No; but we will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor have hunger of bread; and there will 15] we dwell: now therefore hear ye the

word of the LORD, O remnant of Judah: thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel, If ye wholly set your faces to enter into Egypt, and go to sojourn 16] there; then it shall come to pass, that the sword, which ye fear, shall overtake you there in the land of Egypt, and the famine, whereof ye are afraid, ⁹³ shall follow hard after you there in 17] Egypt; and there ye shall die. So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into Egypt to sojourn there; they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain or escape from the 18] evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into Egypt: and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach; and ye shall see this place 19] no more. The LORD hath spoken concerning you, O remnant of Judah, Go ye not into Egypt: know certainly that I have testified unto you this day. 20] For ye have dealt deceitfully ⁹⁴ against your own souls; for ye sent me unto the LORD your God, saying, Pray for us unto the LORD our God; and according unto all that the LORD our God shall say, so declare unto us, and we 21] will do it: and I have this day declared it to you; but ye have not obeyed the voice of the LORD your God in any thing for the which he hath sent me un- 22] to you. Now therefore know certainly that ye shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence, in the place whither ye desire to go to sojourn there.

Jerusalem had been so ruined that the capital was moved to Mizpeh, the modern Tell-en-Nasbeh, seven miles north of Jerusalem. Here for two months Gedaliah ruled and then, as so fully described in the preceding quotations, his life ended in tragedy. With the story of his death our sources for the connected history of Palestine fail us.

⁹¹ Or, *against*.
⁹² Or, *lay*.

⁹³ Heb. *shall cleave after you*.
⁹⁴ Or, *in your souls*.

JEREMIAH TAKEN TO EGYPT, *Jer.* 43: 1-13

Jer. 43. And it came to pass that when Jeremiah had made an end of speaking unto all the people all the words of the LORD their God, wherewith the LORD their God had sent him to them, even 2] all these words, then spake Azariah the son of Hoshaiiah, and Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the proud men, saying unto Jeremiah, Thou speakest falsely: the LORD our God hath not sent thee to say, Ye shall not go into 3] Egypt to sojourn there: but Baruch the son of Neriah setteth thee on against us, for to deliver us into the hand of the Chaldeans, that they may put us to death, and carry us away captives to Babylon. 4] So Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, and all the people, obeyed not the voice of the LORD, 5] to dwell in the land of Judah. But Johanan the son of Kareah, and all the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah, that were returned from all the nations whither they had been driven to sojourn in the land of Judah; 6] the men, and the women, and the children, and the king's daughters, and every person that Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had left with Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, and Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the

7] son of Neriah; and they came into the land of Egypt; for they obeyed not the voice of the LORD: and they came even 8] to Tahpanhes. Then came the word of the LORD unto Jeremiah in Tahpan- 9] hes, saying, Take great stones in thine hand, and ⁹⁵hide them in mortar in the brickwork, which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, in the sight 10] of the men of Judah; and say unto them, Thus saith the LORD of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will send and take Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and will set his throne upon these stones that I have hid; and he shall spread his ⁹⁶royal pavilion over 11] them. And he shall come, and shall smite the land of Egypt; such as are for death *shall be given* to death, and such as are for captivity to captivity, and such as are for the sword to the sword. 12] And I will kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt; and he shall burn them, and carry them away captives: and he shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment; and he shall go forth from 13] thence in peace. He shall also break the ⁹⁷pillars of ⁹⁸Beth-shemesh, that is in the land of Egypt; and the houses of the gods of Egypt shall he burn with fire.

Thus, after forty years of arduous service during one of the saddest periods of Jewish history, Jeremiah disappears from our view. It was a fitting climax to his life of danger that, at the end, he was taken, against his better judgment, to the land against trust in which he had all his life spoken. There, apparently he died; we hear of him no more.

Jeremiah was, perhaps, the greatest of Israel's prophets. The only one that can approach him is the Second Isaiah. Jeremiah advanced the religious thought of his predecessors in four particulars: (1) that heathen gods have no reality, but are mere figments of the imagination; (2) that God welcomes good heathen to his worship as well as good Jews; (3) that religion is a matter of the heart rather than of mere outward rule; and (4) that the individual rather than the family is the ethical unit.

⁹⁵ Or, *lay them with mortar in the pavement* (or square).

⁹⁶ Or, *glittering*.

⁹⁷ Or, *obelisks*.

⁹⁸ Or, *The house of the sun*. Probably, *Heliopolis* or *On*.

CHRONOLOGY

Judah

Jehoahaz, 3 mos. 609 B.C.
Jehoiakim, 609-597

Jehoiachin, 3 mos. 597
Zedekiah, 597-586

CHAPTER XIX

THE CAPTIVITY AND AFTER

IT was long popularly supposed that during the Babylonian exile all the Jews were in Babylonia. It has already been pointed out how erroneous that impression is. The great bulk of the population was still in Palestine, for in every country the poor outnumber the rich and influential. It is true, however, that the great majority of the influential Jews were in Babylonia, where they and their descendants lived for fifteen hundred years, so that for a long time the Jews of Babylonia exerted a far greater influence than those in Palestine.

For the greater portion of the time between 586 and the beginning of the Christian era we have no connected sources of information such as we have for the time between the Judges and the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. We are compelled, therefore to piece together information from various sources and make such a picture as we can.

EZEKIEL

The young priest Ezekiel, who, as already noted, was carried to Babylonia in 597, and who became a prophet in 593 B.C., continued to live and prophesy until about 570 B.C. His last dated prophecy was uttered in the year 571 B.C. (see *Ezek.* 29: 17). The first twenty-four chapters of his book contain prophecies uttered before the fall of Jerusalem in 586; the rest of the book contains later visions. In chapters 40-48 Ezekiel records a vision which he had of the return of the Hebrews to their land, rebuilding of the temple, and the reestablishment of the temple service. One part of this vision had great influence on the future.

EZEKIEL'S PROPHECY CONCERNING LEVITES, *Ezek.* 44: 8-18

Ezek. 44. 8] And ye have not kept the charge of mine holy things: but ye have set keepers of my charge in my sanctuary for yourselves. Thus saith the Lord God, No alien, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any alien that is among the children of Israel.

10] But the Levites that went far from me, when Israel went astray, which went astray from me after their idols; 11] they shall bear their iniquity. Yet they shall be ministers in my sanctuary, having oversight at the gates of the house, and ministering in the house: they shall slay the burnt offering and the sac-

rifice for the people, and they shall stand before them to minister unto them. 12] Because they ministered unto them before their idols, and became a stumblingblock of iniquity unto the house of Israel; therefore have I lifted up mine hand against them, saith the LORD GOD, and they shall bear their iniquity. 13] And they shall not come near unto me, to execute the office of priest unto me, nor to come near to any of my holy things, unto the things that are most holy: but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have 14] committed. Yet will I make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof, and for all that shall be done therein.

15] But the priests the Levites, the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of

my sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister unto me; and they shall stand before me to offer unto me the fat and the blood, 16] saith the Lord GOD: they shall enter into my sanctuary, and they shall come near to my table, to minister unto me, 17] and they shall keep my charge. And it shall be that when they enter in at the gates of the inner court, they shall be clothed with linen garments; and no wool shall come upon them, whiles they minister in the gates of the inner court, and 18] ¹ within. They shall have linen tires upon their heads, and shall have linen breeches upon their loins; they shall not gird themselves with *any thing that causeth sweat*.

The significance of this passage is that for the first time in Hebrew history it legislates into existence the "Levites," as a class distinct from the priests, who are assigned to the menial tasks of the temple—killing the offerings, washing the pots, kettles, and other implements, etc. Later the books of *Chronicles* assign the singing to them. We have seen how the law of *Deuteronomy* regards every Levite as a potential priest and provides that every Levite shall have the right to minister as a priest at the altar in Jerusalem. It was also noted that Josiah was unable to enforce this provision. Ezekiel now degrades the priests who had officiated in the abolished shrines from the priesthood altogether, and decrees that they shall perform the menial work which has hitherto been done by foreign slaves. It was a practical suggestion and was taken up by later priestly legislators. Ezekiel had served as a priest and was qualified to make useful arrangements for them. Other features of his vision were impractical and had no influence. His suggestions for the redistribution of the land among the twelve tribes, to take but one example, laid the land out in parallelograms like the town lots on a smooth western prairie. It ignored all the deep, winding, devious valleys of Palestine which make the running of straight lines impossible. It had no influence. It was the kind of plan that many a priest or university professor might make; not that of a practical statesman.

JEHOIACHIN RELEASED FROM PRISON, 2 Kings 25:27-30

2 Kings. 25. 27] ² And it came to pass in the seven and thirtieth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin king of Judah, in the

twelfth month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, that Evil-merodach king of Babylon, in the year

1 Or, in the house.

2 See Jer. 52:31-34.

that he began to reign, did lift up the head of Jehoiachin king of Judah out of 28] prison; and he spake kindly to him, and set his throne above the throne of the kings that were with him in Baby-29] lon. And he changed his prison gar-

ments, and did eat bread before him con-30] tinually all the days of his life. And for his allowance, there was a continual allowance given him of the king, every day a portion, all the days of his life.

The great Nebuchadnezzar died in the year 562 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Amil-Marduk, whom the Bible calls Evil-merodach. Nebuchadnezzar had kept Jehoiachin in prison all the years from that midsummer day when, as a boy of twenty, he had been led captive from Jerusalem after a reign of but three months. Amil-Marduk released Jehoiachin from prison and made him one of his courtiers. How long he lived, we do not know. After two years Amil-Marduk was displaced by Nergalsharusur (Neriglissar), who reigned but four years. His young son, Labasi-Marduk, was put aside after a reign of but a few months, and Nubu-na'id (Nabonidus), apparently another son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, who was already advanced in years, became king. He ruled from 555 to 538 B.C. After his third year he resided until just at the end of his reign at Tema in western Arabia and his son Balatsuusur (Belshazzar) as the "King's Son" exercised the royal power in Babylonia.³

CYRUS THE GREAT

Meantime a new power had risen in the East, mightier than any that had gone before. In the year 553 B.C. Cyrus the Persian had conquered Astyages, the last of the kings of the Medes, and founded the great Persian empire. While Nabonidus was reigning in Babylon and Tema, Cyrus was conquering much of the great table-land of what is now modern Persia and Asia Minor as far as the Ægean, having overthrown Croesus, king of Lydia, in 546 B.C. Finally in 538 B.C. Cyrus conquered Babylonia and brought to an end the empire of the Chaldeans. Cyrus tells us in an inscription that he caused to be written, that he, permitted all captive peoples to return to their lands, encouraged them to rebuild their temples, and asked them to pray for the prosperity of his government.⁴ This was a reversal of the policy practised by Assyrians and Babylonians for three hundred years. This made so great an impression on later Jews that the book of *Ezra* represents Cyrus as making a special decree permitting the Jews to return, and a later editor twice inserted the name of Cyrus in the prophecies of the Second Isaiah (see *Isa.* 44:28, 45:1) to make it appear that Isaiah had predicted the coming of Cyrus and had represented Yahweh as calling Cyrus

³ See R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar, a Study of the Closing Events of the Neo-Babylonian Empire*, New Haven, 1929.

⁴ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., p. 445 f.

"my servant." Although these insertions spoiled the meter of the poem in which they are inserted, most scholars have regarded them as a part of the original text.

Although the conquest of Cyrus permitted the Jewish exiles in Babylonia to return to their land, almost none of them took advantage of the opportunity. They had settled in Babylonia and were becoming prosperous. Babylonia afforded much better opportunities for business than Jerusalem, and they did not desire to return thither any more than the wealthy Jews of London and New York desire to go back there now. The one result of the change of policy effected by Cyrus, as far as the Jews were concerned, was the return to Jerusalem as governor under the Persians of Zerubbabel,⁵ a grandson of Jehoiachin. Perhaps a few individual Jews went back to Jerusalem with him, but not a sufficient number to make any impression either on the number of captives in Babylonia or on the population of the city of Jerusalem.

The years passed on. People crept back into Jerusalem and rebuilt their houses, but the temple and the city walls were in ruins. Cyrus died in 529 and was succeeded by his son Cambyzes. Cambyzes ostensibly sent his only brother to be governor of distant Hyrcania, but, being jealous of him, had him secretly put to death. As Cyrus had left a tradition of conquest, Cambyzes determined to maintain it. He accordingly marched into Egypt in 525 B.C. and, overthrowing Psammetik III, the last of the twenty-sixth dynasty, made Egypt a Persian province. He remained three years in Africa, vainly endeavoring to subdue Carthage, the great oasis to the west of Egypt now called Kharga, and the kingdom of Nubia. In 522 a pretender, who had discovered the secret of Bardiya's death, assumed the crown of Persia, giving out that he was Bardiya. As Cambyzes was traveling toward Persia from Egypt a messenger brought him this news. Angrily trying to dismount from his horse and strike the messenger dead at the same time, Cambyzes fell on his own sword and received a wound from which he died three days later. Both the sons of Cyrus thus perished without issue, and the false Bardiya was left in power. The fact that he was a pretender gradually became known, and the highest nobles of Persia chose Darius, son of Hystaspes, as their leader and assassinated the usurper. Darius thus became king of Persia and entered upon a long reign which continued from 521 to 486 B.C. The irregular way by which Darius had gained the throne, together with the fact that as a military leader his ability was unknown; led province after province of the empire to revolt, and the first six years of his reign were spent in putting down these revolutions.

⁵ The name "Zerubbabel" means "Seed-of-Babylon" or, as we should say, "Born-in-Babylon." Probably it was a nickname; what his real name may have been, we do not know.

THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

During the early years of the reign of Darius, while the revolutions just spoken of were in progress, the temple was rebuilt. The story of its rebuilding is told in the books of *Haggai* and *Zechariah* 1-8. Haggai's account is as follows:

Hag. 1. In the second years of Darius the king, in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, saying, Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, This people say, ⁶ It is not the time *for us* to come, the time for the LORD's house to be 3] built. Then came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying, Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your cieled houses, while this house lieth 5] waste? Now therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts: ⁷ Consider your ways. Ye have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but ye have not enough; ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink; ye clothe you, but there is none warm; and he that earneth wages earneth wages 7] *to put it* into a bag with holes. Thus saith the LORD of hosts: ⁷ Consider your 8] ways. Go up to the ⁸ mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be 9] glorified, saith the LORD. Ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did ⁹ blow upon it. Why? saith the LORD of hosts. Because of mine house that lieth waste, while ye run every man to his own house. 10] Therefore ¹⁰ for your sake the heaven is stayed from dew, and the earth 11] is stayed *from* her fruit. And I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the wine, and upon the oil, and upon that which the ground bringeth forth, and upon men, and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands.

12] Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Jehozadak,

the high priest, with all the remnant of the people, obeyed the voice of the LORD their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the LORD their God had sent him; and the people did fear before 13] the LORD. Then spake Haggai the LORD's messenger in the LORD's message unto the people, saying, I am with you, 14] saith the LORD. And the LORD stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the LORD 15] of hosts, their God, in the four and twentieth day of the month, in the sixth *month*, in the second year of Darius the king.

2. In the seventh *month*, in the one and twentieth *day* of the month, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the 2] prophet, saying, Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and to the remnant of the people, saying, Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing? 4] Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD; and be strong, O Joshua, son of Jehozadak, the high priest; and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the LORD, and work: for I am with you, 5] saith the LORD of hosts, ¹¹ *according to* the word that I covenanted with you when ye came out of Egypt, and my spirit ¹² *abode* among you: fear ye not. 6] For thus saith the LORD of hosts: Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the

⁶ According to many ancient versions, *The time is not come for the LORD'S house &c.*

⁷ Heb. *Set your heart on your ways.*

⁸ Or, *hill country.*

⁹ Or, *blow it away.*

¹⁰ Or, *over you.*

¹¹ Or, *Remember the word &c.*

¹² Or, *abideth.*

7] sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and ¹³ the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of 8] hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold 9] is mine, saith the LORD of hosts. The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former, saith the LORD of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts.

10] In the four and twentieth *day* of the ninth *month*, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD by 11] Haggai the prophet, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts: Ask now the 12] priests concerning the law, saying, If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oil, or any meat, shall it become holy? And the 13] priests answered and said, No. Then said Haggai, If one that is unclean by a dead body touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the priests answered and 14] said, It shall be unclean. Then answered Haggai and said, So is this people, and so is this nation before me, saith the LORD; and so is every work of their hands; and that which they offer 15] there is unclean. And now, I pray you, consider from this day and upward, from before a stone was laid upon a stone in the temple of the LORD: 16] ¹⁴ through all that time, when one

came to an heap of twenty *measures*, there were but ten; when one came to the winefat for to draw out fifty vessels, there were but twenty. I smote you with blasting and with mildew and with hail in all the work of your hands; yet ye *turned* not to me, saith the LORD. 18] Consider, I pray you, from this day and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth *month*, since the day that the foundation of the LORD's temple 19] was laid, consider it. Is the seed yet in the barn? yea, the vine, and the fig tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive tree hath not brought forth; from this day will I bless *you*.

20] And the word of the LORD came the second time unto Haggai in the four and twentieth *day* of the month, saying, 21] Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, I will shake the heavens 22] and the earth: and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the nations; and I will overthrow the chariots, and those that ride in them; and the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his 23] brother. In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the LORD, and will make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee, saith the LORD of hosts.

It seems probable that both Haggai and Zechariah had but recently come to Jerusalem from Babylonia. They were surprised to find the temple still in ruins while the citizens of Jerusalem were dwelling in comfortable houses. It happened that the land was in the midst of a famine due to lack of rainfall, similar to the famine that had occurred in the reign of David (see *2 Sam.* 21:1-14). Haggai attributed the lack of rain to Yahweh's anger that his temple had not been rebuilt, and spoke with such earnestness that he convinced the people of the truth of his words. His four prophecies were all spoken within the space of three months. After Haggai had spoken twice, Zechariah uttered his first oracle on the subject, and, when the time for the rainy season to begin came around, abundant showers fell. This convinced the people that their prophets had read Yahweh's mind aright, and en-

¹³ Or, *the things desired* (Heb. *desire*) of all nations shall come.

¹⁴ Heb. *since those days were*.

couraged by Zechariah, who continued to prophesy much longer than Haggai, they finished rebuilding the temple in three years.

DID ZERUBBABEL REBEL AGAINST PERSIA? *Zech. 6:9-15*

Zech. 6. 9] And the word of the LORD
10] came unto me, saying, Take of them
 of the captivity, even of Heldai, of Tobijah, and of Jedaiah; and come thou the same day, and go into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah, whither they
11] are come from Babylon; yea, take of them silver and gold, and make
15 crowns, set them upon the head of Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high
12] priest; and speak unto him, saying, Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, Behold, the man **16** whose name is the
17 Branch; and he shall **18** grow up out of his place, and he shall build the temple
13] of the LORD: even he shall build the

temple of the LORD; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and **19** he shall be a priest upon his throne: and the counsel of peace shall
14] be between them both. And the **20** crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobijah, and to Jedaiah, and **21** to Hen the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the **15]** temple of the LORD. And they that are far off shall come and build in the temple of the LORD, and ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you. And *this* shall come to pass, if ye will diligently obey the voice of the LORD your God.

The passage just quoted shows that Jews in Babylonia had become rich and were able to send money to Jerusalem. As the text of Zechariah stands, the prophet directed that two crowns should be made and put upon the head of Joshua, the high priest, but it is difficult to see why he should wear two crowns at once! If he had a gold crown, why should he need one of silver? It accordingly seems probable that, in the original form of the text, the golden crown was to be put on the head of Zerubbabel as king and the silver crown on the head of Joshua. It should be remembered that, during the first six years of Darius, Babylonia rebelled against him twice, and that the Jews who sent the money lived there. Probably they intended it as an aid to an effort to free Judea from the yoke of Persia, and the prophet Zechariah encouraged the plan. Whether or not Zerubbabel yielded to the persuasion and tried to make himself an independent king, we do not know. Concerning this our sources are silent. We only know that Judah continued to be subject to Persian rule. Indeed, at the end of six years Darius emerged triumphant over all his foes, having lost no territory that Cyrus and Cambyses had won.

THE COMPLETION OF THE TEMPLE

The temple was rebuilt in three years. It seems to have been built on the lines of Solomon's temple. Indeed, probably the bases of its walls

¹⁵ Or, a crown, and set it.

¹⁶ Or, whose name is the Bud; and it (or they) shall bud forth under him.

¹⁷ Or, Shoot, Or, Sprout.

¹⁸ Or, shoot.

¹⁹ Or, there shall be.

²⁰ Or, crown.

²¹ Or, for the kindness of the Son &c.

were the work of Solomon which had not been overthrown. Many of the old stones were also employed. It was, however, without ornament, and it is doubtful if it had but one court at this time. The book of *Ezra* has the following to say of the first service in it.

Ezra 3. 11] And they sang one to another in praising and giving thanks unto the LORD, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised the LORD, because the foundation of the house of 12] the LORD was laid. But many of the priests and Levites and heads of fathers' houses, the old men that had seen ²² the

first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice; and many shouted 13] aloud for joy: so that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people: for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off.

The temple was completed by 516 B.C. seventy years after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. It is this seventy years that is in the minds of those who speak of the Babylonian captivity as lasting seventy years. In no real sense, however, did this event conclude the "captivity." There were no fewer Jews in Babylonia after it than before.

THE COMPLETION OF THE CODE OF HOLINESS

About 500 B.C. some one who was interested in the development of the ritual of Jewish worship collected in written form the oldest group of priestly laws to be codified. It consisted, barring some expansions by a later writer, of *Leviticus* 17-26; it contains, among other regulations, the laws defining the degrees of kinship within which persons may not marry (*Lev.* 18, 20). The main purpose of the collection of laws was to keep the Jews a pure people, and it is accordingly called by scholars "The Code of Holiness." The compiler of the Deuteronomic code had represented his laws as spoken by Moses to Israel; the compiler of the Code of Holiness goes a step further and represents his laws as spoken by God to Moses. It was an expression of a widespread ancient feeling that all important laws come from a divine source. The Babylonian king, Hammurabi, pictures the sun-god as handing him his code of laws. In the case of the Code of Holiness, it must be said that it includes many laws which originated in remote Semitic antiquity. The laws of marriage among most savage races of men prohibit unions between near kinsfolk, and there can be no doubt that many of the provisions on this subject contained in this code are much older than Moses. A comparison of this group of laws with the book of *Ezekiel* shows, in the opinion of most scholars, that the writer who compiled it had been profoundly influenced by *Ezekiel*.

²² Or, the first house standing on its foundation, when this house was before their eyes.

DARIUS AND XERXES

During the rest of the reigns of Darius and Xerxes our sources give us practically no knowledge of what was happening to the Jews, except that business documents from Nippur in Babylonia reveal the fact that many Jews were living there and were engaged in mercantile and other pursuits. Darius enlarged the empire which he had won, adding a province in the Punjab region of India, and two, Macedonia and Thrace, in Europe. He even made an expedition into what is now southern Russia to punish the Scythians. The little Jewish nation was but a speck on the map of the greatest empire the world had ever seen. The attempt of Darius to conquer Greece and the famous defeat of his forces at Marathon in 490 B.C. is one of the best known events in ancient history.

Xerxes succeeded his father in 486 B.C., and in 480, when trying to conquer Greece, his fleet was destroyed at the battle of Salamis, after which he lost the European provinces which his father had won. According to the Jewish historian, Josephus, Xerxes favored the Jews,²³ but this may have been an inference from the book of *Esther*, which Josephus mistook for history. Xerxes is the Ahasuerus of the book of *Esther*, but that book is a late romance, based on Babylonian sources, written about 100 B.C.²⁴ In 464 B.C. Xerxes was succeeded by Artaxerxes I, who ruled for forty years, dying in 424 B.C.

THE PROPHET OBADIAH

A part of the little book of *Obadiah* was composed during this part of the fifth century before Christ. It refers to the overrunning of the land of Edom by the Nabathæans, which occurred during this century. It reads as follows:

Obad. 1] The vision of Obadiah.

Thus saith the Lord God²⁵ concerning Edom: We have heard tidings from the Lord, and an ambassador is sent among the nations, *saying*, Arise ye, and let us
2] rise up against her in battle. Behold, I have made thee small among the na-
3] tions: thou are greatly despised. The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of
26 the rock, whose habitation is high; that saith in his heart, Who shall bring
4] me down to the ground? Though thou

mount on high as the eagle, and though thy nest be set among the stars, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the
5] Lord. If thieves came to thee, if robbers by night, (how art thou cut off!) would they not steal till they had enough? if grapegatherers came to thee, would they not leave some gleaning grapes?
6] How are ²⁷the things of Esau searched out! how are his hidden treasures sought up! All the men of thy confederacy have ²⁸brought thee on thy way, even to the border: the men that

²³ *Antiquities*, II: 5, 1.

²⁴ Mordecai is the Babylonian god Marduk, Esther the goddess Ishtar, Vashti is Mashtu, and Haman, Humbaba, both Elamitic deities.

²⁵ See *Jer.* 49: 7-22.

²⁶ Or, *Sela*. See *2 Kings* 14: 7.

²⁷ Or, *the men*.

²⁸ Or, *driven thee out*.

were at peace with thee have deceived thee, and prevailed against thee; ²⁹ *they that eat thy bread lay a* ³⁰ *snare under thee: there is none understanding* ³¹ *in* 8] him. Shall I not in that day, saith the LORD, destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of 9] Esau? And thy mighty men, O Teman, shall be dismayed, to the end that every one may be cut off from the mount 10] of Esau by slaughter. For the violence done to thy brother Jacob shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut 11] off for ever. In the day that thou stoodest ³² on the other side, in the day that strangers carried away his ³³ substance, and foreigners entered into his

gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even 12] thou wast as one of them. But look not thou on the day of thy brother in ³⁴ the day of his disaster, and rejoice not over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction; neither speak 13] proudly in the day of distress. Enter not into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity; yea, look not thou on their affliction in the day of their calamity, neither lay ye *hands* on their substance in the day of their calamity. 14] And stand thou not in the crossway, to cut off those of him that escape; and deliver not up those of his that remain in the day of distress.

In the time of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, two hundred years before this, the Nabathæans were roaming the Arabian desert to the eastward and southeastward of Edom. About the time of which we are writing they overran Edom and captured Sela, afterward called Petra, and drove the Edomites out. Expelled from their own land, the Edomites swept westward and took possession of southern Judah, occupying the whole of it up to and including the city of Hebron. What Jews may have been still living there were driven northward, and from this time onward Edom (or in its Greek form, Idumæa) was southern Palestine. All this Obadiah foresaw, and he alludes to it in the passage quoted. There had been friction between Edomites and Hebrews from time immemorial, but this conquest of Judæan territory greatly intensified it. The Nabathæans, intrenched at Petra, established a kingdom which continued until 105 A.D., when the Roman emperor Trajan overthrew it and organized its territory into the Roman province of Arabia. It was later called the kingdom of Arabia and one of its kings is mentioned in St. Paul's Second Epistle to the *Corinthians* 11:32.

THE PROPHET JOEL

Another prophet who seems to have written during this period was Joel. His little book is largely visions of a terrible plague of locusts, which Joel thought would precede the judgment. The one historical allusion in it is in *Joel* 3:6, where he accuses Phenicians, who were the traders and navigators of the ancient world, of having sold Jews to Grecians, "to remove them far from their border." Phenicians had been trading with the coast-lands of Ionia and Greece for centuries, but not

²⁹ Or, *thy bread they make &c.*

³⁰ Or, *wound.*

³¹ Or, *of it.*

³² Or, *aloof.*

³³ Or, *forces.*

³⁴ Or, *the day that he was made a stranger.*

until Ionia came under Persian sway, and Judea had been reduced to a state of extreme weakness do they seem to have sold Jewish slaves to Greeks.

A JEWISH COLONY AT ELEPHANTINE IN EGYPT

About thirty years ago an archive of papyri in the Aramaic language was found on the island of Elephantine in the first cataract of the Nile at the southern border of Egypt. The documents were written by members of a Jewish colony there, probably the descendants of the men whom Psammetik II had stationed there a hundred and eighty years before. At the time these documents were written Artaxerxes I had died and Darius II (424-405 B.C.) was sitting on the throne of Persia. The most important of these papyri contains a copy of a letter written in 407 B.C. to Bagohi (Bagoas), a Persian, who was then governor of Judah. It states that three years before, Waidrang, a local Egyptian governor, had destroyed a temple of Yahweh which they had on the Island of Elephantine. The writers say that "from the days of the kings of Egypt" their fathers had built the temple, and that Cambyes had spared it, when he overthrew temples of the gods of Egypt. They say that they appealed to Jehohanan, high priest at Jerusalem, but have received no help, so they now appeal to the governor that he use his influence that the temple be rebuilt. They have also written to Dalajah and Shelemjah, sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria.

This letter gives us a glimpse not only of Jews in Egypt, but of Jerusalem and Samaria also. Samaria appears to have been trusted with a native governor, but Judah was under a Persian. From other papyri we learn that a new rule for the observance of the Passover reached Elephantine during this period, that the Jews were unpopular in Egypt, that they engaged in trade, and that they married and were given in marriage. A marriage contract shows that the bride was granted the same privilege of divorce as the husband—a privilege not allowed her by the law of *Deuteronomy* (see *Deut.* 24: 1-4).

THE PRIESTLY DOCUMENT

At some time during the latter half of this century a priest compiled the great body of ritual laws found in *Exodus* 25-31, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*. He also wrote an account of the creation (*Gen.* 1: 1-2: 4a), transformed from the Babylonian creation epic, of the flood, the lives of the Patriarchs, the descent to Egypt, the bondage there and the deliverance from it, the covenant at Sinai, the conquest of Palestine and the division of the land among the twelve tribes. The laws which he collected were many of them very old. The ritual of the scapegoat

for the Day of Atonement (*Lev.* 16) embodies primitive ideas. Together with these the priestly lawgiver introduced provisions of his own which defined more clearly vague laws of earlier times. Thus he expanded in *Leviticus* 23 the earlier laws of the feasts so as to specify just when each of the three great feasts should begin, and just how long it should continue. He represented circumcision as having begun with Abraham, whereas the J Document had represented it as beginning, so far as Hebrews were concerned, with Moses and Joshua. He carried the whole ritual back to the wilderness and Moses, imagining that Moses constructed a portable sanctuary (the tabernacle) which he really patterned on Solomon's temple. He adopted Ezekiel's regulation about the Levites, assigning them to the menial tasks of the temple, and representing this distinction as having been made by Moses. He even went so far as to call all the old cities of Palestine in which important sanctuaries (high places) had existed, "Levitical cities," and to represent Joshua as assigning these cities to the tribe of Levi instead of a compact territory such as the other tribes received. He followed the author of the Code of Holiness in representing that all these regulations, except circumcision which was communicated to Abraham, had been communicated to Moses by God. In *Leviticus* 25: 39-46 he repealed the slave-laws of the "Book of the Covenant" and the Deuteronomic code by forbidding that a Hebrew should under any circumstances be made a slave.

This was the last of the great documents of the Hexateuch. How were the Jews to be persuaded to accept its laws and observe them? The older law-books were still extant, and *Deuteronomy* had some time before been expanded into its present form. Some ingenious soul (possibly Ezra) conceived the idea of combining the four documents, J, E, D, and P into one book in such a way that the priestly documents should afford the framework of the whole and the priestly laws appear to be the covenant between Yahweh and Israel. This was done so skilfully that it was not until the rise of modern scientific criticism within the last two hundred years that it was discovered that this was not the case.

THE SECOND ISAIAH

According to the most recent investigation ⁸⁵ it was during the latter half of the fifth century B.C. that there lived at Jerusalem one of the greatest of the Hebrew prophets. He is the only one who compares with Jeremiah in breadth of vision and depth of thought. We do not know his name, but he is called the Second Isaiah, because his work was attached by some editor to the prophecies of Isaiah the son of Amoz who lived in the eighth century before Christ. His work consists of a

⁸⁵ See Charles C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, New York, 1928.

series of great poems comprising *Isaiah* 34, 35, and 40-66. At the time he lived Jews were not only living in Babylonia and Egypt, where they had multiplied, but had for commercial reasons scattered widely throughout the East. This prophet had pondered long the problem as to why this people, chosen of Yahweh, should have been permitted to be so torn asunder by its misfortunes and so widely scattered over the earth. Israel had suffered "double for all her sins" (*Isa.* 40:2). As he pondered the problem as to why this had happened, he found the solution in the faith that Israel had suffered for the sins of the nations—had suffered to make Yahweh known to the nations. Israel was Yahweh's chosen servant—chosen not to enjoy favors and luxuries, but for service—the service of making the true God known to all the world. This he expressed in a series of poetical descriptions of the servant, the longest of which (*Isa.* 52:13-53:12) represents the kings of the nations as looking at the servant, disfigured by his torture almost out of semblance of a man, and wondering why he thus suffered, when it dawns upon them that—

"He was wounded for our transgressions,
He was bruised for our iniquities,
The chastisement of our peace was upon him
And by his stripes we are healed."

The prophet further thought that, when this service was accomplished, Israel would be restored to her land. His poems contain many impassioned passages summoning exiled Jews of all countries to return to their native land. Not only this, but he invited the heathen also to come and unite themselves with the people of God and enjoy the blessings which come only to those who are in communion with the living Creator of the world. Upon occasion his wrath can scorch like a flame, as when in ch. 63:1-6 he portrays the punishment inflicted, and still to be inflicted, upon the Edomites, who were at the time pushing their way into southern Judah as they themselves were being pushed out of Edom. Such conquests are always ruthless, and to our poet-prophet the acts of the Edomites seemed somewhat as the violation of Belgium in 1914 seemed to the Allies. Ordinarily, however, his utterances, though full of scathing denunciations of sin, are also full of words of comfort, hope, sympathy, and encouragement.

THE BOOK OF JOB

About this time there lived also another great Hebrew genius who wrestled too with the problem of suffering. We do not know his name, but he was the author of the book of *Job*. He stood apart from both the

priestly and prophetic class, and judged questions of religion and life by reason and common sense. The Second Isaiah had dealt with the problem, Why does the chosen nation suffer? The author of *Job* discusses the question, Why do righteous individuals suffer? The accepted view in Jewish circles in his time was that the service of God ensured good health, prosperity in worldly matters, a large family, and happiness. They went so far as to infer that, if in any of these respects misfortune befell a person, it must be that he was in some way a sinner. Against this view, so out of accord with the facts of life, this poet protested. He took an old prose tale about a patriarch named Job who had been most patient and uncomplaining in misfortune, dropped out the middle portion, and inserted his poem in its place. His poem describes anything but a patient man—a man who in his suffering allows his tongue to utter bitter complaints and who arraigns shockingly at times the government of God. Nevertheless his Job is a man whose soul grows in suffering, and who finds that there is no refuge from God but God. The author of the poem was the Shakespeare of the Hebrew people, and his poem has happily been called "The Epic of the Inner Life."³⁶

Our sources do not permit us to write a detailed history of the Hebrew people during the almost two centuries from the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. to the coming of Ezra in 398 B.C., but the glimpses we get show that, however weak Judea may have been, Jews were multiplying in Babylonia and Egypt and were producing great men.

³⁶ The title given by Genung to his translation of the book of *Job*.

CHAPTER XX

THE WORK OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

THE evidence for the century in which Ezra and Nehemiah lived is ambiguous. Ezra is said to have come from Babylonia in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, (*Ezra* 7:7) and Nehemiah, to have rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; but which Artaxerxes it was—whether Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II—is not certain. It has long been the working hypothesis of scholars that these references were to the reign of Artaxerxes I; so the return of Ezra has been dated in the year 457 B.C. and the coming of Nehemiah in the year 444 B.C. A few (and among them is the present writer) believe that these passages refer to the reign of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), and that the coming of Ezra should be placed in 398 B.C. and that of Nehemiah in 386 B.C. In this chapter the last mentioned dates are assumed as a working theory, though it should be borne in mind that the matter is not certain.

Darius II died in 405 B.C., as related in the opening chapter of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. He was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes, whose younger brother Cyrus was made satrap of Lydia. How Cyrus induced 10,000 Greeks to join his army and led them to help him snatch the crown from his brother, how they were defeated at the battle of Cunaxa in Babylonia in 401 B.C., and how the Greeks made their famous retreat, used to be the common property of every advanced schoolboy. If our conception of the chronology is correct, when the battle of Cunaxa was fought, Ezra was in Babylonia preparing copies of the law.

EZRA

The coming of Ezra to Jerusalem was a religious event. A memoir of Ezra himself is quoted in the book of *Ezra* 8: 15—9: 15, from which it appears that he regarded his coming as a kind of religious pilgrimage, and that, when he arrived in Jerusalem, he was shocked to find how many of the Jews resident there had foreign wives. Apparently, however, they gave little heed to his teaching at the time. Later tradition credits Ezra as having brought from Babylonia the completed law, and the tradition is probably true. Its introduction, however, awaited the coming of the statesman Nehemiah.

NEHEMIAH

Fortunately for us the story of Nehemiah is graphically told in a memoir from his own hand embodied in the book of *Nehemiah*. We shall let him tell his own story.

NEHEMIAH, A CUP-BEARER TO ARTAXERXES, HEARS OF JERUSALEM'S STATE, *Neh. 1*

Neh. 1. The ¹ words of Nehemiah the son of Hacaliah.

Now it came to pass in the month Chislev, ² in the twentieth year, as I was 2] in Shushan the ³ palace, that Hanani, one of my brethren, came, he and certain men out of Judah; and I asked them concerning the Jews that had escaped, which were left of the captivity, and concern- 3] ing Jerusalem. And they said unto me, The remnant that are left of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jerusalem also is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire. 4] And it came to pass, when I heard these words, that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days; and I fasted and prayed before the God of heaven, 5] and said, I beseech thee, O LORD, the God of heaven, the great and terrible God, that keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his 6] commandments: let thine ear now be attentive, and thine eyes open, that thou mayest hearken unto the prayer of thy servant, which I pray before thee at this time, day and night, for the children of Israel thy servants, while I confess the

sins of the children of Israel, which we have sinned against thee: yea, I and my 7] father's house have sinned. We have dealt very corruptly against thee, and have not kept the commandments, nor the statutes, nor the judgements, which thou commandedst thy servant Moses. 8] Remember, I beseech thee, the word that thou commandedst thy servant Moses, saying, If ye trespass, I will scatter you abroad among the peoples: but if ye return unto me, and keep my commandments and do them, though your outcasts were in the uttermost part of the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to cause my 10] name to dwell there. Now these are thy servants and thy people, whom thou hast redeemed by thy great power, and 11] by thy strong hand. O Lord, I beseech thee, let now thine ear be attentive to the prayer of thy servant, and to the prayer of thy servants, who delight to fear thy name: and prosper, I pray thee, thy servant this day, and grant him mercy in the sight of this man. (Now I was cupbearer to the king.)

One sees in this story the kitchen of the palace at Susa in Elam with its Jewish servants, the Jewish travelers stopping to be entertained by their fellows at royal expense, the patriotic young Nehemiah gathering his information, and his grief when he learned that the walls of Jerusalem were, after two hundred years, still in ruins.

NEHEMIAH GETS HIMSELF APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF JUDEA, *Neh. 2: 1-8*

Neh. 2. And it came to pass in the month Nisan, in the twentieth year of | Artaxerxes the king, when wine was before him, that I took up the wine, and

¹ Or, *history*.

² See ch. 2: 1.

³ Or, *castle*.

gave it unto the king. Now I had not been *beforetime* sad in his presence. 2] And the king said unto me, Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou art not sick? this is nothing else but sorrow of 3] heart. Then I was very sore afraid. And I said unto the king, Let the king live for ever: why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with 4] fire? Then the king said unto me, For what dost thou make request? So I 5] prayed to the God of heaven. And I said unto the king, If it please the king, and if thy servant have found favour in thy sight, that thou wouldest send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers'

6] sepulchres, that I may build it. And the king said unto me, (the queen also sitting by him,) For how long shall thy journey be? and when wilt thou return? So it pleased the king to send me; and 7] I set him a time. Moreover I said unto the king, If it please the king, let letters be given me to the governors beyond the river, that they may let me pass 8] through till I come unto Judah; and a letter unto Asaph the keeper of the king's ⁴ forest, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the castle which appertaineth to the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me.

Nehemiah was evidently a favorite with the king, and the sadness which he assumed in order to induce his sovereign to ask the cause can almost be seen by one who has been some time in the East, where people can seem at will to fill their eyes with unshed tears.

NEHEMIAH REACHES JERUSALEM AND BEGINS TO REBUILD THE WALLS, *Neh. 2: 9-20*

Neh. 2. 9] Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. Now the king had sent with me captains of the army and 10] horsemen. And when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, for that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children 11] of Israel. So I came to Jerusalem, 12] and was there three days. And I arose in the night, I and some few men with me; neither told I any man what my God put into my heart to do for Jerusalem: neither was there any beast with me, save the beast that I rode upon. 13] And I went out by night by the valley gate, even toward the dragon's well, and to the dung gate, and viewed the walls of Jerusalem, which were broken down, and the gates thereof were consumed with fire. Then I went on to the fountain gate and to the king's pool: but there was no place for the beast that

15] was under me to pass. Then went I up in the night by the brook, and viewed the wall; and I turned back, and entered by the valley gate, and so returned. 16] And the ⁵ rulers knew not whither I went, or what I did; neither had I as yet told it to the Jews, nor to the priests, nor to the nobles, nor to the ⁵ rulers, nor 17] to the rest that did the work. Then said I unto them, Ye see the evil case that we are in, how Jerusalem lieth waste, and the gates thereof are burned with fire: come and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem, that we be no more a reproach. And I told them of the hand of my God which was good upon me; as also of the king's words that he had spoken unto me. And they said, Let us rise up and build. So they strengthened 19] their hands for the good work. But when Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian, heard it, they laughed us to scorn, and despised us, and said, What

⁴ Or, *park*.

⁵ Or, *deputies*.

is this thing that ye do? will ye rebel
20] against the king? Then answered
I them, and said unto them, The God of
heaven, he will prosper us; therefore we

his servants will arise and build: but ye
have no portion, nor right, nor memorial,
in Jerusalem.

The young governor had come to the city of his ancestors for the purpose of rebuilding the walls, and on a moonlight night, three days after his arrival, he rode around them to get a first-hand impression of the ruins. Those who know the topography of Jerusalem can easily recognize each point that he mentions. Such was his enthusiasm and the influence of his personality that he persuaded the population of Judah to join in rebuilding the wall. He met with opposition from Sanballat and the Samaritans, who induced the Ammonites, ancient enemies of Israel, to join in harassing Nehemiah, and, if possible, making it impossible for him to carry out his purpose. This Sanballat was probably a son of the Sanballat who had been consulted some thirty years before by the Jews of Elephantine. The condition existing in Palestine, where one race or religion, or even a different section of the same race, could set upon and attack another, were very similar to those that have often prevailed there even in modern times.

Nehemiah in the third chapter of his book gives a list of the people from several towns in Judea who built different sections of the wall and the section which each built. His method was to get the people of a town to become responsible for building a certain portion of it. The line of the wall was the same as it had been from the days of Hezekiah onward, and the stones used were doubtless the stones of the wall which Nebuchadnezzar had overthrown, wherever these could be found. Parts of Nehemiah's wall have been uncovered and his work identified.⁶ As the people who are named by Nehemiah are now to us mere names, we do not here quote his third chapter.

DIFFICULTIES FROM ENEMIES, *Neh.* 4: 1-23

Neh. 4. ⁷ But it came to pass that, when Sanballat heard that we build the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews.
2] And he spake before his brethren and the army of Samaria, and said What do these feeble Jews? ⁸ will they fortify themselves? will they sacrifice? will they make an end in a day? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish,
3] seeing they are burned? Now Tobiah

the Ammonite was by him, and he said, Even that which they build, if a ⁹ fox go up, he shall break down their stone
4] wall. Hear, O our God; for we are despised: and turn back their reproach upon their own head, and give them up
5] to spoiling in a land of captivity: and cover not their iniquity, and let not their sin be blotted out from before thee: for they have provoked *thee* to anger before
6] the builders. So we built the wall;

⁶ For a picture of a part of Nehemiah's wall see G. A. Barton *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 254.

⁷ Ch. 3: 33 in Heb.

⁸ Or, *will they leave to themselves* aught? Or, *will men let them alone?*

⁹ Or, *jackal*.

and all the wall was joined together unto half *the height* thereof: for the people had a mind to work.

7] ¹⁰ But it came to pass that, when Sanballat, and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites, heard that ¹¹ the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem went forward, *and* that the breaches began to be stopped, then they 8] were very wroth; and they conspired all of them together to come and fight against Jerusalem, and to cause con- 9] fusion therein. But we made our prayer unto our God, and set a watch against them day and night, because of 10] them. And Judah said, The strength of the bearers of burdens is decayed, and there is much rubbish; so that we 11] are not able to build the wall. And our adversaries said, They shall not know, neither see, till we come into the midst of them, and slay them, and cause 12] the work to cease. And it came to pass that, when the Jews which dwelt by them came, they said unto us ten times ¹² from all places, Ye must return unto 13] us. Therefore set I in the lowest parts of the space behind the wall, in the open places, I even set the people after their families with their swords, their 14] spears, and their bows. And I looked, and rose up, and said unto the nobles, and to the ¹³ rulers, and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your 15] wives and your houses. And it came

to pass, when our enemies heard that it was known unto us, and God had brought their counsel to nought, that we returned all of us to the wall, every one unto his 16] work. And it came to pass from that time forth, that half of my servants wrought in the work, and half of them held the spears, the shields, and the bows, and the coats of mail; and the rulers were behind ¹⁴ all the house of Judah. 17] They that builded the wall and they that bare burdens laded themselves, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his 18] weapon; and the builders, every one had his sword girded by his side, and so builded. And he that sounded the trumpet, 19] pet was by me. And I said unto the nobles, and to the ¹⁵ rulers and to the rest of the people, The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the 20] wall, one far from another: in what place soever ye hear the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us; our 21] God shall fight for us. So we wrought in the work: and half of them held the spears from the rising of the 22] morning till the stars appeared. Likewise at the same time said I unto the people, Let every one with his servant lodge within Jerusalem, that in the night they may be a guard to us, and may 23] labour in the day. So neither I, nor my brethren, nor my servants, nor the men of the guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, ¹⁵ every one *went with his weapon to the water.*

This vivid description of the length to which Sanballat and his associates carried their opposition, until the builders had to work with sword in one hand and trowel in the other, needs no comment. Still the enthusiastic young governor was able by his personal courage to push the work through to completion.

FURTHER MACHINATIONS OF SANBALLAT, *Neh. 6: 1-14*

Neh. 6. Now it came to pass, when it was reported to Sanballat and Tobiah,

and to Geshem the Arabian, and unto the rest of our enemies, that I had

¹⁰ Ch. 4: 1 in Heb.

¹¹ Heb. *healing went up upon the walls.*

¹² Or, *From all places whence ye shall return they will be upon us.*

¹³ Or, *deputies.*

¹⁴ Or, *all the house of Judah that builded the wall. And they that &c.*

¹⁵ The text is probably faulty.

builded the wall, and that there was no breach left therein; (though even unto that time I had not set up the doors in 2] the gates;) that Sanballat and Geshem sent unto me, saying, Come, let us meet together in *one of the villages in the plain of Ono*. But they thought to do me 3] mischief. And I sent messengers unto them, saying, I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease, whilst I leave it, and 4] come down to you? And they sent unto me four times after this sort; and I answered them after the same manner. 5] Then sent Sanballat his servant unto me in like manner the fifth time with an 6] open letter in his hand; wherein was written, It is reported among the nations, and ¹⁶ Gashmu saith it, that thou and the Jews think to rebel; for which cause thou buildest the wall: and thou wouldest be their king, according to these 7] words. And thou hast also appointed prophets to preach of thee at Jerusalem, saying, There is a king in Judah: and now shall it be reported to the king according to these words. Come now therefore, and let us take counsel together. 8] Then I sent unto him, saying, There are no such things done as thou sayest,

but thou feignest them out of thine own 9] heart. For they all would have made us afraid, saying, Their hands shall be weakened from the work, that it be not done. But now, ¹⁷ *O God*, strengthen thou my hands.

10] And I went unto the house of Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabel, who was shut up; and he said, Let us meet together in the house of God; within the temple, and let us shut the doors of the temple: for they will come to slay thee; yea, in the night 11] will they come to slay thee. And I said, Should such a man as I flee? and who is there, that, being such as I, ¹⁸ would go into the temple to save his 12] life? I will not go in. And I discerned, and, lo, God had not sent him: but he pronounced this prophecy against me: and Tobiah and Sanballat had hired 13] him. For this cause was he hired, that I should be afraid, and do so, and sin, and that they might have matter for an evil report, that they might re- 14] proach me. Remember, O my God, Tobiah and Sanballat according to these their works, and also the prophetess Noadiah, and the rest of the prophets, that would have put me in fear.

This passage shows Nehemiah to have been cautious and courageous as well as energetic.

THE WALLS BUILT IN LESS THAN THREE MONTHS,

Neh. 6: 15-19

Neh. 6. 15] So the wall was finished in the twenty and fifth *day of the month* 16] Elul, in fifty and two days. And it came to pass, when all our enemies heard *thereof*, that all the heathen that were about us ¹⁹ feared, and were much cast down in their own eyes: for they perceived that this work was wrought of 17] our God. Moreover in those days the nobles of Judah sent many letters unto

Tobiah, and *the letters* of Tobiah came 18] unto them. For there were many in Judah sworn unto him, because he was the son in law of Shecaniah the son of Arah; and his son Jehohanan had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of 19] Berechiah to wife. Also they spake of his good deeds before me, and reported my words to him. And Tobiah sent letters to put me in fear.

HANANI MADE GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM, *Neh. 7: 1-4*

Neh. 7. Now it came to pass, when the wall was built, and I had set up the doors,

and the porters and the singers and the 2] Levites were appointed, that I gave

¹⁶ In ver. 1, and elsewhere, *Geshem*.
¹⁷ Or, *I will strengthen my hands*.

¹⁸ Or, *could go into the temple and live*.
¹⁹ According to another reading, *saw*.

my brother Hanani, and Hananiah the governor of the castle, charge over Jerusalem: for he was a faithful man, and 3] feared God above many. And I said unto them, Let not the gates of Jerusalem be opened until the sun be hot; and while they stand *on guard*, let them

shut the doors, and bar ye them: and appoint watches of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, every one in his watch, and every 4] one *to be* over against his house. Now the city was wide and large: but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded.

NEHEMIAH TAKES A CENSUS, *Neh. 7: 5-69*

Neh. 7. 5] And my God put into my heart to gather together the nobles, and the ²⁰ rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy. And I found the book of the genealogy of them which came up at the first, and I found 6] written therein: ²¹ These are the children of the province, that went up out of the captivity of those that had been carried away, whom Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon had carried away, and that returned unto Jerusalem and to 7] Judah, every one unto his city; who came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani,

Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, 66] Nehum, Baanah. . . ²² The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand, three hundred and threescore, 67] beside their menservants and their maidservants, of whom there were seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven: and they had two hundred forty and five singing men and singing women. 68] Their horses were seven hundred thirty and six; their mules, two hundred forty and five; *their* camels, four hundred thirty and five; *their* asses, six thousand seven hundred and twenty.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE TREASURY, *Neh. 7: 70-72*

Neh. 7. 70] And some from among the heads of fathers' *houses* gave unto the work. The ²³ Tirshatha gave to the treasury a thousand darics of gold, fifty basons, five hundred and thirty priests' 71] garments. And some of the heads of fathers' *houses* gave into the treasury of

the work twenty thousand darics of gold, and two thousand and two hundred 72] ²⁴ pound of silver. And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand darics of gold, and two thousand pound of silver, and threescore and seven priests' garments.

THE ADOPTION OF THE COMPLETED PENTATEUCH, *Neh. 7: 73b-9: 38*

Neh. 7. 73b. ²⁵ And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel 8. were in their cities. And all the people gathered themselves together as one man into the broad place that was before the water gate; and they spake unto Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses, which the LORD had commanded to Israel. And Ezra the priest

brought the law before the congregation, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, upon the first 3] day of the seventh month. And he read therein before the broad place that was before the water gate ²⁶ from early morning until midday, in the presence of the men and the women, and of those that could understand; and the ears of

²⁰ Or, *deputies*.

²¹ See *Ezra* 2: 1, &c.

²² As verses 8-65 contain principally the names and numbers of different classes of people who are now of little general interest we omit them.

²³ Nehemiah's Persian title as governor of Jerusalem.

²⁴ Heb. *maneh*.

²⁵ See *Ezra* 3: 1.

²⁶ Heb. *from the light*.

all the people were *attentive* unto the 4] book of the law. And Ezra the scribe stood upon a ²⁷ pulpit of wood, which they had made for the purpose; and beside him stood Mattithiah, and Shema, and Anaiah, and Uriah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchijah, and Hashum, and Hashbaddanah, Zechariah, and Meshullam. 5] And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people; (for he was above all the people;) and when he opened it, all 6] the people stood up: and Ezra blessed the LORD, the great God. And all the people answered, Amen, Amen, with the lifting up of their hands: and they bowed their heads, and worshipped the LORD 7] with their faces to the ground. Also Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiiah, and the Levites, caused the people to understand the law: and the people 8] stood in their place. And they read in the book, in the law of God, ²⁸ distinctly; and they gave the sense, ²⁹ so that 9] they understood the reading. And Nehemiah, which was the Tirshatha, and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites that taught the people, said unto all the people, This day is holy unto the LORD your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard 10] the words of the law. Then he said unto them, Go your way, eat the fat, and drink the sweet, and send portions unto him for whom nothing is prepared: for this day is holy unto our Lord: neither be ye grieved; for the joy of the LORD 11] is your ³⁰ strength. So the Levites stilled all the people, saying, Hold your peace, for the day is holy: neither be ye 12] grieved. And all the people went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth, because they had understood the words that were declared unto them.

13] And on the second day were gathered together the heads of fathers' houses of all the people, the priests, and

the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even to give attention to the words of the 14] law. And they found written in the law, how that the LORD had commanded by Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of 15] the seventh month: and that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount, and fetch olive branches, and branches of wild olive, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths, 16] as it is written. So the people went forth, and brought them, and made themselves booths, every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God, and in the broad place of the water gate, and in the broad place of the gate of 17] Ephraim. And all the congregation of them that were come again out of the captivity made booths, and dwelt in the booths: for since the days of Jeshua the son of Nun unto that day had not the children of Israel done so. And there was 18] very great gladness. Also day by day, from the first day unto the last day, he read in the book of the law of God. And they kept the feast seven days; and on the eighth day was a ³¹ solemn assembly, according unto the ordinance.

9. Now in the twenty and fourth day of this month the children of Israel were assembled with fasting, and with sack- 2] cloth, and earth upon them. And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all strangers, and stood and confessed their sins, and the iniquities of their 3] fathers. And they stood up in their places, and read in the book of the law of the LORD their God a fourth part of the day; and *another* fourth part they confessed, and worshipped the LORD their 4] God. Then stood up upon the stairs of the Levites, Jeshua, and Bani, Kadmiel, Shebaniah, Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, and Chenani, and cried with a loud voice unto 5] the LORD their God. Then the Levites, Jeshua, and Kadmiel, Bani, Hashabneiah, Sherebiah, Hodiah, Shebaniah, and

²⁷ Heb. *tower*.

²⁸ Or, *with an interpretation*.

²⁹ Or, *and caused them to understand*.

³⁰ Or, *strong hold*.

³¹ Or, *closing festival*.

Pethahiah, said, Stand up and bless the LORD your God from everlasting to everlasting: and ³² blessed be thy glorious name, which is exalted above all blessing 6] and praise. Thou art the LORD, even thou alone; thou hast made heaven, the heaven of heavens, with all their host, the earth and all things that are thereon, the seas and all that is in them, and thou preservest them all; and the host of 7] heaven worshippeth thee. Thou art ³³ the LORD the God, who didst choose Abram, and broughtest him forth out of Ur of the Chaldees, and gavest him the 8] name of Abraham; and foundest his heart faithful before thee, and madest a covenant with him to give the land of the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Amorite, and the Perizzite, and the Jebusite, and the Girgashite, even to give it unto his seed, and hast performed thy words; 9] for thou art righteous. And thou sawest the affliction of our fathers in Egypt, and heardest their cry by the Red Sea; 10] and shewedst signs and wonders upon Pharaoh, and on all his servants, and on all the people of his land; for thou knewest that they dealt proudly against them; and didst get thee a name, 11] as it is this day. And thou didst divide the sea before them, so that they went through the midst of the sea on the dry land; and their pursuers thou didst cast into the depths, as a stone into the mighty 12] waters. Moreover thou leddest them in a pillar of cloud by day; and in a pillar of fire by night, to give them light in the way wherein they should go. 13] Thou camest down also upon mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments and true laws, good statutes and 14] commandments: and madest known unto them thy holy sabbath, and commandedst them commandments, and statutes, and a law, by the hand of Moses 15] thy servant: and gavest them bread from heaven for their hunger, and broughtest forth water for them out of the rock for their thirst, and command-

edst them that they should go in to possess the land which thou hadst lifted 16] up thine hand to give them. But they and our fathers dealt proudly, and hardened their neck, and hearkened not to 17] thy commandments, and refused to obey, neither were mindful of thy wonders that thou didst among them; but hardened their neck, ³⁴ and in their rebellion appointed a captain to return to their bondage: but thou art ³⁵ a God ready to pardon, gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in 18] mercy, and forsookest them not. Yea, when they had made them a molten calf, and said, This is thy God that brought thee up out of Egypt, and had wrought 19] great provocations; yet thou in thy manifold mercies forsookest them not in the wilderness: the pillar of cloud departed not from over them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the pillar of fire by night, to shew them light, and the way wherein they should go. 20] Thou gavest also thy good spirit to instruct them, and withheldest not thy manna from their mouth, and gavest 21] them water for their thirst. Yea, forty years didst thou sustain them in the wilderness, *and* they lacked nothing; their clothes waxed not old, and their 22] feet swelled not. Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and peoples, ³⁶ which thou didst allot after their portions: so they possessed the land of Sihon, even the land of the king of Heshbon, and 22] the land of Og king of Bashan. Their children also multipliedst thou as the stars of heaven, and broughtest them into the land, concerning which thou didst say to their fathers, that they should go 24] in to possess it. So the children went in and possessed the land, and thou subduedst before them the inhabitants of the land, the Canaanites, and gavest them into their hands, with their kings, and the peoples of the land, that they might 25] do with them as they would. And they took fenced cities, and a fat land, and possessed houses full of all good

³² Or, *let them bless.*

³³ Or, *O LORD.*

³⁴ The Sept. has, *and appointed a captain to return to their bondage in Egypt.* See

Num. 14: 4.

³⁵ Heb. *a God of forgiveness.*

³⁶ Or, *and didst distribute them into every corner.*

things, cisterns hewn out, vineyards, and olive-yards, and fruit trees in abundance: so they did eat, and were filled, and became fat, and delighted themselves in 26] thy great goodness. Nevertheless they were disobedient, and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind their back, and slew thy prophets which testified against them to turn them again unto thee, and they wrought great provocations. Therefore thou deliveredst them into the hand of their adversaries, who distressed them: and in the time of their trouble, when they cried unto thee, thou heardest from heaven; and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them saviours who saved them out of 28] the hand of their adversaries. But after they had rest, they did evil again before thee: therefore leftest thou them in the hand of their enemies, so that they had the dominion over them: yet when they returned, and cried unto thee, thou heardest from heaven; and many times didst thou deliver them according to thy 29] mercies; and testifiedst against them, that thou mightest bring them again unto thy law: yet they dealt proudly, and hearkened not unto thy commandments, but sinned against thy judgements, (which if a man do, he shall live in them,) and ³⁷ withdrew the shoulder, and hardened their neck, and would not hear. 30] Yet many years didst thou bear with them, and testifiedst against them by thy spirit through thy prophets: yet would they not give ear: therefore gavest thou them into the hand of the peoples of the

31] lands. Nevertheless in thy manifold mercies thou didst not make a full end of them, nor forsake them; for thou art 32] a gracious and merciful God. Now therefore, our God, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who keepest covenant and mercy, let not all the travail seem little before thee, that hath come upon us, on our kings, on our princes, and on our priests, and on our prophets, and on our fathers, and on all thy people, since the time of the kings of Assyria 33] unto this day. Howbeit thou art just in all that is come upon us; for thou hast dealt truly, but we have done wickedly: 34] neither have our kings, our princes, our priests, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments and thy testimonies, wherewith 35] thou didst testify against them. For they have not served thee in their kingdom, and in thy great goodness that thou gavest them, and in the large and fat land which thou gavest before them, neither turned they from their wicked 36] works. Behold, we are servants this day, and as for the land that thou gavest unto our fathers to eat the fruit thereof and the good thereof, behold, we are 37] servants in it. And it yieldeth much increase unto the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins: also they have power over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we 38] ³⁸ are in great distress ³⁸ And ³⁹ yet for all this we make a ⁴⁰ sure covenant, and write it; and our princes, our Levites, and our priests, ⁴¹ seal unto it.

It is clear from the references to the Levites and the law commanding them to dwell in booths during the feast of the seventh month (ch. 8: 14) that in the law that Ezra read at this solemn convocation the priestly law was present. If we were to look up the references in this passage to the various parts of the Pentateuch, we should find abundant evidence that Ezra read from the completed Pentateuch of five books or rolls. At the end the people accepted these as the law of Yahweh and covenanted to keep its regulations (ch. 9: 38). This act on the part of this convocation of Jews was as important as Josiah's reform. By it the five books of Moses and the book of *Joshua* were canonized. The

³⁷ Heb. *they gave a stubborn shoulder.*

³⁸ Ch. 10: 1 in Heb.

³⁹ Or, *because of.*

⁴⁰ Or, *faithful.*

⁴¹ Heb. *are at the sealing.*

Jewish Bible, which had been begun in 621 B.C. by the acceptance of the kernel of *Deuteronomy* as God's Law, was now enlarged to five books. From Nehemiah's convocation to this day they have for the Jew stood as the Law of God.

FURTHER DETAILS OF THE COVENANT, *Neh.* 10:28-31

Neh. 10. 28] And the rest of the people, the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, the Nethinim, and all they that had separated themselves from the peoples of the lands unto the law of God, their wives, their sons, and their daughters, every one that had knowledge 29] and understanding; they clave to their brethren, their nobles, and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and

do all the commandments of the LORD our Lord, and his judgements and his 30] statutes; and that we would not give our daughters unto the peoples of the land, nor take their daughters for our 31] sons: and if the peoples of the land bring ware or any victuals on the sabbath day to sell, that we would not buy of them on the sabbath, or on a holy day: and that we would forgo the ⁴²seventh year, and the ⁴³exaction of every debt.

THE DEDICATION OF THE WALLS, *Neh.* 12:27-43

Neh. 12. 27] And at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem they sought the Levites out of all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication with gladness, both with thanksgivings, and with singing, with cymbals, 28] psalteries, and with harps. And the sons of the singers gathered themselves together, both out of the ⁴⁴plain round about Jerusalem, and from the villages 29] of the Netophathites; also from Beth-gilgal, and out of the fields of Geba and Azmaveth: for the singers had builded them villages round about Jerusalem. And the priests and the Levites purified themselves; and they purified the people, and the gates, and 31] the wall. Then I brought up the princes of Judah upon the wall, and appointed two great companies that gave thanks and went in procession; *whereof one went* on the right hand upon the wall 32] toward the dung gate: and after them went Hoshaiiah, and half of the 33] princes of Judah, and Azariah, Ezra, 34] and Meshullam, Judah, and Benjamin, and Shemaiah, and Jeremiah,

and certain of the priests' sons with trumpets: Zechariah the son of Jonathan, the son of Shemaiah, the son of Mattaniah, the son of Micaiah, the son 36] of Zaccur, the son of Asaph; and his brethren, Shemaiah, and Azarel, Milalai, Gilalai, Maai, Nethanel, and Judah, Hanani, with the musical instruments of David the man of God; and 37] Ezra the scribe was before them: and by the fountain gate, and straight before them, they went up by the stairs of the city of David, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even 38] unto the water gate eastward. And the other company of them that gave thanks went to meet them, and I after them, with the half of the people, upon the wall, above the tower of the furnace, even unto the broad wall; and above the gate of Ephraim, and by the old gate, and by the fish gate, and the tower of Hananel, and the tower of ⁴⁵Hammeah, even unto the sheep gate: and they stood still in the gate of the 40] guard. So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of

⁴² See *Ex.* 23: 10, 11.

⁴³ See *Deut.* 15: 1, 2.

⁴⁴ Or, *Circuit.*

⁴⁵ Or, *The hundred.*

God, and I, and the half of the ⁴⁶ rulers
41] with me: and the priests, Eliakim,
Maaseiah, Miniamin, Micaiah, Elioenai,
Zechariah, and Hananiah, with trump-
42] ets; and Maaseiah, and Shemaiah,
and Eleazar, and Uzzi, and Jehohanan,
and Malchijah, and Elam, and Ezer. And

the singers sang loud, with Jezrahiah
43] their overseer. And they offered
great sacrifices that day, and rejoiced;
for God had made them rejoice with
great joy; and the women also and the
children rejoiced: so that the joy of
Jerusalem was heard even afar off.

The two processions separated at the southwest corner of the city and, each following the line of the wall in a different direction, met at the temple which was at the northeast corner. The position of each of the landmarks mentioned has been identified in the topography of modern Jerusalem.

REGULATIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE TEMPLE,

Neh. 10: 32-39

Neh. 10. 32] Also we made ordinances
for us, to charge ourselves yearly with
the third part of a shekel for the service
33] of the house of our God; for the
shewbread, and for the continual meal
offering, and for the continual burnt of-
fering, of the sabbaths, of the new
moons, for the set feasts, and for the
holy things, and for the sin offerings to
make atonement for Israel, and for all
the work of the house of our God.
34] And we cast lots, the priests, the
Levites, and the people, for the wood
offering, to bring it into the house of our
God, according to our fathers' houses,
at times appointed, year by year, to burn
upon the altar of the LORD our God, as
35] it is written in the law: and to bring
the firstfruits of our ground, and the
firstfruits of all fruit of all manner of
trees, year by year, unto the house of
36] the LORD: also the firstborn of our
sons, and of our cattle, as it is written
in the law, and the firstlings of our herds

and of our flocks, to bring to the house of
our God, unto the priests that minister in
37] the house of our God: and that we
should bring the firstfruits of our
⁴⁷ dough, and our heave offerings, and
the fruit of all manner of trees, ⁴⁷ the
wine and the oil, unto the priests, to the
chambers of the house of our God; and
the tithes of our ground unto the Le-
vites; for they, the Levites, take the
tithes in all the cities of our tillage.
38] And the priest the son of Aaron shall
be with the Levites, when the Levites
take tithes: and the Levites shall bring
up the tithe of the tithes unto the house
of our God, to the chambers, into the
39] treasure house. For the children of
Israel and the children of Levi shall
bring the heave offering of the corn, of
⁴⁸ the wine, and of the oil, unto the
chambers, where are the vessels of the
sanctuary, and the priests that minister,
and the porters, and the singers: and we
will not forsake the house of our God.

This records the origin of that temple-tax which, as long as the temple stood, loyal Jews were expected to pay. It was later increased to a half-shekel (see *Matthew 17: 24*).

A DEVICE FOR PEOPLING JERUSALEM, *Neh. 11: 1-2*

Neh. 11. And the princes of the peo-
ple dwelt in Jerusalem: the rest of the

people also cast lots, to bring one of ten
to dwell in Jerusalem the holy city, and

⁴⁶ Or, *deputies*.

⁴⁷ Or, *coarse meal*.

⁴⁸ Or, *the vintage*.

2] nine parts in the *other* cities. And the people blessed all the men that willingly | offered themselves to dwell in Jerusalem.

It appears from *Nehemiah* 7:4 that "the people were few and the houses not builded." In other words, now that the walls were rebuilt on the old lines, they enclosed much unoccupied space. The device described in *Nehemiah* 11:1, 2 not only would help to remedy this, but would give each group in the land a representative in the city made holy by Yahweh's presence.

PURGING THE POPULATION, *Neh.* 13:1-3; *Ezra* 10:1-17

Neh. 13. On that day they read in the book of Moses in the audience of the people; and therein was found written, that an Ammonite and a Moabite should not enter into the assembly of God for 2] ever; because they met not the children of Israel with bread and with water,

but hired Balaam against them, to curse them: howbeit our God turned the curse 3] into a blessing. And it came to pass, when they had heard the law, that they separated from Israel all the mixed multitude.

(As this regulation is found only in *Deuteronomy* (ch. 23:3) this reference to it is one of the proofs that Ezra and Nehemiah possessed the whole Pentateuch.)

Ezra 10. Now while Ezra prayed, and made confession, weeping and casting himself down before the house of God, there was gathered together unto him out of Israel a very great congregation of men and women and children: for the 2] people wept very sore. And Shecaniah the son of Jehiel, one of the sons of Elam, answered and said unto Ezra, We have trespassed against our God, and have married strange women of the peoples of the land: yet now there is hope 3] for Israel concerning this thing. Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God to put away all the wives, and such as are born of them, according to the counsel of ⁴⁹my lord, and of those that tremble at the commandment of our God; and let it be done according to the 4] law. Arise; for the matter belongeth unto thee, and we are with thee: be 5] of good courage, and do it. Then arose Ezra, and made the chiefs of the priests, the Levites, and all Israel, to swear that they would do according to this word.

6] So they sware. Then Ezra rose up from before the house of God, and went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib: ⁵⁰and when he came thither, he did eat no bread, nor drink water: for he mourned because of the trespass 7] of them of the captivity. And they made proclamation throughout Judah and Jerusalem unto all the children of the captivity, that they should gather themselves together unto Jerusalem; and that whosoever came not within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be ⁵¹forfeited, and himself separated from the congregation of the captivity. Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin gathered themselves together unto Jerusalem within the three days; it was the ninth month, on the twentieth day of the month: and all the people sat in the broad place before the house of God, trembling because of this matter, 10] and for ⁵²the great rain. And Ezra the priest stood up, and said unto them,

⁴⁹ Or, *the Lord*.

⁵⁰ According to some ancient versions, *and he lodged there*.

⁵¹ Heb, *devoted*.

⁵² Heb. *the rains*.

Ye have trespassed, and have married strange women, to increase the guilt of 11] Israel. Now therefore ⁵³ make confession unto the LORD, the God of your fathers, and do his pleasure: and separate yourselves from the peoples of the land, and from the strange women. 12] Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, ⁵⁴ As thou hast said concerning us, so must we do. 13] But the people are many, and it is a time of much rain, and we are not able to stand without, neither is this a work of one day or two: for we have greatly 14] transgressed in this matter. Let now our princes ⁵⁵ be appointed for all the congregation, and let all them that are in our cities which have married strange women come at appointed times, and

with them the elders of every city, and the judges thereof, until the fierce wrath of our God be turned from us, ⁵⁶ until 15] this matter be despatched. Only Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahzeiah the son of Tikvah ⁵⁷ stood up against this *matter*: and Meshullam and Shab-16] bethai the Levite helped them. And the children of the captivity did so. And Ezra the priest, *with* certain heads of fathers' *houses*, after their fathers' houses, and all of them by their names, were separated; and they sat down in the first day of the tenth month to ex-17] amine the matter. And they made an end with all the men that had married strange women by the first day of the first month.

These zealous but ruthless reformers did not hesitate to break up families in order to keep Jewish blood pure. They compelled these men to divorce their wives, regardless of the feelings or fate of the women and the rights of their innocent children. Many resented the suffering thus caused, and it is believed that the book of *Ruth* was composed at this time as a protest. It shows how fine and devoted Ruth, the Moabitess, was, and how she became the ancestress of David, Israel's greatest king.

THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK OF PSALMS

Nehemiah in his book refers to the "singers" twelve times, and scholars are agreed that the book of *Psalms* began to be compiled at this time. All readers of the Revised Version know that the Psalter consists of five "books." It was the first of these, consisting of *Psalms* 3-41, which was now compiled as a hymn-book for the temple service. (*Psalms* 1 and 2, originally one psalm, were prefixed later.) Hymn-books in all ages are made by collecting and adapting poems or parts of poems already in existence so that they will express the religious sentiments of those who use them in worship, and so that they can be sung to some tune known by the singers and agreeable to them. This first Psalter came to be called "The Psalms of David." Possibly the third *Psalm*, which stood at the beginning of the collection and gave the whole its name, may have been adapted by the editor of the book from a poem of David. Whoever wrote the rest of the *Psalms*, they were edited to express the religious sentiments of the time of Ezra

⁵³ Or, *give thanks*.

⁵⁴ Or, *As thou hast said, so it behoveth us to do*.

⁵⁵ Heb. *stand*.

⁵⁶ Or, *as touching this matter*.

⁵⁷ Or, *were appointed over this*.

and Nehemiah, and not the very different sentiments of David's time. The word for "firmament" in the nineteenth *Psalm*, for instance, is not known in Hebrew until the P Document about 450 B.C. The eighth *Psalm* was written by a man who knew the first chapter of Genesis, which was composed by the author of the P Document. Similar proof could be adduced for many of the others. In many cases superscriptions were supplied by the editor, indicating the tunes to which psalms were to be sung and points where the instruments were to play accompaniments or interludes.

NEHEMIAH'S SECOND GOVERNORSHIP

Nehemiah's first term of office lasted twelve years. In 374 B.C. he went for a time to the court of Artaxerxes. How long he was absent from Jerusalem, we are not told; then he came back for another term of office. Some important events of his administration date from his second term as governor.

THE EXPULSION OF ELIASHIB, A FRIEND OF SANBALLAT, *Neh. 13: 4-9, 28-29*

Neh. 13. 4] Now before this, Eliashib the priest, who was appointed over the ⁵⁸ chambers of the house of our God, **5]** being allied unto Tobiah, had prepared for him a great chamber, where aforetime they laid the meal offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the wine, and the oil, which were given by commandment to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters; and the heave offerings for the **6]** priests. But in all this *time* I was not at Jerusalem: for in the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon I went unto the king, and after certain days asked I leave of the king: **7]** and I came to Jerusalem, and understood the evil that Eliashib had done for

Tobiah, in preparing him a chamber in **8]** the courts of the house of God. And it grieved me sore: therefore I cast forth all the household stuff of Tobiah out of **9]** the chamber. Then I commanded, and they cleansed the chambers: and thither brought I again the vessels of the house of God, with the meal offerings and the frankincense.

.
28] And one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest, was son in law to Sanballat the Horonite: there-
29] fore I chased him from me. Remember them, O my God, ⁵⁹ because they have defiled the priesthood, and the covenant of the priesthood, and of the Levites.

These acts of Nehemiah seem to have precipitated the final split between the Jews and the Samaritans. Although there had been growing friction between the Jews and their northern neighbors, down to this time the Samaritans had considered Jerusalem as their religious capital and had worshiped there. In its completed form the book of *Deuteronomy* had recognized the sacredness of the Samaritan mountains, Ebal and Gerizim (see *Deut. 27*); Samaritans had come to Jerusalem to worship

⁵⁸ Heb. *chamber*.

⁵⁹ Heb. *for the defilings of &c.*

in the days of Gedaliah, (see *Jer.* 41 : 5) ; and the Samaritans still accept as their Bible the Pentateuch which in Nehemiah's first administration had been adopted as the Law of God. Nehemiah and Ezra, in addition to the friction caused by the political opposition of Sanballat, regarded the Samaritans as a mixed race and not of pure Hebrew descent, because of the foreigners whom Sargon of Assyria had settled in Samaria ; hence, in his zeal to purge the Jewish people of foreign blood, Nehemiah pushed the matter to this final break—an act which, as we shall see, resulted in permanent schism.

COMPULSORY SABBATH OBSERVANCE, *Neh.* 13 : 15-22

Neh. 13. 15] In those days saw I in Judah some treading winepresses on the sabbath, and bringing in ⁶⁰ sheaves, and lading asses *therewith*; as also wine, grapes, and figs, and all manner of burdens, which they brought into Jerusalem on the sabbath day: and I testified *against them* in the day wherein they 16] sold victuals. There dwelt men of Tyre also therein, which brought in fish, and all manner of ware, and sold on the sabbath unto the children of Judah, and 17] in Jerusalem. Then I contended with the nobles of Judah, and said unto them, What evil thing is this that ye do, and 18] profane the sabbath day? Did not your fathers thus, and did not our God bring all this evil upon us, and upon this city? yet ye bring more wrath upon 19] Israel by profaning the sabbath. And it came to pass that, when the gates of

Jerusalem began to be dark before the sabbath, I commanded that the doors should be shut, and commanded that they should not be opened till after the sabbath: and some of my servants set I over the gates, that there should no burden be brought in on the sabbath day. 20] So the merchants and sellers of all kind of ware lodged without Jerusalem 21] once or twice. Then I testified against them, and said unto them, Why lodge ye ⁶¹ about the wall? if ye do so again, I will lay hands on you. From that time forth came they no more on the Sabbath. 22] And I commanded the Levites that they should purify themselves, and that they should come and keep the gates, to sanctify the sabbath day. Remember unto me, O my God, this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy.

THE LEVITES AND THE TITHES, *Neh.* 13 : 10-14

Neh. 13. 10] And I perceived that the portions of the Levites had not been given them; so that the Levites and the singers, that did the work, were fled 11] every one to his field. Then contended I with the ⁶² rulers, and said, Why is the house of God forsaken? And I gathered them together, and set them 12] in their place. Then brought all Judah the tithe of the corn and the wine 13] and the oil unto the treasuries. And

I made treasurers over the treasuries, Shelemiah the priest, and Zadok the scribe, and of the Levites, Pedaiah: next to them was Hanan the son of Zaccur, the son of Mattaniah: for they were counted faithful, and their business was 14] to distribute unto their brethren. Remember me, O my God, concerning this, and wipe not out my ⁶³ good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the observances thereof.

The priestly law (see *Num.* 18 : 24) had given the tithes (a tenth of all that was raised) to the Levites. During his first administration Nehe-

⁶⁰ Or, *heaps of corn.*
⁶¹ Heb. *before.*

⁶² Or, *deputies.*
⁶³ Heb. *kindnesses.*

miah had arranged that these should be paid (*Neh.* 10:37). It was, however, a degree of religious taxation to which the Jews were not accustomed, and they had in Nehemiah's absence refused to pay them. The result was that the Levites had to abandon their duties at the temple and go to their estates in the country and work for a living. This Nehemiah sought to correct. In his effort he was aided by the prophet Malachi.

THE PROPHET MALACHI

Scholars have long recognized that the prophet Malachi lived and wrote somewhere about 400 B.C. The following passage (*Mal.* 3:7-12) makes it probable that Malachi's prophetic activity was contemporaneous with Nehemiah's second administration after the year 374 B.C., and that the prophet came to the help of the governor in his effort to collect the tithes.

Mal. 3. 7] From the days of your fathers ye have turned aside from mine ordinances, and have not kept them. Return unto me, and I will return unto you, saith the LORD of hosts. But ye say, 8] Wherein shall we return? Will a man rob God? yet ye rob me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes 9] and ⁶⁴offerings. Ye are cursed with the curse; for ye rob me, even this whole 10] nation. Bring ye the whole tithe into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now here-

with, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall 11] not be room enough *to receive it*. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, 12] saith the LORD of hosts. And all nations shall call you happy: for ye shall be a delightful land, saith the LORD of hosts.

For a prophet to write thus about tithes and the ritual is evidence that both the ritual and the center of prophetic interest had changed since the days of the great prophets of the eighth century. Then the zeal of the prophets was directed toward ethics and the ritual was denounced as an instrument of heathenism and immorality. By the time of Malachi the ritual had been purged of immorality and so transformed as to embody many of the prophetic ideals, so a prophet devoted the weight of his prophetic office to enjoining the fulfilment of ritual obligations, and denounced the withholding of tithes as robbery of God.

ANOTHER ATTACK ON MIXED MARRIAGES, *Neh.* 13:23-27

Neh. 13. 23] In those days also saw I the Jews that ⁶⁵had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab: 24] and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak

in the Jews' language, but according to 25] the language of each people. And I contended with them, and ⁶⁶cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them

⁶⁴ Heb. *heave offerings*.

⁶⁵ Heb. *had made to dwell* with them.

⁶⁶ Or, *reviled*.

swear by God, *saying*, Ye shall not give your daughters unto their sons, nor take their daughters for your sons, or for 26] yourselves. Did not Solomon king of Israel sin by these things? yet among many nations was there no king like him, and he was beloved of his God, and God

made him king over all Israel: nevertheless even him did strange women 27] cause to sin. Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil. to trespass against our God in marrying strange women?

That such a purging was necessary in 374 after the stringent measures that had been taken in 386-385 B.C., is evidence that there were many Jews who did not take kindly to the social regulations of the reforming governor.

NEHEMIAH'S ECONOMIC REGULATIONS, *Neh.* 5: 1-19

Neh. 5. Then there arose a great cry of the people and of their wives against 2] their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons and our daughters, are many: let us get corn, 3] that we may eat and live. Some also there were that said, We are mortgaging our fields, and our vineyards, and our houses: let us get corn, because of the 4] dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute *upon* our fields and our vineyards. 5] Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children; and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be servants, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage *already*: neither is it in our power to help it; for other men 6] have our fields and our vineyards. And I was very angry when I heard their cry 7] and these words. Then I consulted with myself, and contended with the nobles and the ⁶⁷ rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact usury, every one of his brother. And I held a great assembly 8] against them. And I said unto them, We after our ability have ⁶⁸ redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and would ye even sell your brethren, and should they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and 9] found never a word. Also I said, The thing that ye do is not good: ought ye not to walk in the fear of our God, because

of the reproach of the heathen our 10] enemies? And I likewise, my brethren and my servants, do lend them money and corn on usury. I pray you, let us leave 11] off this usury. Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their fields, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the 12] oil, that ye exact of them. Then said they, We will restore them, and will require nothing of them; so will we do, even as thou sayest. Then I called the priests, and took an oath of them, that they should do according to this promise. 13] Also I shook out my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise; even thus be he shaken out, and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised the Lord. And the people did according to 14] this promise. Moreover from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, *that is*, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the gov- 15] ernor. But the former governors that were before me ⁶⁹ were chargeable unto the people, and took of them bread and wine, ⁷⁰ beside forty shekels of silver; yea, even their servants ⁷¹ bare rule over the people: but so did not I,

⁶⁷ Or, *deputies*.

⁶⁸ Heb. *bought*.

⁶⁹ Or, *laid burdens upon*.

⁷⁰ Or, *at the rate of*. Or, *afterward*.

⁷¹ Or, *lorded over*.

16] because of the fear of God. Yea, also I ⁷² continued in this work of this wall, neither bought we any land: and all my servants were gathered thither unto the 17] work. Moreover there were at my table of the Jews and the ⁶⁷ rulers an hundred and fifty men, beside those that came unto us from among the heathen 18] that were round about us. Now that

which was prepared for one day was one ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me, and once in ten days store of all sorts of wine: yet for all this I demanded not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy 19] upon this people. Remember unto me, O my God, for good, all that I have done for this people.

Nehemiah's prohibition of taking interest for money loaned to a fellow Jew was simply an enforcement of a provision found in the oldest Hebrew code of laws (*Ex. 22: 25*) and repeated in the law of *Deuteronomy* (*ch. 25: 36*). Centuries later the regulations was set aside by an ingenious interpretation.

THE CURTAIN FALLS

From this point on, our sources tell us nothing of Nehemiah. How long his second term as governor continued or how long he lived, we do not know. When next we get a glimpse of Jerusalem through the pages of Josephus, Nehemiah has vanished, and a Bagoses is governor.

THE JEWISH CHURCH

The four centuries from the beginning of the work of Amos to the conclusion of that of Nehemiah transformed the old Hebrew religion into the Jewish Church, and forever differentiated the Jewish religion from the heathen Semitic religions with which the older Hebrew religion had been so closely akin. The transformation had been brought about partly by prophetic activity and priestly coöperation, but partly, too, by the national misfortunes, which chastened the Jewish spirit and made it amenable to the prophetic teaching.

⁷² Heb. *held fast to*.

CHAPTER XXI

FROM NEHEMIAH TO THE MACCABEES

FOR the two hundred years from Nehemiah to the Maccabees we have no connected sources of information; it is impossible, therefore, to write a continuous history of the Jewish people during this period. For surrounding peoples we possess connected chronicles, but for the Jews we have only a few specific statements. It is possible nevertheless to form a fairly accurate estimate of the progress of events.

A REVOLT UNDER ARTAXERXES III

Artaxerxes II died in 359 B.C., and, after two of his brothers had briefly held the throne, Artaxerxes III (Ochus), a cruel prince, possessed himself of it, and reigned until 338 B.C. During the early years of his reign he tried to reconquer Egypt, which had revolted from Persia in the year 406 B.C., and had maintained its independence. In this effort Artaxerxes was unsuccessful, and as a consequence there were revolutions in other portions of his dominions, including Syria. It is probable that the Jews participated in these revolts and attempted to throw off the Persian yoke, for Josephus states: "When Eliashib the high priest was dead, his son Judas succeeded to the high priesthood: and when he was dead his son John took that dignity, on whose account it was that Bagoses, the general of another Artaxerxes' army, polluted the temple, and imposed tribute on the Jews, that out of the public stock, before they offered the daily sacrifices, they should pay for every lamb fifty shekels."¹ Josephus accounts for Bagoses' action by saying that it was because John had brought about the death of his brother Jesus (Joshua), who was a friend of Bagoses, but such violent measures would hardly have been taken except in punishment for an attempted revolt. Doubtless the struggle stirred deeply the national consciousness of the Jews and intensified their devotion to their religion. Probably these events occurred about 350 B.C.

THE COMING OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

In 342 B.C. Artaxerxes III had reconquered Egypt. In 338 B.C. his general Bagoses conspired against him and murdered him, putting his son

¹ *Antiquities*, XI, 5, 1.

Arses on the Persian throne. After two years Arses was replaced by Darius III (Codamanus). In the same year Philip of Macedonia died and was succeeded by his young son Alexander, a boy of twenty, who became in the next few years the greatest conqueror the world had seen. In the autumn of 334 B.C. Alexander crossed into Asia and defeated the army of the Persian satraps at the battle of the Granicus. In November of 333 B.C. he defeated Darius himself at Issus, at the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. The year 332 B.C. was spent in besieging Tyre and Gaza and conquering Egypt. During this year all Syria and Palestine passed from Persian to Macedonian (Greek) rule. In October of the year 331 B.C. Alexander finally overthrew Darius at the battle of Arbela, in the territory that was once Assyria, and brought the Persian empire to an end.

Josephus tells an interesting tale of how Alexander visited Jerusalem,² and, though the story is not credited by scholars generally, we believe it probably true. Jerusalem was not a place of sufficient political importance to merit much attention from Alexander, and it is thought that the story which Josephus tells grew up to satisfy Jewish national feeling.

THE BUILDING OF THE SAMARITAN TEMPLE

Of this Josephus gives the following account.³ "But Sanballat thought he had now found a proper opportunity to make his attempt, so he renounced Darius, and taking with him seven thousand of his subjects, he came to Alexander; and finding him besieging the city of Tyre, he said to him that he delivered up to him these men, who came out of places under his dominion, and did gladly accept of him for their lord, instead of Darius. So when Alexander had received him kindly, Sanballat thereupon took courage, and spake to him about this present affair. He told him that 'he had a son-in-law, Manasseh, who was brother to the high priest Jaddua; and that there were many others of his own nation now with him, that were desirous to have a temple in the places subject to him; that it would be for the king's advantage to have the strength of the Jews divided into two parts, lest, when the nation is of one mind and united, upon any attempt for innovation, it proved troublesome to kings, as it had formerly proved to kings of Assyria.' Whereupon Alexander gave Sanballat leave to do so, who used the utmost diligence and built the temple, and made Manasseh the priest, and deemed it a great reward that his daughter's children should have the dignity: but when the seven months of the siege of Tyre were over, and the two months of the siege of Gaza, Sanballat died."

Thus it came about that the schism between the Jews and Samaritans

² *Antiquities*, XI, 8, 4-6. The important parts of it are quoted below p. 361 f.

³ *Antiquities*, XI, 8, 4.

was completed and the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim built in the year 332 B.C. The temple stood until after the time of Christ (see *John* 4: 20-24), and the Samaritans, the oldest Jewish sect, exist, though as a mere remnant, until the present time.⁴ The Sanballat mentioned here, who, as an old man, died in 332 B.C., is the same Sanballat who fifty years earlier had opposed Nehemiah.

ALEXANDER AT JERUSALEM

Josephus's account of Alexander's dealings with the Jews is as follows. He says that when Alexander was besieging Tyre "he sent an epistle to the Jewish high priest 'to send him some auxiliaries, and to supply his army with provisions; and that what presents he formerly sent to Darius, he would now send to him, and choose the friendship of the Macedonians, and that he should never repent of so doing.' But the high priest answered the messenger, that 'he had given his oath to Darius not to bear arms against him; and he said that he would not transgress this while Darius was in the land of the living.' Upon hearing this answer Alexander was very angry; and though he determined not to leave Tyre, which was just ready to be taken, yet as soon as he had taken it, he threatened that he would make an expedition against the Jewish high priest, and through him teach all men to whom they must keep their oaths. . . . Now Alexander, when he had taken Gaza, made haste to go up to Jerusalem; and Jaddua, the high priest, when he heard that, was in an agony, and under terror, as not knowing how he should meet the Macedonians, since the king was displeased at his foregoing disobedience. He therefore ordained that the people should make a supplication, and should join with him in making a sacrifice to God, whom he besought to protect the nation, and to deliver them from the perils that were coming upon them: whereupon God warned him in a dream. . . . According to which dream he acted entirely, and so waited the coming of the king. And when he understood that he was not far from the city, he went out in procession with the priests and the multitude of the citizens. The procession was venerable and the manner of it different from other nations. It reached to a place called Sapha, which name translated into Greek signifies a *prospect*, for you have thence a prospect both of Jerusalem and the temple; and when the Phœnicians and Chaldæans who followed him thought they should have liberty to plunder the city, and torment the high priest to death, which the king's displeasure fairly promised them, the very reverse of it happened; for Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance in white garments, while the priests stood clothed in fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his head, having the golden crown whereon the name of God was engraved,

⁴ For a fuller account of this sect see J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia, 1907.

he approached by himself, and adored that Name, and first saluted the high priest. The Jews also did altogether with one voice salute Alexander, and encompass him about : whereupon the king of Syria and the rest were surprised at what Alexander had done, and supposed him disordered in his mind. . . . So when Alexander had thus settled matters at Jerusalem, he came to neighboring cities." ⁵

There can be no doubt that, in parts of this narrative which we have not quoted, Josephus permits his Jewish imagination to represent Alexander as worshiping Jehovah too much as a Jew would do, but that seems to be no good reason for not accepting the passage quoted as substantial history. With the memory of what had been suffered at the hands of Bagoses twenty years before, it is not improbable that at first the high priest refused to desert the Persian king for Alexander. If such a refusal were made it is altogether improbable that Alexander would march against Egypt and leave Jerusalem as a hostile fortress in his rear, and it is quite in keeping with Alexander's impulsive and half-superstitious character, when he saw not an army but a peaceful religious procession before him, and found himself saluted as king, to forgive the past, and to worship Yahweh as he would worship Zeus.

ALEXANDER AND HIS SUCCESSORS

This is not the place to repeat the oft-told story of Alexander's career. After the battle of Arbela in 331 B.C. he gradually conquered the whole of the great table-land of what is now Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan; and, to the northeast, he conquered Bactria. He also led his armies into India, conquering as far as the Punjab. When his army refused to go farther, he sailed down the Indus to its mouth, making his way back to Babylon, where he arrived in 325 B.C. Here he planned a great empire, of which Babylon should be the capital. The empire was to extend from India to the Atlantic, including both shores of the Mediterranean, which were yet to be conquered. In June, 323 B.C., after a supper at which he had drunk too heavily, he sickened, and in a few days died.

At the death of Alexander at the age of thirty-three, his generals were dazed. They deliberated long on what to do. He had left no legitimate heir, though one was expected soon to be born. Finally each general, except Perdikkas and Seleucus, was made satrap of a province. Perdikkas was made regent and Seleucus commander of the army. In the distribution of provinces Ptolemy took Egypt, Antigonus, Phrygia; and Lysimachus, Thrace. With the others we are not especially concerned. The one thing on which the generals were united was jealousy of one another. After two years the regent was assassinated, and Seleucus, recognizing

⁵ Abridged from *Antiquities*, XI, 7, 3-6.

that two years before he had made a mistake in not securing a province, managed to get Babylonia. Soon the generals were at war with one another. At one time Antigonus seemed destined to gain the upper hand, having conquered so many of the others. In 316 B.C. he drove Seleucus from Babylonia, to take refuge with Ptolemy in Egypt. Afterward Antigonus conquered Media and beyond. Finally he sent his son Demetrius to conquer Egypt, but at Gaza in 312 B.C. Ptolemy and Seleucus defeated him. At this battle Demetrius had a contingent of Nabathæan soldiers in his army. These nomadic conquerors of ancient Edom had now become a settled people and had grown to such power that kings courted their help.

When Demetrius was defeated at Gaza, Seleucus begged a thousand horsemen from Ptolemy and with these started back across the desert to Babylonia to retake his kingdom. He had been popular there and the people welcomed him again. This event was so important that Seleucus counted it as the beginning of his reign, and he and his successors reckoned time from it. It was the beginning of what is known as "The Seleucid Era." From this time onward Seleucus was uniformly successful, and by the year 301 B.C. he had overthrown Antigonus and all the other satraps east of Phrygia and controlled an empire extending from Phrygia and the Mediterranean to the borders of India. As he did not trust his fellow generals, who still held Egypt, Thrace, Macedonia, and Epirus, he dared not live so far east as Babylon, and built on the Orontes in Syria the city of Antioch as his capital, naming it for his father Antiochus.

Of Alexander's heirs, those with whom the Jews had particularly to do were Ptolemy and Seleucus and their successors. Ptolemy induced many Jews to settle in Alexandria, a city that Alexander had founded while he was in Egypt, and that Ptolemy made his capital. As time went on and the Seleucidæ founded cities, they too induced Jews to settle in them. Thus the Jews became more widely scattered and came under Greek influence.

Ptolemy Lagi (son of Lagus) controlled Egypt from 323 until his death in 283 B.C. His son Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned from 283 to 247 B.C., and his grandson, Ptolemy Euergetes I, from 247 to 222 B.C. Seleucus ruled at Antioch until 282 B.C.; his son, Antiochus I, from 282 to 261 B.C.; Antiochus II, from 261 to 245 B.C.; Seleucus II, from 245 to 227 B.C.; and Seleucus III, from 227 to 224 B.C.

While geographically Palestine belonged to Syria, Ptolemy I had taken possession of it as an appanage to his province of Egypt, at least after the battle of Gaza. Seleucus I, because of his indebtedness to Ptolemy for the thousand men with whom in 312 B.C. he recovered his province and laid the foundation of his kingdom, never disputed Ptolemy's pos-

session of Palestine. Thus it happened that from 312 to 199 B.C. the Jews of Palestine were under the Ptolemies of Egypt.

JEWISH GOVERNMENT

It appears that when Alexander the Great took Jerusalem the high priest was the head of the state. So far as we know, Bagoses had been the last Persian governor. Under the first three Ptolemies the high priest was left in sole charge, though he was compelled to pay an annual tax to the Egyptians. From the early days of Hebrew history the government of tribes and towns had been in the hands of "elders," and, in accordance with this, a group of selected elders came to be associated with the high priest. We hear of this group first in this so-called "Greek" period of the history to which we have now come, so it is called the "Gerousia" or "Sanhedrin"—both words of Greek origin.

THE SYNAGOGUE

Having now formed some idea of the political conditions and changes of the late Persian and early Greek periods, we turn to the religious and literary developments of this time. First among these is the institution of the synagogue, or Beth-din, "house of the law." The date of the beginning of the synagogue is unknown, but it is the present writer's opinion that it originated in the late Persian period, soon after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. With the acceptance of the Pentateuch as the fundamental law of their life it became necessary for all Jews to acquaint themselves with the law. Houses were accordingly set apart in all the towns, even in Judea, where people could gather and have the law read to them. The law seems to have been compiled largely by Jews in Babylonia and to have been intensely studied there; probably synagogues existed there as soon as in Palestine. In time they became numerous even in Jerusalem itself, as the population increased and it became inconvenient for the temple courts to accommodate all. To the synagogues, intended at first for the instruction of adults, schools for Jewish children were soon attached, that they too might learn to read the law. Then it was natural to gather for the reading of the law on the Sabbath, and equally natural to offer public prayers in connection with the reading; and so in time there grew up an extensive synagogue liturgy, which was employed in synagogues all over the world, wherever Jews were scattered. This synagogue service was the only worship in which most Jews could participate, except on those rare occasions (perhaps only once or twice in a lifetime), when they could visit the temple in Jerusalem. Thus there began in this period an institu-

tion which developed a spiritual form of worship without animal sacrifice centuries before the destruction of the temple.

ADDITIONS TO THE PSALTER

It was probably before the end of the Persian period that the second and third "books" of psalms were added to the Psalter (*Psalms* 42-89). These "books" were made (or at least the part of them from *Psalms* 42 to *Psalms* 83 were compiled) by an editor who preferred the word "God" (*Elōhīm*) to Yahweh as the divine name. He took three previously existing hymn-books and combined them and went through the psalms and substituted the word "God" for "Yahweh" wherever "Yahweh" occurred. Sometimes the result created an ambiguity, as in *Psalms* 82: 1. Once in a wedding poem (*Psalms* 45: 6) he substituted "God" for the verb "shall be," which in Hebrew looks much like "Yahweh," but the substitution introduced a religious element into what was before hardly a religious poem. The three hymn-books which he had combined had been entitled "The Psalms of Korah," "The Psalms of Asaph," and "The Prayers of David the Son of Jesse." He placed first the psalms from the hymn-book of "The Sons of Korah," *Psalms* 42-49. These he followed by one from "The Psalms of Asaph," *Psalms* 50, so as to have this come next to *Psalms* 51. Then he put in all the psalms from "The Prayers of David," *Psalms* 51-72, even keeping the colophon which stood at the end of that book: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended" (*Psalms* 72: 20), which was written to close that book as we sometimes put "The End" at the end of a book. Then he followed this with the remaining psalms from the hymn-book of "Asaph," *Psalms* 73-83. A little later another editor, who did not take the trouble to edit the name "Yahweh" out of his hymns, added *Psalms* 84-89. We think that all this was done before the end of the Persian period, for in these books we have the same musical notations and names of tunes as in "Book" I of the Psalter, and when the next additions to the Psalter were made in the Maccabean period, these musical notations were no longer employed, and were, apparently, misunderstood. At least one other editor worked over some of these psalms later, for in *Psalms* 44, 74, and 79 references to events of the Maccabean period are now found. *Psalms* 44 affords an interesting illustration of the growth of some of these hymns. Verses 1-8 are a bit of a pre-exilic hymn, at the end of which the term "selah," "strike-up," is a sign to the musicians to play an interlude. Verses 9-16 were added at a time of national defeat, perhaps when Bagoses put down a Jewish rebellion. Verses 17-26 were written at a time of religious persecution, the Maccabean period; the whole strophe was added then, but it is not separated from the preceding strophe by "selah," for by the Maccabean time this term was no longer employed.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

As David was the ideal musician to Hebrews, so Solomon was the ideal wise man. Just as they named their Psalter after David, so they named their earliest collections of proverbs after Solomon. Perhaps he did originate some of them, but, if so, we cannot now distinguish them. Probably collections of proverbs were made before the Babylonian exile. A collection beginning in the book of *Proverbs* at ch. 25:1 is said to be "proverbs, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Scholars are, however, pretty generally agreed that the book of *Proverbs* as we have it was largely compiled after the Babylonian exile, and there is some reason to think that it was not composed before the Greek period. We may think, then, of the collection and perfection of this book as one of the literary activities of this period. Like the book of *Job*, it belongs to the work of sages, rather than of priests or prophets. The Hebrews called it "Wisdom." It does not, like *Job*, however, discuss a great religious question; it contains maxims of practical expediency.

CHRONICLES, EZRA, AND NEHEMIAH

Just at the end of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek period, perhaps about 330 B.C., the first and second books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* were composed, in order to furnish a version of the history of Israel that would encourage the people to keep the Levitical law. About 620-600 B.C. the books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings* (at least up to 2 *Kings* 24:7) had been written to persuade Jews by lessons drawn from the national history to obey the law of *Deuteronomy*. The Levitical law was, however, different from the law of *Deuteronomy*. Moreover those earlier books contained many things, such as some stories of David's sins, which had a bad influence on Jewish morals. Some admirer of the priestly law set himself, therefore, the task of providing an expurgated edition of the national history that could, in the changed conditions, be read to edification. He did more than this; he carried back to David's time all institutions, such as the organization of the Levites, which he could not carry back to Moses. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* are a part of his work; they reveal his style and point of view. He employed the older canonical books as sources; he embodied memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah; he professes to have used also other sources, but scholars are convinced that sometimes he drew upon his imagination. His work is not considered as good and trustworthy an authority as the earlier works, where it differs from them. When he quotes Nehemiah's own writings, it is different. The latest high priest whom he mentions is Jaddua (*Neh.* 12:10), who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great. Probably, therefore, the writer composed his work about 330 B.C.

ISAIAH 24-27

It has already been noted that elements of different dates found their way into the book of *Isaiah*. The latest of these—the half-apocalyptic visions in *Isaiah* 24-27—are thought by scholars to have been composed at about the same time as the books of *Chronicles*.

SECOND ZECHARIAH

The latest of all the prophetic works in the Old Testament are the prophecies which now comprise chapters 9-14 of the book of *Zechariah*. It is evident that these prophecies are not from the Zechariah who lived in the time of Zerubbabel. They differ in style, and afford unmistakable evidence that when they were written Judah was in danger from Greek armies. When, in *Zechariah* 9: 13, the prophet says, "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece," it is evident that the words come from one who lived when Greek or Macedonian armies threatened Judah. It may have been in 332 B.C., when Alexander summoned Jaddua to help him reduce Tyre, or it may have been in 312 B.C., when Demetrius was leading his army down the Philistine plain to attack Ptolemy, or possibly on some other occasion of which we do not know; but it was not earlier than the year 332 B.C.

This prophet was also conscious that he was the last of the prophets, for he prophesied (see ch. 13: 3-6) that there should be no more prophets, and that if, in future, any should presume to prophesy, his father and mother would help to put him to death as a blasphemer. He was, indeed, the last of the prophets. When next a seer came, he wrote an apocalypse.

THE BOOK OF JONAH

During this period also, perhaps about 250 B.C. the book of *Jonah* was written—a little missionary tract, which has been misunderstood. If we found the book anywhere but in the Bible, it would make us smile; probably its author meant it to make men smile. It is an ironical allegory. Its author shared the vision of the Second Isaiah, that it was Israel's duty to carry the knowledge of the true God to the world, but she was not doing it. He thought to shame her into doing it. He took the idea of his story from *Jeremiah* 51: 34, which reads, "Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon hath devoured me, he hath crushed me, he hath made me an empty vessel, he hath like a monster, swallowed me up, he hath filled his maw with my delicacies; he hath cast me out." This gave him the motif for his story. *Jonah*, which means "dove," was a designation of Israel. God had sent her to carry his message to the nations, but she tried to run away from the task, so he permitted her to be swallowed up by the Babylonian

exile. After she had been "cast out" by the "monster" and had partly delivered her message, she sulked because God forgave their sins and received them. This was, undoubtedly, the lesson that the author of *Jonah* intended to teach by his amusing and ironical story, but he greatly overrated the sense of humor of mankind. Because, centuries before, there had been an actual prophet in Israel named Jonah (see *2 Kings* 14: 25), a prosaically minded editor, within a generation or two, put the story in the prophetic canon, as though it were a prophecy instead of a story, and in modern times men have expended vast ingenuity and research to prove that the throat of a whale would permit him to swallow a man!

THE TRANSLATION OF THE LAW INTO GREEK

About 250 B.C. the Penetateuch was translated into Greek at Alexandria. By that time the Jews there formed a large community. They spoke Greek and most of them knew no Hebrew. They were zealous for their religion and law and desired to have the sacred text in a language which they could understand. Tradition assigns this translation to the reign of Ptolemy II (Philadelphus). Indeed, the tradition represents the whole Old Testament as having been translated then by seventy-two men; hence it is called the "Septuagint."⁶ It seems certain, however, that this tradition grew up to make the Greek translation seem as inspired and authoritative as the Hebrew original. The facts are as already stated. Only the law was translated at this time; the translation of the other books followed in the course of the next one hundred and twenty years.

ANTIOCHUS III

Antiochus III, called the Great, came to the throne of Syria at the age of twenty-four, when his brother Seleucus III died from the effects of the kick of a horse. Antiochus, the greatest of the successors of Seleucus I, reigned until 187 B.C., thirty-seven eventful years. During the first years of his reign he was warring in the east, trying to reduce to submission Parthia and Bactria, which had revolted in the reign of Antiochus II, the one in 256 B.C. and the other in 253 B.C., and had maintained their independence. Antiochus III overran their territories, but without stamping out the rebellions. The Parthian and Bactrian leaders withdrew to inaccessible mountains and allowed Antiochus to ravage their lands, but when he had gone, they returned and occupied them as unsubdued as ever.

After his return to the west Antiochus determined to conquer Palestine. In 218 B.C. he subdued the country east of the Jordan and in the

⁶ For the whole tradition see H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, London, 1918.

next year most of that of western Palestine. Of course these expeditions caused much suffering throughout the country. Then Ptolemy IV (Philopator), who had succeeded to the throne of Egypt in 222 B.C., rallied to the defense of his Palestinian dominions, defeated the army of Antiochus, and again gained control of the whole of Palestine.

JOSEPH, SON OF TOBIAS, TAX-COLLECTOR

In the reign of Ptolemy IV (Philopator) Onias II, an old man, became high priest, and was negligent about paying the taxes to Egypt. Philopator was very angry and sent an ambassador to Jerusalem, saying that, if he did not receive the taxes, he would send soldiers to seize Jewish land and live upon it. A certain Joseph, son of Tobias, gained the consent of Onias to go to Egypt with full power to arrange the matter, and managed to get himself appointed tax-collector for Judea, Samaria, Phenicia, and the land east of the Sea of Galilee, called by Josephus Cælo-Syria. The taxes were collected by the method known as tax-farming, whereby the collector had to pay a certain sum to the king, and could keep all above that which he was able to collect.⁷ It gave an opportunity to Joseph to become wealthy, which he was not slow to improve. The incident sheds light on the governmental methods in Judea of the time.

PALESTINE PASSES TO SYRIA

Ptolemy IV (Philopator) died in 205 B.C., and was succeeded by Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), a boy of six years. This, of course, placed the real government of Egypt in the hands of ministers. Antiochus thought it a favorable opportunity to carry out his thwarted designs to secure Palestine and about 201 B.C. began once more to invade that land. The final battle in the war was fought near Panias (the ancient Dan, at the source of the Jordan) in January, 199 B.C. The Egyptian forces were beaten and Palestine became definitely a part of the Syrian empire. Some years later Antiochus determined to ally the young king of Egypt with his family and in 193 B.C. gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes. As her dowry he arranged that the taxes of the countries of which Joseph, son of Tobias, was tax-farmer (Judea, Samaria, Phenicia, and Cælo-Syria), should be paid to Egypt.

THE ROMANS COME TO ASIA

After this Antiochus turned his attention to the northwestern part of his dominions. On the death of Lysimachus of Thrace, in 283 B.C.,

⁷ Josephus, who gives the account of the incident (*Antiquities*, XII, 4: 1-7), is clearly mistaken in connecting this incident with Euergetes I. His later statements show that that is chronologically impossible.

Philatæus, his governor of the city of Pergamos in northwestern Asia Minor, had made that an independent kingdom, Philatæus and his successors had contested with the Seleucidæ of Antioch the possession of the central part of western Asia Minor. By this time Antiochus III was in control of all the southern part of it, and began to cast his eyes across the Ægean Sea to Greece. That country had put itself under the protection of the Roman republic, the power of which had been greatly enhanced by its successful conclusion of the second Punic War and the conquest of Hannibal in 205 B.C. Rome warned Antiochus to let her ally alone, but in spite of the warning he crossed the Ægean in 191 B.C. and overran Greece. As a result in the next year, 190 B.C., Rome landed an army in western Asia Minor and at the battle of Magnesia disastrously defeated Antiochus, imposed on him a heavy tax as a war indemnity, bound him to keep the peace, and took hostages to Rome to insure that he did so. Among the hostages so taken was Antiochus's son Antiochus, who afterward became Antiochus IV. Seleucus IV, who succeeded his father in 187 B.C. was able to do little but collect taxes with which to pay the Roman indemnity, which made him unpopular. Meantime at Rome his brother Antiochus associated for several years with Roman patricians on terms of equality and came to know the Romans. Then his brother Seleucus negotiated the release of Antiochus by sending his own son Demetrius in his place, and Antiochus, thus set at liberty, went to Athens to reside, became a naturalized Athenian citizen, ran for office, and was elected archon. Thus time passed on until the year 176 B.C., when Seleucus IV was assassinated by a cabal, who made his young son king. At this juncture Eumenes, king of Pergamos, took a hand in affairs. Apparently he thought it would be better for Pergamos and Syria to be allies than to be enemies, so he sent to Athens and offered Antiochus a Pergamese army with which to seize the throne of his fathers, if he cared to return to Asia. Antiochus accepted, and thus in 176 B.C. became king as Antiochus IV, or Antiochus Theos Epiphanes.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON JEWS

During the century and a half since Alexander the Great, Jews had been subjected to Hellenic influences, and many of them, not only outside of Palestine but in Jerusalem itself, had been attracted by Hellenic culture. They learned Greek, they adopted Greek names in addition to their Hebrew names, they engaged in Greek athletics, they established an open-air gymnasium even in Jerusalem, and even endeavored to conceal the evidences of their circumcision. The same influences found a welcome among the Samaritans, perhaps even to a greater degree.⁸

⁸ See Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII, 5: 5.

LITERARY ACTIVITY

During the period between about 210 B.C. and 170 B.C., three Jewish works of importance were composed. The first of these was the book of *Ecclesiastes*, the author of which wrote as a sage or thinker, who, while he had not lost faith in God, was skeptical of immortality and of the value of many things which his fellow Jews considered important. To him the round of natural occurrences, the rising and setting of the sun, the changes of the winds, the recurring seasons, and all the round of human duties and experiences seemed but vanity and a striving after wind. To illustrate this vanity, he represented himself as in a figure experiencing all that King Solomon had enjoyed and as finding it vanity. This figure was misunderstood by later Jews and his work was supposed to be Solomon's.⁹

About 180 B.C. another Jewish sage, who went by the name of Ben Sira, collected, arranged, and expanded a book patterned on the book of *Proverbs*. Two generations later it was translated into Greek by his grandson and namesake, and now it forms a part of our Apocrypha under the name of "Ecclesiasticus."

Probably at some time between 200 and 170 B.C. there lived also the first of the apocalyptists, the man who composed chapters 1-36 of the book of *Enoch*. From the time of Ezekiel prophets had been prone to cast their prophecies in the form of visions, which had in some cases (see *Zech.* 1-8 and *Joel*), seemed overdrawn and unnatural. Now, however, the time had passed when a prophet dared to speak in his own name; the terrible fate pronounced upon such a one by the Second Zechariah faced any one who dared to give out that he was sufficiently familiar with the Lord to do that. Still there were national religious needs, and there were men who felt that God had given them messages suited to those needs. The first of these was the author of *Enoch* 1-36, and he inaugurated a new type of religious literature. He cast his instruction in the form of visions, which he represented Enoch, who in *Genesis* 5:24 was said to have walked with God, as having seen. That ensured his work a reading. The author might be ever so obscure an individual, to whom no one would listen, but every one would be most anxious to read what Enoch had seen and heard. Thus a new type of literature, apocalyptic, came into being to take the place of prophecy.

During the two centuries since Nehemiah and the adoption of the Pentateuch as their religious book, additions had been made to the books venerated as useful for religious instruction. This seems to have come about by silent processes and by general consent. The son of Sira (Ben Sira) sets himself in *Ecclesiasticus* 44:1-50:26 to praise famous men. Those whom he praises are just those celebrated in our canonical books:

⁹ For a fuller account see G. A. Barton, "Ecclesiastes," in the *International Critical Commentary*.

Joshua, Samuel, David, Solomon, Elijah, Hezekiah, Josiah, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah. He also mentions by name the prophet Ezekiel (*Ecclus.* 49: 8), and the "Twelve Prophets" (*Ecclus.* 49: 10), the Jewish name for what we call "The Minor Prophets." This is proof that when Ben Sira wrote (about 180 B.C.), the second part of the Jewish canon of Scripture (what they call the "Prophetic Books") had already been accepted as authoritative. There were eight of them: *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel* (counted as one book), and *Kings* (counted as one book), which they called "Earlier Prophets"; then, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and "The Twelve Prophets," which they called "Later Prophets."

CHAPTER XXII

THE MACCABEAN REVOLT

ANTIOCHUS IV (Epiphanes) was one of the strangest creatures who ever occupied a throne. He came from a long line of royal ancestors, had lived in republican Rome, held office in republican Athens, but as a sovereign regarded himself as a god manifest. It is probable that there was in his make-up an element of insanity, which developed as the years went on.

Before he obtained the throne of Syria, Ptolemy V had died, the ephemeral Ptolemy VI had been set aside, and Antiochus' nephew, Ptolemy VII (Philometer), a mere boy, was on the throne of Egypt, and Antiochus' sister, Cleopatra, was regent of that land. As long as Cleopatra lived Antiochus respected Egyptian territory, but after her death in 173 B.C., he invaded Egypt. This is not the place to follow his Egyptian campaigns, but Ptolemy appealed to the Romans for aid, and in 168 B.C., after they had finished their war with Macedonia, they sent an embassy to Antiochus, who was with his army in Egypt, commanding him to withdraw. Antiochus knew Roman power too well to disobey.

Thus prevented by the Romans from enlarging his territory, Antiochus conceived it to be his mission to spread Hellenic culture throughout his dominions. The one people which had steadily refused to be Hellenized was the Jews, but many of them were exhibiting a hospitality to Grecian customs and ways which led the king to think that, with a little firmness, the whole nation would give way, and Zeus and the Greek pantheon might be worshiped by all the peoples in his dominions. The measures which he took and the consequences which followed are graphically recorded in the first book of *Maccabees*, which was written within a generation or two of the events.

ANTIOCHUS PLUNDERS JERUSALEM IN 170 B.C., 1 *Macc.* 1:20-28

1 *Macc.* 1. 20] And Antiochus, after that he had smitten Egypt, returned in ¹ the hundred and forty and third year, and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a ² great multitude, and entered presumptuously into the sanctuary, and took the golden altar, and the

candlestick of the light, and all that pertained thereto, and the table of the shewbread, and the cups to pour withal, and the bowls, and the golden censers, and the veil, and the crowns, and the adorning of gold which was on the face of the temple, and he scaled it all off.

1 Circa B.C. 170. See 2 *Macc.* 5: 11-16.

2 Gr. *heavy*.

23] And he took the silver and the gold and the precious vessels; and he took the hidden treasures which he found.
 24] And when he had taken all, he went away into his own land, and he made a great slaughter, and spake very pre-
 25] sumptuously. And there came great mourning upon Israel, in every place
 26] where they were; and the rulers and

elders groaned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and the beauty
 27] of the women was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation, she that sat in the marriage chamber was in
 28] heaviness. And the land was moved for the inhabitants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was clothed with shame.

THE REFORM MEASURES OF ANTIOCHUS, DECEMBER, 168 B.C.,
1 Macc. 1: 29-64

1 Macc. 1. 29] And ³after ⁴two full years the king sent a chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Judah, and he came unto Jerusalem with a ²great
 30] multitude. And he spake words of peace unto them in subtilty, and they gave him credence: and he fell upon the city suddenly, and smote it very sore, and destroyed much people out of Is-
 31] rael. And he took the spoils of the city, and set it on fire, and pulled down the houses thereof and the walls thereof
 32] on every side. And they led captive the women and children, and the cattle
 33] they took in possession. And they builded the city of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and
 34] it became unto them a citadel. And they put there a sinful nation, transgressors of the law, and they strength-
 35] ened themselves therein. And they stored up arms and victuals, and gathering together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid them up there, and they became a
 36] sore snare: and it became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually.
 37] And they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled
 38] the sanctuary. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled because of them; and she became a habitation of strangers, and she became strange to them that were born in her, and her children forsook
 39] her. Her sanctuary was laid waste like a wilderness, ⁵her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt.

40] According to her glory, so was her dishonour multiplied, and her high estate was turned into mourning.

41] And king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one
 42] people, and that each should forsake his own laws. And all the nations agreed according to the word of the king;
 43] and many of Israel consented to his worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and
 44] profaned the sabbath. And the king sent letters by the hand of messengers unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, that they should follow laws strange to
 45] the land, and should forbid whole burnt offerings and sacrifice and drink offerings in the sanctuary; and should
 46] profane the sabbaths and feasts, and pollute the sanctuary and them that were
 47] holy; that they should build altars, and temples, and shrines for idols, and should sacrifice swine's flesh and un-
 48] clean beasts: and that they should leave their sons uncircumcised, that they should make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profana-
 49] tion; so that they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances.
 50] And whosoever shall not do according to the word of the king, he shall die.
 51] According to all these words wrote he to his whole kingdom; and he appointed overseers over all the people, and he commanded the cities of Judah to
 52] sacrifice, city by city. And from the people were gathered together unto them many, every one that had forsaken the law; and they did evil things in the land;

³ See *2 Macc. 5: 24.*

⁴ Gr. *two years of days.*

⁵ See *2 Macc. 6: 6.*

53] and they made Israel to hide themselves in every place of refuge which they had.

54] And on the fifteenth day of Chisleu, in ⁶ the hundred and forty and fifth year, they builded an abomination of desolation upon the ⁷ altar, and in the cities of Judah on every side they builded 55] *idol* ⁷ altars. And at the doors of the houses and in the streets they burnt in- 56] cense. And they rent in pieces the books of the law which they found, and 57] set them on fire. And wheresoever was found with any a book of the covenant, and if any consented to the law, the king's sentence delivered him to death. 58] Thus did they in their might unto Israel, to those that were found month

59] by month in the cities. And on the five and twentieth day of the month they sacrificed upon the *idol* ⁷ altar, which 60] was upon the ⁷ altar of God. And ⁸ the women that had circumcised their children they put to death according to 61] the commandment. And they hanged their babes about their necks, and *de-* 62] *stroyed* their houses, and them that had circumcised them. And many in Is- rael were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat unclean things. 63] And ⁹ they chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy 64] covenant: and they died. And there came exceeding great wrath upon Is- rael.

The erection of a statue of Zeus in the temple and the offering of swine on the altar was to the mind of an orthodox Jew a most horrible offense to God.

THE BEGINNING OF REVOLT, 1 Macc. 2: 1-48

1 Macc. 2. In those days rose up Mattathias the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib, from Jerusalem; and he dwelt at Modin. 2] And he had five sons, ¹⁰ John, who 3] was surnamed Gaddis; Simon, who 4] was called Thassi; Judas, who was 5] called Maccabæus; Eleazar, who was called Avaran; Jonathan, who was called Apphus.

6] And he saw the blasphemies that were committed in Judah and in Jeru- 7] salem, and he said,

Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see the destruction of my people, and the destruction of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was given into the hand of the enemy, the sanctuary into 8] the hand of aliens? Her temple is become as a man ¹¹ that was glorious: 9] her vessels of glory are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in her streets, her young men with the 10] sword of the enemy. What nation

hath not inherited her palaces, and gotten possession of her spoils? her adorn- 11] ing is all taken away; instead of a free woman she is become a bond 12] woman: and, behold, our holy things and our beauty and our glory are laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned 13] them. Wherefore should we live any longer?

14] And Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned exceedingly.

15] And the king's officers, that were enforcing the apostasy, came into the city 16] Modin to sacrifice. And many of Israel came unto them, and Mattathias and his sons were gathered together. 17] And the king's officers answered and spake to Mattathias, saying, Thou art a ruler and an honourable and great man in this city, and strengthened with sons 18] and brethren: now therefore come thou first and do the commandment of the king, as all the nations have done,

⁶ Circa B. C. 168. See 2 Macc. 5: 11.

⁷ The two words rendered *altar* are different in the Greek: and so in ver. 59.

⁸ See 2 Macc. 6: 10.

⁹ See 2 Macc. 6: 19 and 7: 1, &c.

¹⁰ Gr. *Joannes*.

¹¹ Some authorities read *inglorious*.

and the men of Judah, and they that remain in Jerusalem: and thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's ¹² Friends, and thou and thy sons shall be honoured with silver and gold ¹⁹] and many gifts. And Mattathias answered and said with a loud voice, If all the nations that are in the house of the king's dominion hearken unto him, to fall away each one from the worship of his fathers, and have made choice to follow ²⁰] low his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in ²¹] the covenant of our fathers. ¹³ Heaven forbid that we should forsake the ²²] law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words, to go aside from our worship, on the right hand, or on the left.

²³] And when he had left speaking these words, there came a Jew in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was at ¹⁴ Modin, according to the king's ²⁴] commandment. And Mattathias saw it, and his zeal was kindled, and his reins trembled, and he shewed forth his wrath according to judgement, and ran, ²⁵] and slew him upon the altar. And the king's officer, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at that time, and ²⁶] pulled down the altar. And he was zealous for the law, even as Phinehas ²⁷] did unto Zimri the son of Salu. And Mattathias cried out in the city with a loud voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous for the law, and maintaineth the covenant, let him come forth after me. ²⁸] And he and his sons fled into the mountains, and forsook all that they had in the city.

²⁹] Then many that sought after justice and judgement went down into the ³⁰] wilderness, to dwell there, they, and their sons, and their wives, and their cattle; because evils were multiplied upon ³¹] them. And it was told the king's officers, and the forces that were in Jerusalem, the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into the

³²] secret places in the wilderness; and many pursued after them, and having overtaken them, they encamped against them, and set the battle in array against ³³] them on the sabbath day. And they said unto them, Thus far. Come forth, and do according to the word of the king, ³⁴] and ye shall live. And they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do the word of the king, to profane the sabbath ³⁵] day. And they hasted to give ³⁶] them battle. And they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, ³⁷] nor stopped up the secret places, saying, Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth witness over us, that ³⁸] ye put us to death without trial. And they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they died, they and their wives and their children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand ¹⁵ souls.

³⁹] And Mattathias and his friends knew it, and they mourned over them ⁴⁰] exceedingly. And one said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not against the Gentiles for our lives and our ordinances, they will now quickly destroy us from off the ⁴¹] earth. And they took counsel on that day, saying, Whosoever shall come against us to battle on the sabbath day, let us fight against him, and we shall in no wise all die, as our brethren died in ⁴²] the secret places. Then were gathered unto them a company of ¹⁶ Hasidæans, mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the law. ⁴³] And all they that fled from the evils were added to them, and became a stay ⁴⁴] unto them. And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath: and the rest ⁴⁵] fled to the Gentiles for safety. And Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars; ⁴⁶] and they circumcised by force the children that were uncircumcised, as many as they found in the coasts of ⁴⁷] rael. And they pursued after the sons of pride, and the work prospered

¹² See ch. 3: 38; 6: 10, &c. Compare ch. 10: 65; 11: 27; 2 Macc. 8: 9.

¹³ Gr. *May he be propitious*. Compare 2 Sam. 23: 17 (Sept.).

¹⁴ Modin was a town in the Shephelah several miles northwest of Jerusalem.

¹⁵ Gr. *souls of men*.

¹⁶ That is, *Chasidim*.

48] in their hand. And they rescued the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and

out of the hand of the kings, neither ¹⁷ suffered they the sinner to triumph.

THE PARTING CHARGE OF MATTATHIAS, *1 Macc.* 2: 49, 64-70

1 Macc. 2. 49] And the days of Mattathias drew near that he should die, and he said unto his sons,

64] And ye, my children, be strong, and shew yourselves men in behalf of the law; for therein shall ye obtain 65] glory. And, behold, Simon your brother, I know that he is a man of counsel; and give ear unto him always: 66] he shall be a father unto you. And Judas Maccabæus, he hath been strong and mighty from his youth: he shall be

your captain, and ¹⁸ shall fight the battle 67] of the people. And take ye unto you all the doers of the law, and avenge the 68] wrong of your people. Render a recompense to the Gentiles, and take heed to the commandments of the law.

69] And he blessed them, and was 70] gathered to his fathers. And he died in ¹⁹ the hundred and forty and sixth year, and his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

JUDAS MACCABÆUS BECOMES COMMANDER, *1 Macc.* 3: 1-9

1 Macc. 3. And his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, rose up in his 2] stead. And all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that clave unto his father, and they fought with gladness the 3] battle of Israel. And he gat his people great glory, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him, and set battles in array, protecting the army with his 4] sword. And he was like a lion in his deeds, and as a lion's whelp roaring for 5] prey. And he pursued the lawless, seeking them out, and he burnt up those

6] that troubled his people. And the lawless shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of lawlessness were sore troubled, and salvation prospered in his hand. 7] And he angered many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his 8] memorial is blessed for ever. And he went about among the cities of Judah, and destroyed the ungodly ²⁰ out of the land, and turned away wrath from Israel: and he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he gathered together such as were ready to perish.

Maccabæus (Hebrew *maqgab*, "hammer") was a nickname given to Judas because of the victories which he won. Charles Martel, centuries later, won his "Martel" in the same way; so did Cromwell his "Iron-sides."

APOLLONIUS DEFEATED AND KILLED, *1 Macc.* 3: 10-12

1 Macc. 3. 10] And Appollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a great host from Samaria, to fight against Israel. And Judas perceived it, and he went forth to meet him, and smote him,

and slew him: and many fell wounded 12] to death, and the rest fled. And they took their spoils, and Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith he fought all his days.

¹⁷ Gr. *gave they a horn to the sinner.*

¹⁸ Some ancient authorities read *ye shall fight.*

¹⁹ Circa B. C. 167.

²⁰ Gr. *out of it.*

THE BATTLE OF BETHHORON, 1 Macc. 3: 13-26

1 Macc. 3. 13] And Seron, the commander of the host of Syria, heard say that Judas had gathered a gathering and a congregation of faithful men with him, 14] and of such as went out to war; and he said, I will make myself a name and get me glory in the kingdom; and I will fight against Judas and them that are with him, that set at nought the word 15] of the king. And there went up with him also a mighty army of the ungodly to help him, to take vengeance on the children of Israel.

16] And he came near unto the going up of Bethhoron, and Judas went forth to meet him with a small company. 17] But when they saw the army coming to meet them, they said unto Judas, What? shall we be able, being a small company, to fight against so great and strong a multitude? and we for our part are faint, having tasted no food 18] this day. And Judas said, It is an easy thing for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with ²¹ heaven

it is all one, to save by many or by few: 19] for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of a host; but strength is 20] from heaven. They come unto us in fulness of insolence and lawlessness, to destroy us and our wives and our children, for to spoil us: but we fight 22] for our lives and our laws. And he himself will discomfit them before our face: but as for you, be ye not afraid of them.

23] Now when he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and Seron and his army were discomfited 24] before him. And they pursued them in the going down of Bethhoron unto the plain, and there fell of them about eight hundred men; but the residue fled into the land of the Philistines.

25] And the fear of Judas and his brethren, and the dread of them, began to fall upon the nations round about 26] them: and his name came near even unto the king, and every nation told of the battles of Judas.

Bethhoron was the very region where centuries before Joshua had defeated the Canaanites (see *Josh.* 10: 10).

ANTIOCHUS MAKES LYSIAS REGENT AND GOES TO THE EAST,
1 Macc. 3: 27-37

1 Macc. 3. 27] But when king Antiochus heard these words, he was full of indignation: and he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, an 28] exceeding strong army. And he opened his treasury, and gave his forces pay for a year, and commanded them 29] to be ready for every need. And he saw that the money failed from his treasures, and that the tributes of the country were small, because of the dissension and plague which he had brought upon the land, to the end that he might take away the laws which had been from 30] the first days; and he feared that he should not have enough as at other times for the charges and the gifts which he gave aforetime with a liberal hand,

and he abounded above the kings that 31] were before him. And he was exceedingly perplexed in his mind, and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to 32] gather much money. And he left Lysias, an honourable man, and one of the seed royal, to be over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto 33] the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came 34] again. And he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all the things that he would have done, and concerning them that dwelt in Judæa and in 35] Jerusalem, that he should send a host against them, to root out and de-

²¹ Some ancient authorities read *the God of heaven*.

stroy the strength of Israel, and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away 36] their memorial from the place; and that he should make strangers to dwell in all their coasts, and should divide 37] their land to them by lot. And the

king took the half that remained of the forces, and removed from Antioch, from his royal city, ²² the hundred and forty and seventh year; and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries.

THE BATTLE OF EMMAUS, *1 Macc. 3:38—4:27*

1 Macc. 3. 38] And Lysias chose Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's 39] ²³ Friends; and with them he sent forty thousand footmen, and seven thousand horse, to go into the land of Judah, and to destroy it, according to 40] the word of the king. And they removed with all their host, and came and pitched near unto Emmaus in the plain 41] country. And the merchants of the country heard the fame of them, and took silver and gold exceeding much, with ²⁴ fetters, and came into the camp to take the children of Israel for servants: and there were added unto them the forces of Syria and of the land of the ²⁵ Philistines.

42] And Judas and his brethren saw that evils were multiplied, and that the forces were encamping in their borders; and they took knowledge of the king's words which he had commanded, to destroy the people and make an end of 43] them; and they said each man to his neighbour, Let us raise up the ruin of our people, and let us fight for our people and the holy place. And the congregation was gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask for mercy and 45] compassion. And Jerusalem was without inhabitant as a wilderness, there was none of her offspring that went in or went out; and the sanctuary was trodden down, and the sons of strangers were in the citadel, the Gentiles lodged therein; and joy was taken away from Jacob, and the pipe and the harp ceased. 46] And they gathered themselves together, and came to Mizpeh, over against Jerusalem; for in Mizpeh was there a

place of prayer aforetime for Israel. 47] And they fasted that day, and put on sackcloth, and *put* ashes upon their 48] heads, and rent their clothes, and laid open the book of the law, concerning which the Gentiles were wont to inquire, seeking the likenesses of their idols. 49] And they brought the priests' garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and they stirred up the Nazirites, who 50] had accomplished their days. And they cried aloud toward heaven, saying, What shall we do with these men, and whither shall we carry them away? 51] And thy holy place is trodden down and profaned, and thy priests are in 52] heaviness and brought low. And, behold, the Gentiles are assembled together against us to destroy us: thou knowest what things they imagine against us. 53] How shall we be able to stand before 54] them, except thou be our help? And they sounded with the trumpets, and cried with a loud voice.

55] And after this Judas appointed leaders of the people, captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens. 56] And he said to them that were building houses, and were betrothing wives, and were planting vineyards, and were fearful, that they should return, each man to his own house, according to the 57] law. And the army removed, and encamped upon the south side of Emmaus. 58] And Judas said, Gird yourselves, and be valiant men, and be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these Gentiles, that are assembled together against us to destroy us, and 59] our holy place: for it is better for us to die in battle, than to look upon the

²² Circa B.C. 166.

²³ See ch. 2: 18.

²⁴ Most of the authorities read *servants*.

²⁵ Gr. *strangers*.

evils of our nation and the holy place. 60] Nevertheless, as may be the will in heaven, so shall he do.

4. And Gorgias took five thousand footmen, and a thousand chosen horse, 2] and the army removed by night, that it might fall upon the army of the Jews and smite them suddenly: and the men 3] of the citadel were his guides. And Judas heard thereof, and removed, he and the valiant men, that he might smite the king's host which was at Emmaus, 4] while as yet the forces were dispersed from the camp. And Gorgias came into the camp of Judas by night, and found no man; and he sought them in the mountains; for he said, These 6] men flee from us. And as soon as it was day, Judas appeared in the plain with three thousand men: howbeit they had not armour nor swords to their 7] minds. And they saw the camp of the Gentiles strong *and* fortified, and horsemen compassing it round about; 8] and these were expert in war. And Judas said to the men that were with him, Fear ye not their multitude, neither 9] be ye afraid of their onset. Remember how our fathers were saved in the Red sea, when Pharaoh pursued them 10] with a host. And now let us cry unto heaven, if he will have us, and will remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this army before our face 11] to-day: and all the Gentiles shall know that there is one who redeemeth 12] and saveth Israel. And the strangers lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them: and they went out of the camp to battle. And they that were with Judas sounded their trumpets, and joined battle, and the Gentiles were discomfited, and fled into the

15] plain. But all the hindmost fell by the sword: and they pursued them unto ²⁶ Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumæa and Azotus and Jamnia, and there fell of them about three thousand men. 16] And Judas and his host returned from pursuing after them, and he said 17] unto the people, Be not greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us; and Gorgias and his host are nigh unto us in the mountain. But stand ye now against our enemies, and fight against them, and afterwards take 19] the spoils with boldness. While Judas was yet making an end of these words, there appeared a part of them 20] looking out from the mountain: and they saw that their host had been put to flight, and that the Jews were burning the camp; for the smoke that was seen 21] declared what was done. But when they perceived these things, they were sore afraid; and perceiving also the army of Judas in the plain ready for battle, they fled all of them into the land 23] of the ²⁷ Philistines. And Judas returned to spoil the camp, and they got much gold, and silver, and blue, and sea 24] purple, and great riches. And they returned home, and sang a song of thanksgiving, and gave praise ²⁸ unto heaven; because *his* mercy is good, because his mercy endureth for ever. 25] And Israel had a great deliverance that day.

26] But the strangers, as many as had escaped, came and told Lysias all the 27] things that had happened: but when he heard thereof, he was confounded and discouraged, because neither had such things as he would been done unto Israel, nor had such things as the king commanded him come to pass.

Emmaus, where this victory was won, is the same Emmaus to which two disciples of Jesus went nearly two hundred years later (see *Luke* 24: 13).

THE BATTLE OF BETHSURA, 1 Macc. 4: 28-35

1 Macc. 4. 28] And in the next year he gathered together threescore thousand

chosen footmen, and five thousand horse, 29] that he might subdue them. And they

²⁶ Gr. *Gazara*.

²⁷ Gr. *strangers*.

²⁸ Or, looking up *unto* heaven.

came into Idumæa, and encamped at Bethsura; and Judas met them with ten 30] thousand men. And he saw that the army was strong, and he prayed and said,

Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, who didst quell the onset of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and didst deliver the army of the 27 Philistines into the hands of Jonathan the son of Saul, and of his armourbearer: 31] shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be ashamed for their host and their horsemen: 32] give them faintness of heart, and cause the boldness of their strength to melt away, and let them quake at their

33] destruction: cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, and let all that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving.

34] And they joined battle; and there fell of the army of Lysias about five thousand men, and they fell down over 35] against them. But when Lysias saw that his array was put to flight, and the boldness that had come upon them that were with Judas, and how they were ready either to live or to die nobly, he removed to Antioch, and gathered together hired soldiers, that he might come again into Judæa with even a greater company.

Bethsura, where this battle was fought, is a little to the north of the city of Hebron. Idumæa, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, was now in southern Judea; Hebron was included in it. Lysias had sent his army along the Philistine plain that they might reach the highland of central Palestine through peaceful territory and have the advantage of meeting the soldiers of Judas on level ground; but nevertheless Judas was victorious.

THE REDEDICATION OF THE TEMPLE, 1 Macc. 4: 36-61

1 Macc. 4. 36] But Judas and his brethren said, Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse the holy place, and to dedicate it afresh. 37] And all the army was gathered together, and they went up unto mount 38] Sion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' 39] chambers pulled down; and they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and put ashes upon their heads, and fell on their faces to the ground, and 29 blew with the 30 solemn trumpets, 41] and cried toward heaven. Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the citadel, until he should have cleansed the holy 42] place. And he chose blameless priests, such as had pleasure in the law: 43] and they cleansed the holy place,

and bare out the stones of defilement 44] into an unclean place. And they took counsel concerning the altar of burnt offerings, which had been profaned, what 45] they should do with it: and there came into their mind a good counsel, that they should pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the Gentiles had defiled it: and they pulled down 46] the altar, and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an answer concerning 47] them. And they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar after the fashion of the former; 48] and they built the holy place, and the inner parts of the house; and they hal- 49] lowed the courts. And they made the holy vessels new, and they brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings and of incense, and the table, into 50] the temple. And they burned incense

29 Compare Num. 31: 6.

30 Gr. *trumpets of signals*.

upon the altar, and they lighted the lamps that were upon the candlestick, and they gave light in the temple. 51] And they set loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they made.

52] And they rose up early in the morning, on the five and twentieth day of the ninth month, which is the month Chislev, in ⁸¹ the hundred and forty and 53] eighth year, and offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings which they had made. 54] At what time and on what day the Gentiles had profaned it, even on that day was it dedicated afresh, with songs and harps and lutes, and with cymbals. 55] And all the people fell upon their faces, and worshipped, and ⁸² gave praise unto heaven, which had given 56] them good success. And they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed a sacrifice of de-

57] liverance and praise. And they decked the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold and small shields, and dedicated afresh the gates and the priests' chambers, and made doors for them. 58] And there was exceeding great gladness among the people, and the reproach of the Gentiles was turned away. 59] And Judas and his brethren and the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their seasons from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Chislev, with gladness 60] and joy. And at that season they builded up the mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest haply the Gentiles should come and tread them down, as they had done afore- 61] time. And he set there a force to keep it, and they fortified Bethsura to keep it; that the people might have a stronghold over against Idumæa.

Thus the temple was rededicated almost three years to a day after it had been desecrated. The desecration occurred in 168 B.C. and the reconsecration, in the same month of the year 165 B.C. The Jews not only made the rededication a great festival, but kept it up in after years, calling it "The Feast of the Dedication" (see *John* 10: 22). Jews still keep up the feast, but now call it "Hanukah," or "The Feast of Lights."

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

During the three years while this struggle had been going on, another apocalypse, the book of *Daniel*, had come into existence. It consists of a series of visions attributed to Daniel, an old patriarch who had lived long ago and was honored for his wisdom (see *Ezek.* 14: 14). The author or authors (there were probably more than one ⁸³) were not well versed in history. They represent Daniel as living in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Cyrus, and Darius the Mede (a monarch unknown to history), but the persecution which Daniel and his fellow Jews suffered was so clearly parallel to that which Antiochus was inflicting on those then in Jerusalem, that no one could misunderstand the lesson to be drawn.

⁸¹ Circa B.C. 165.

⁸² Or, gave praise, looking up unto heaven, to him which.

⁸³ See the writer's article, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. XVII, pp. 62-86, and for the latest discussion, J. A. Montgomery, "Daniel" in the *International Critical Commentary*.

THE MACCABEAN BROTHERS REPEL PETTY PERSECUTIONS,
1 Macc. 5: 1-68

1 Macc. 5. And it came to pass, when the Gentiles round about heard that the altar was built, and the sanctuary dedicated as aforetime, they were exceeding 2] wroth. And they took counsel to destroy the race of Jacob that was in the midst of them, and they began to slay 3] and destroy among the people. And Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumæa at Akrabattine, because they besieged Israel: and he smote them with a great slaughter, and brought down their pride, and took their spoils. 4] And he remembered the wickedness of the children of ³⁴ Bæan, who were unto the people a snare and a stumbling-block, lying in wait for them in the ways. 5] And they were shut up by him in the towers; and he encamped against them, and destroyed them utterly, and burned with fire the towers of the place, with 6] all that were therein. And he passed over to the children of Ammon, and found a mighty band, and much people, 7] with Timotheus for their leader. And he fought many battles with them, and they were discomfited before his face; 8] and he smote them, and gat possession of Jazer, and the ³⁵ villages thereof, and returned again into Judæa.

9] And the Gentiles that were in Gilead gathered themselves together against the Israelites that were on their borders, to destroy them. And they fled to the 10] stronghold of Dathema, and sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, saying, The Gentiles that are round about us are gathered together against us to 11] destroy us: and they are preparing to come and get possession of the stronghold whereunto we are fled for refuge, and Timotheus is the leader of their 12] host. Now therefore come and deliver us from their hand, for many of us 13] are fallen. And all our brethren that were in the land of ³⁶ Tubias have been put to death; and they have carried into captivity their wives and their children and their stuff; and they destroyed there

14] about a thousand men. While the letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, bringing a report after 15] this wise, saying, That there were gathered together against them those of Ptolemais, and of Tyre, and of Sidon, and all Galilee of the ³⁷ Gentiles, to consume them.

16] Now when Judas and the people heard these words, there assembled together a great congregation, to consult what they should do for their brethren, that were in tribulation, and were as- 17] saulted of them. And Judas said unto Simon his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee, but I and Jonathan my brother will go into the land of Gilead. 18] And he left Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, as leaders of the people, with the remnant of the host, in Ju- 19] dæa, for to keep it. And he gave commandment unto them, saying, Take ye the charge of this people, and fight no battle with the Gentiles until that we 20] come again. And unto Simon were divided three thousand men to go into Galilee, but unto Judas eight thousand men to go into the land of Gilead.

21] And Simon went into Galilee, and fought many battles with the Gentiles, and the Gentiles were discomfited be- 22] fore him. And he pursued them unto the gate of Ptolemais; and there fell of the Gentiles about three thousand men, 23] and he took their spoils. And they took to them those that were in Galilee, and in Arbatta, with their wives and their children, and all that they had, and brought them into Judæa with great gladness.

24] And Judas Maccabæus and his brother Jonathan passed over Jordan, and went three days' journey in the wil- 25] derness; and they met with the Nabathæans, and these met them in a peaceable manner, and told them all things that had befallen their brethren in the

³⁴ Compare 2 Macc. 10: 18-23.

³⁵ Gr. *daughters*. Compare Num. 21: 25.

³⁶ Compare 2 Macc. 12: 17.

³⁷ Gr. *strangers*.

26] land of Gilead: and how that many of them were shut up in Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, ³⁸ Casphor, Maked, and ³⁹ Carnaim; all these cities are 27] strong and great: and how that they were shut up in the rest of the cities of the land of Gilead, and that to-morrow they have appointed to encamp against the strongholds, and to take them, and to destroy all these men in one day. 28] And Judas and his army turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness unto Bosora; and he took the city, and slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and took all their spoils, and burned 29] the city with fire. And he removed from thence by night, and went till he 30] came to the stronghold. And the morning came, and they lifted up their eyes, and, behold, much people which could not be numbered, bearing ladders and engines of war, to take the stronghold; and they were fighting against 31] them. And Judas saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets and a 32] great sound, and he said unto the men of his host, Fight this day for your 33] brethren. And he went forth behind them in three companies, and they sounded with their trumpets, and cried 34] out in prayer. And the army of Timotheus perceived that it was Maccabæus, and they fled from before him: and he smote them with a great slaughter; and there fell of them on that day about 35] eight thousand men. And he turned aside to Mizpeh and fought against it, and took it, and slew all the males thereof, and took the spoils thereof, and 36] burned it with fire. From thence he removed, and took ⁴⁰ Casphor, Maked, Bosor, and the other cities of the land of Gilead.

37] Now after these things Timotheus gathered another army, and encamped over against Raphon beyond the brook. 38] And Judas sent men to espy the army; and they brought him word, saying, All the Gentiles that be round about us are gathered together unto them, an

39] exceeding great host. And they have hired Arabians to help them, and are encamping beyond the brook, ready to come against thee to battle. And Judas 40] went to meet them. And Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, when Judas and his army drew nigh unto the brook of water, If he pass over first unto us, we shall not be able to withstand him; for he will mightily prevail against 41] us: but if he be afraid, and encamp beyond the river, we will cross over unto 42] him, and prevail against him. Now when Judas came nigh unto the brook of water, he caused the scribes of the people to remain by the brook, and gave commandment unto them, saying, Suffer no man to encamp, but let all come to 43] the battle. And he crossed over the first against them, and all the people after him: and all the Gentiles were discomfited before his face, and cast away their arms, and fled unto the temple 44] at ⁴⁰ Carnaim. And they took the city, and burned the temple with fire, together with all that were therein. And Carnaim was subdued, neither could they stand any longer before the face of Judas.

45] And Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were in the land of Gilead, from the least unto the greatest, and their wives, and their children, and their stuff, an exceeding great army, that they might come into the land of 46] Judah. And they came as far as Ephron, and this same city was great, *and it was* in the way as they should go, exceeding strong: they could not turn aside from it on the right hand or on the left, but must needs pass through the 47] midst of it. And they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the gates 48] with stones. And Judas sent unto them with words of peace, saying, We will pass through thy land to go into our own land, and none shall do you any hurt, we will only pass by on our feet. And they would not open unto him. 49] And Judas commanded proclamation to be made in the army, that each

³⁸ Compare 2 Macc. 12: 13.

³⁹ Compare 2 Macc. 12: 21.

⁴⁰ See ver. 26.

man should encamp in the place where 50] he was. And the men of the host encamped, and fought against the city all that day and all that night, and the city 51] was delivered into his hands; and he destroyed all the males with the edge of the sword, and rased the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over them that were 52] slain. And they went over Jordan into the great plain over against Beth- 53] shan. And Judas gathered together those that lagged behind, and encouraged the people all the way through, until he came into the land of Judah. 54] And they went up to mount Sion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain until they returned in peace.

55] And in the days when Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, and Simon his brother in Galilee before 56] Ptolemais, Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, rulers of the host, heard of their exploits and of the war, 57] what things they had done; and they said, Let us also get us a name, and let us go fight against the Gentiles that 58] are round about us. And they gave charge unto the men of the host that was with them, and went toward Jamnia. 59] And Gorgias and his men came out of the city to meet them in battle. 60] And Joseph and Azarias were put to

flight, and were pursued unto the borders of Judæa; and there fell on that day of the people of Israel about two 61] thousand men. And there was a great overthrow among the people, because they hearkened not unto Judas and his brethren, thinking to do some exploit. 62] But they were not of the seed of those men, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.

63] And the man Judas and his brethren were glorified exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and of all the Gentiles, wheresoever their name was heard of; 64] and men gathered together unto them, acclaiming them.

65] And Judas and his brethren went forth, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south; and he smote Hebron and the ⁴¹ villages thereof, and pulled down the strongholds thereof, and burned the towers thereof 66] round about. And he removed to go into the land of the ⁴² Philistines, and he went through ⁴³ Samaria. In that day certain priests, desiring to do exploits there, were slain in battle, when as ⁴⁴ he 68] went out to battle unadvisedly. And Judas turned aside to Azotus, to the land of the ⁴² Philistines, and pulled down their altars, and burned the carved images of their gods with fire, and took the spoil of their cities, and returned into the land of Judah.

THE DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS IV, 164 B.C., 1 Macc. 6: 1-17

1 Macc. 6. And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries; and he heard say, that in Elymais in Persia there was a city renowned for 2] riches, for silver and gold; and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly, and that therein were golden shields, and breastplates, and arms, which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned first among the Greeks, left behind there. 3] And he came and sought to take the city, and to pillage it; and he was not

able, because the thing was known to 4] them of the city, and they rose up against him to battle; and he fled, and removed thence with great heaviness, to return unto Babylon.

5] And there came one bringing him tidings into Persia, that the armies, which went against the land of Judah, 6] had been put to flight; and that Lysias went first with a strong host, and was put to shame before them; and that they had waxed strong by reason of arms and power, and with store of spoils,

⁴¹ Gr. *daughters*. Compare *Num.* 21: 25.

⁴² Gr. *strangers*.

⁴³ Or, *Marisa*. See Josephus, *Antiq.* XII, 8: 6, and 2 Macc. 12: 35.

⁴⁴ Some ancient authorities read *they*.

which they took from the armies that 7] they had cut off; and that they had pulled down the abomination which he had built upon the altar that was in Jerusalem; and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as 8] before, and Bethsura, his city. And it came to pass, when the king heard these words, he was astonished and moved exceedingly: and he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for. 9] And he was there many days, because great grief was renewed upon him, and he made account that he should die. 10] And he called for all his ⁴⁵ Friends, and said unto them, Sleep departeth from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for 11] care. And I said in my heart, Unto what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood is it, wherein I now am! for I was gracious and beloved in my

12] power. But now I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all the vessels of silver and gold that were therein, and sent forth to destroy the inhabitants of Judah without 13] a cause. I perceive that on this account these evils are come upon me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in 14] a strange land. And he called for Philip, one of his ⁴⁵ Friends, and set him 15] over all his kingdom, and gave him his diadem, and his robe, and his signet-ring, to the end he should bring Antiochus his son, and nourish him up that 16] he might be king. And king Antiochus died there in ⁴⁶ the hundred and 17] forty and ninth year. And Lysias knew that the king was dead, and he set up Antiochus his son to reign, whom he had nourished up being young, and he called his name Eupator.

JUDAS'S ATTACK ON THE CITADEL, 1 Macc. 6: 18-27

When Judas had taken possession of the temple in 165 B.C., he had shut up in the citadel, which was probably the "Millo" of King David's time, on the highest point of the hill south of the temple area, a Syrian army which had been stationed there as a garrison. He now tried to capture the city. The story is as follows:

1 Macc. 6. 18] And they that were in the citadel shut up Israel round about the sanctuary, and sought always their hurt, and the strengthening of the Gen- 19] tiles. And Judas thought to destroy them, and called all the people together 20] to besiege them. And they were gathered together, and besieged them in ⁴⁷ the hundred and fiftieth year, and he made mounds to shoot from, and engines 21] of war. And there came forth some of them that were shut up, and there were joined unto them certain ungodly 22] men of Israel. And they went unto the king, and said, How long wilt thou not execute judgement, and avenge our 23] brethren? We were willing to serve

thy father, and to walk after his words, and to follow his commandments; 24] and for this cause the children of our people besieged ⁴⁸ the citadel, and were alienated from us; but as many of us as they could light on they slew, and 25] spoiled our inheritances. And not against us only did they stretch out their hand, but also against all their borders. 26] And, behold, they are encamped this day against the citadel at Jerusalem, to take it: and the sanctuary and Bethsura 27] have they fortified. And if ye are not beforehand with them quickly, they will do greater things than these, and thou shalt not be able to control them.

⁴⁵ See ch. 2: 18.
⁴⁶ Circa B.C. 164.

⁴⁷ Circa B.C. 163.
⁴⁸ Gr. *it*.

THE BATTLE OF BETHZACHARIAS, *1 Macc. 6: 28-47*

1 Macc. 6. 28] And when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered together all his ⁴⁹ Friends, *even the rulers* of his host, and them that were over **29]** the horse. And there came unto him from other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired soldiers. **30]** And the number of his forces was a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and two and thirty **31]** elephants trained for war. And they went through Idumæa, and encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it many days, and made engines of war; and they of *Bethsura* came out, and burned them with fire, and fought val- **32]** iantly. And Judas removed from the citadel, and encamped at Bethzacharias, **33]** over against the king's camp. And the king rose early in the morning, and removed his army ⁵⁰ at full speed along the road to Bethzacharias, and his forces made them ready to battle, and sounded **34]** with the trumpets. And they shewed the elephants the blood of grapes and mulberries, that they might prepare **35]** them for the battle. And they divided the beasts among the phalanxes, and they set by each elephant a thousand men armed with coats of mail, and helmets of brass on their heads; and for each beast were appointed five hundred **36]** chosen horsemen. These were ready beforehand, wheresoever the beast was; and whithersoever the beast went, they went with him; they departed not from **37]** him. And towers of wood were upon them, strong *and* covered, one upon each beast, girt fast upon him with cunning

contrivances; and upon each *beast* were two and thirty valiant men that fought **38]** upon them, beside his Indian (and the residue of the horsemen he set on this side and that side at the two parts of the army), striking terror *into the enemy*, and protected by the phalanxes. **39]** Now when the sun shone upon the shields of gold and brass, the mountains shone therewith, and blazed like torches **40]** of fire. And a part of the king's army was spread upon the high mountains, and some on the low ground, and they went on firmly and in order. **41]** And all that heard the noise of their multitude, and the marching of the multitude, and the rattling of the arms, did quake: for the army was exceeding **42]** great and strong. And Judas and his army drew near for battle, and there fell of the king's army six hundred men. **43]** And Eleazar, who was *called* Avaran, saw one of the beasts armed with royal breastplates, and he was higher than all the beasts, and the king seemed **44]** to be upon him; and he gave himself to deliver his people, and to get him an **45]** everlasting name; and he ran upon him courageously into the midst of the phalanx, and slew on the right hand and on the left, and they parted asunder from **46]** him on this side and on that. And he crept under the elephant, and thrust him from beneath, and slew him; and *the elephant* fell to the earth upon him, and **47]** he died there. And they saw the strength of the kingdom, and the fierce onset of the hosts, and turned away from them.

LYSIAS PROCLAIMS RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE NAME OF
ANTIOCHUS V, *1 Macc. 6: 48-63*

1 Macc. 6. 48] But they of the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king encamped toward Judæa, **49]** and toward mount Sion. And he made peace with them of Bethsura; and he came out of the city, because they

had no food there to endure the siege, because it was a sabbath to the land. **50]** And the king took Bethsura, and appointed a garrison there to keep it. **51]** And he encamped against the sanctuary many days; and set there mounds

⁴⁹ See ch. 2: 18.

⁵⁰ Or, *itself eager for the fight*.

to shoot from, and engines of war, and instruments for casting fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts, and slings. 52] And they also made engines against their engines, and fought for many days. 53] But there were no victuals in the sanctuary, because it was the seventh year, and they that fled for safety into Judæa from among the Gentiles had 54] eaten up the residue of the store; and there were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the famine prevailed against them, and they were scattered, each man to his own place.

55] And Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the king, whiles he was yet alive, appointed to nourish up his son 56] Antiochus, that he might be king, was returned from Persia and Media, and with him the forces that went with the king, and that he was seeking to take 57] unto him the government. And he made haste, and gave consent to depart; and he said to the king and the leaders of the host and to the men, We decay

daily, and our food is scant, and the place where we encamp is strong, and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us: 58] now therefore let us give the right hand to these men, and make peace with 59] them and with all their nations, and covenant with them, that they shall walk after their own laws, as aforetime: for because of their laws which we abolished they were angered, and did all 60] these things. And the saying pleased the king and the princes, and he sent unto them to make peace; and they accepted thereof. And the king and the princes sware unto them: thereupon they came forth from the stronghold. 62] And the king entered into mount Sion; and he saw the strength of the place, and set at nought the oath which he had sworn, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about. 63] And he removed in haste, and returned unto Antioch, and found Philip master of the city; and he fought against him, and took the city by force.

THE ACCESSION OF DEMETRIUS I, 162 B.C.

All this time Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV, who had been substituted for Antiochus IV as a hostage at Rome, had been living in that city. When he heard that his young cousin, Antiochus V, was king in Syria, he besought the Roman senate for permission to return to Syria and seize the kingdom. The senate refused, but in spite of its refusal he ran away and made his way to the Syrian coast. The historian Polybius, who tells the story, went with him. The Jewish account of his accession is as follows:

1 Macc. 7. In ⁵¹ the hundred and one and fiftieth year Demetrius the son of Seleucus came forth from Rome, and went up with a few men unto a city by 2] the sea, and reigned there. And it came to pass, when he would go into the house of the kingdom of his fathers, that the army laid hands on Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him. 3] And the thing was known to him, and he said, Shew me not their faces.

4] And the army slew them. And Demetrius sat upon the throne of his kingdom. And there came unto him all the lawless and ungodly men of Israel; and Alcimus was their leader, desiring 6] to be high priest; and they accused the people to the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have destroyed all thy friends, and have scattered us from our 7] own land. Now therefore send a man whom thou trustest, and let him go and

see all the havock which he hath made of us, and of the king's country, and *how* he hath punished them and all that 8] helped them. And the king chose Bacchides, one of the king's ⁵² Friends, who was ruler in the country beyond the river,

and was a great man in the kingdom, 9] and faithful to the king. And he sent him, and that ungodly Alcimus, and made sure to him the high priesthood, and he commanded him to take vengeance upon the children of Israel.

THE HASIDÆANS DESERT JUDAS, 1 Macc. 7: 10-20

1 Macc. 7. 10] And they removed, and came with a great host into the land of Judah, and he sent messengers to Judas and his brethren with words of peace 11] deceitfully. And they gave no heed to their words; for they saw that they 12] were come with a great host. And there were gathered together unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of 13] scribes, to seek for justice. And the ⁵³ Hasidæans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of 14] them; for they said, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with the forces, and he will do us no wrong. 15] And he spake with them words of peace, and swore unto them, saying, We will seek the hurt neither of you nor 16] your friends. And they gave him credence: and he laid hands on threescore men of them, and slew them in one day,

according to the word which *the psalmist* wrote,

17] ⁵⁴ The flesh of thy saints *did they cast out,*

And their blood did they shed round about Jerusalem;

And there was no man to bury them.

18] And the fear and the dread of them fell upon all the people, for they said, There is neither truth nor judgment in them; for they have broken the covenant and the oath which they swore. 19] And Bacchides removed from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bezeth; and he sent and took many of the deserters that were with him, and certain of the people, and he slew them, *and cast them* 20] into the great pit. And he made sure the country to Alcimus, and left with him a force to aid him; and Bacchides went away unto the king.

The "Hasidæans" constituted the body of Jews who were zealous for their religion. Now that the Syrians had granted religious liberty, they were satisfied. During the first four years of his struggles Judas had had their support. He wished political independence, but now he did not have the support of a unified people.

JUDAS'S GUERRILLA WARFARE, 1 Macc. 7: 21-25

1 Macc. 7. 21] And Alcimus strove 22] for his high priesthood. And there were gathered unto him all they that troubled their people, and they got the mastery of the land of Judah, and did 23] great hurt in Israel. And Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had done among the children 24] of Israel, *even* above the Gentiles, and he went out into all the coasts of

Judæa round about, and took vengeance on the men that had deserted from him, and they were restrained from going 25] forth into the country. But when Alcimus saw that Judas and his company waxed strong, and knew that he was not able to withstand them, he returned to the king, and brought evil accusations against them.

⁵² See ch. 2: 18.

⁵³ That is, *Chasidim*.

⁵⁴ Ps. 79: 2, 3.

THE BATTLE OF CAPHARSALAMA, 1 Macc. 7: 26-32

1 Macc. 7. 26] ⁵⁵ And the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that hated Israel and was their enemy, and commanded him to destroy 27] the people. And Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great host; and he sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully 28] with words of peace, saying, Let there be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few men, that I may 29] see your faces in peace. And he came to Judas, and they saluted one another

peaceably. And the enemies were ready 30] to take away Judas by violence. And the thing was known to Judas, *to wit*, that he came unto him with deceit, and he was sore afraid of him, and would see 31] his face no more. And Nicanor knew that his counsel was discovered; and he went out to meet Judas in battle beside 32] Capharsalama; and there fell of Nicanor's side about ⁵⁶ five hundred men, and they fled into the city of David.

NICANOR THREATENS THE TEMPLE, 1 Macc. 7: 33-38

1 Macc. 7. 33] And after these things Nicanor went up to mount Sion: and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary, and some of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the whole burnt sacrifice that 34] was being offered for the king. And he mocked them, and laughed at them, and ⁵⁷ entreated them shamefully, and 35] spake haughtily, and sware in a rage, saying, Unless Judas and his army be now delivered into my hands, it shall be

that, if I come again in peace, I will burn up this house: and he went out in a great 36] rage. And the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and the temple; 37] and they wept, and said, Thou didst choose this house to be called by thy name, to be a house of prayer and supplication for thy people: take vengeance on this man and his army, and let them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to live any longer.

NICANOR IS SLAIN, 1 Macc. 7: 39-50

1 Macc. 7. 39] And Nicanor went forth from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bethhoron, and there met him the host 40] of Syria. And Judas encamped in Adasa with three thousand men: and 41] Judas prayed and said, When they that came from the king blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote among them a hundred and fourscore and five 42] thousand. Even so discomfit thou this army before us to-day, and let all the rest know that he hath spoken wickedly against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness. 43] And on the thirteenth day of the month Adar the armies joined battle: and Nicanor's army was discomfited, and he himself was the first to fall in the

44] battle. Now when his army saw that Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their 45] arms, and fled. And they pursued after them a day's journey from Adasa until thou comest to ⁵⁸ Gazara, and they sounded an alarm after them with the 46] ⁵⁹ solemn trumpets. And they came forth out of all the villages of Judæa round about, and ⁶⁰ closed them in; and these turned them back on those, and they all fell by the sword, and there was not 47] one of them left. And they took the spoils, and the booty, and they smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so haughtily, and brought them, and ⁶¹ hanged them up 48] beside Jerusalem. And the people was exceeding glad, and they kept that

⁵⁵ See 2 Macc. 14: 12.

⁵⁶ Some ancient authorities read *five thousand*.

⁵⁷ Gr. *polluted them*.

⁵⁸ Gr. *Gazera*.

⁵⁹ Gr. *trumpets of signals*.

⁶⁰ Gr. *outflanked them*.

⁶¹ Gr. *Stretched them out*.

49] day as a day of great gladness. And
 62 they ordained to keep this day year
 by year, *to wit*, the thirteenth day of

50] Adar. And the land of Judah had
 rest ⁶³ a little while.

The victory in which Nicanor lost his life, coming so soon after the threat he had made against the temple, seemed to the Jews as much an interposition of God on their behalf as the destruction of Sennacherib's army had done to their fathers five hundred and forty years before; hence they celebrated the event in a yearly festival called "Nicanor's Day." The festival is now merged with the Feast of Purim.

JUDAS GAINS THE FRIENDSHIP OF ROME, 1 Macc. 8: 17-32

1 Macc. 8. 17] And Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, 18] and that they should take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in 19] bondage. And they went to Rome (and the way was exceeding long), and they entered into the senate house, and 20] answered and said, Judas, who is also called Maccabæus, and his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

21] And the thing was well-pleasing 22] in their sight. And this is the copy of the writing which they wrote back again on tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that it might be with them there for a memorial of peace and confederacy:

23] Good success be to the Romans, and to the nation of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and 24] the enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome first, or any of their confederates in all their dominion, 25] the nation of the Jews shall help them as confederates, as the occasion shall prescribe to them, with all their

26] heart: and unto them that make war upon them they shall not give, neither supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome, and they shall keep their ordinances without 27] taking anything therefore. In the same manner, moreover, if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them as confederates with all their soul, as the occasion shall 28] prescribe to them: and to them that are confederates *with their foes* there shall not be given food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome; and they shall keep these ordinances, and that without deceit. According to these words have the Romans made a covenant thus with the 30] people of the Jews. But if hereafter the one party and the other shall take counsel to add or diminish anything, they shall do it at their pleasure, and whatsoever they shall add or take away 31] shall be established. And as touching the evils which king Demetrius doeth unto them, we have written to him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and 32] confederates the Jews? If therefore they plead any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.

The Roman Senate entered into this alliance with Judas, not because they cared anything for him or for the Jews, but because they saw in it

62 See 2 Macc. 15: 36.

63 Gr. *a few days*.

an opportunity to harass Demetrius, who had presumed to take his kingdom without their august permission.

THE DEATH OF JUDAS, 1 *Macc.* 9: 1-22

1 Macc. 9. And Demetrius heard that Nicanor was fallen with his forces in battle, and he sent Bacchides and Alcimus again into the land of Judah a second time, and the right wing of his army 2] with them: and they went by the way that leadeth to Gilgal, and encamped against Mesaloth, which is in Arbela, and gat possession of it, and destroyed 3] much people. And the first month of ⁶⁴ the hundred and fifty and second year they encamped against Jerusalem: 4] and they removed, and went to Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two 5] thousand horse. And Judas was encamped at Elasa, and three thousand 6] chosen men with him: and they saw the multitude of the forces, that they were many, and they feared exceedingly: and many slipped away out of the army; there were not left of them more 7] than eight hundred men. And Judas saw that his army slipped away, and that the battle pressed upon him, and he was sore troubled in heart, for that he had no time to gather them together, and 8] he waxed faint. And he said to them that were left, Let us arise and go up against our adversaries, if peradventure we may be able to fight with them. 9] And they would have dissuaded him, saying, We shall in no wise be able: but let us rather save our lives now: let us return again, *we* and our brethren, and fight against them: but we are few. 10] And Judas said, Let it not be so that I should do this thing, to flee from them: and if our time is come, let us die manfully for our brethren's sake, and not leave a cause of reproach against our

11] glory. And the host removed from the camp, and stood to encounter them, and the horse was parted into two companies, and the slingers and the archers went before the host, and all the mighty men that fought in the front of the battle. But Bacchides was in the right wing; and the phalanx drew near on the two parts, and they blew with their trumpets. And the men of Judas' side, even they sounded with their trumpets, and the earth shook with the shout of the armies, and the battle was joined, and continued from morning until evening. And Judas saw that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, and there went with him 15] all that were brave in heart, and the right wing was discomfited by them, and he pursued after them unto the 16] mount Azotus. And they that were on the left wing saw that the right wing was discomfited, and they turned and followed upon the footsteps of Judas 17] and of those that were with him: and the battle waxed sore, and many on both 18] parts fell wounded to death. And 19] Judas fell, and the rest fled. And Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin. And they bewailed him, and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned 21] many days, and said, How is the mighty fallen, the saviour of Israel! 22] And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written; for they were exceeding many.

JONATHAN CHOSEN LEADER, 1 *Macc.* 9: 23-31

1 Macc. 9. 23] And it came to pass after the death of Judas, that the lawless put forth their heads in all the

coasts of Israel, and all they that wrought iniquity rose up (in those days was there an exceeding great fam-

ine), and the country went over with
 25] them. And Bacchides chose out the
 ungodly men, and made them lords of
 26] the country. And they sought out
 and searched for the friends of Judas,
 and brought them unto Bacchides, and
 he took vengeance on them, and used
 27] them spitefully. And there was
 great tribulation in Israel, such as was
 not since the time that no prophet ap-
 28] peared unto them. And all the friends
 of Judas were gathered together, and

29] they said unto Jonathan, Since thy
 brother Judas hath died, we have no
 man like him to go forth against our en-
 emies and Bacchides, and among them
 30] of our nation that hate us. Now
 therefore we have chosen thee this day
 to be our prince and leader in his stead,
 that thou mayest fight our battles.
 31] And Jonathan took the governance
 upon him at that time, and rose up in the
 stead of his brother Judas.

THE MACCABEES FLEE TO THE NABATHÆANS, 1 Macc. 9: 32-36

1 Macc. 9. 32] And Bacchides knew
 33] it, and he sought to slay him. And
 Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and
 all that were with him, knew it; and they
 fled into the wilderness of Tekoah, and
 encamped by the water of the pool As-
 34] phar. And Bacchides knew it on the
 sabbath day, and came, he and all his

35] army, over Jordan. And Jonathan
 sent his brother, a leader of the multi-
 tude, and besought his friends the Na-
 bathæans, that they might leave with
 them their baggage, which was much.
 36] And the children of Jambri came
 out of Medaba, and took John, and all
 that he had, and went their way with it.

GUERRILLA WARFARE, 1 Macc. 9: 37-69

1 Macc. 9. 37] But after these things
 they brought word to Jonathan and Si-
 mon his brother, that the children of
 Jambri were making a great marriage,
 and were bringing the bride from Nada-
 bath with a great train, a daughter of
 one of the great nobles of Canaan.
 38] And they remembered John their
 brother, and went up, and hid themselves
 under the covert of the mountain:
 39] and they lifted up their eyes, and
 saw, and, behold, a great ado and much
 baggage: and the bridegroom came
 forth, and his friends and his brethren,
 to meet them with timbrels, and min-
 40] strels, and many weapons. And they
 rose up against them from their am-
 bush, and slew them, and many fell
 wounded to death, and the remnant fled
 into the mountain, and they took all their
 41] their spoils. And the marriage was
 turned into mourning, and the voice of
 42] their minstrels into lamentation. And
 they avenged fully the blood of their
 brother, and turned back to the marsh of
 Jordan.

43] And Bacchides heard it, and he

came on the sabbath day unto the banks
 44] of Jordan with a great host. And
 Jonathan said to his company, Let us
 stand up now and fight for our lives, for
 it is not *with us* to-day, as yesterday and
 45] the day before. For, behold, the
 battle is before us and behind us; more-
 over the water of the Jordan is on this
 side and on that side, and marsh and
 wood; and there is no place to turn
 46] aside. Now therefore cry unto heav-
 en, that ye may be delivered out of the
 47] hand of your enemies. And the bat-
 tle was joined, and Jonathan stretched
 forth his hand to smite Bacchides, and he
 48] turned away back from him. And
 Jonathan and they that were with him
 leapt into the Jordan, and swam over
 to the other side: and they did not pass
 49] over Jordan against them. And there
 fell of Bacchides' company that day
 50] about a thousand men; and he re-
 turned to Jerusalem. And they builded
 strong cities in Judæa, the stronghold
 that was in Jericho, and Emmaus, and
 Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Timnath,
 Pharathon, and Tephon, with high walls

51] and gates and bars. And in them he
52] set a garrison, to vex Israel. And
he fortified the city Bethsura, and Ga-
zara, and the citadel, and put forces in
53] them, and store of victuals. And
he took the sons of the chief men of
the country for hostages, and put them
in ward in the citadel at Jerusalem.

54] And in ⁶⁵ the hundred and fifty
and third year, in the second month, Al-
cimus commanded to pull down the wall
of the inner court of the sanctuary; he
pulled down also the works of the proph-
55] ets; and he began to pull down. At
that time was Alcimus stricken, and his
works were hindered; and his mouth
was stopped, and he was taken with a
palsy, and he could no more speak any-
thing and give order concerning his
56] house. And Alcimus died at that time
57] with great torment. And Bacchides
saw that Alcimus was dead, and he re-
turned to the king: and the land of Ju-
dah had rest two years.

58] And all the lawless men took coun-
sel, saying, Behold, Jonathan and they
of his part are dwelling at ease, and in
security: now therefore we will bring
Bacchides, and he shall lay hands on
59] them all in one night. And they went
60] and consulted with him. And he re-
moved, and came with a great host, and
sent letters privily to all his confederates
that were in Judæa, that they should lay
hands on Jonathan and those that were

with him: and they could not, because
their counsel was known unto them.
61] And *they that were of Jonathan's*
part laid hands on about fifty of the men
of the country, that were authors of the
62] wickedness, and he slew them. And
Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were
with him, gat them away to Bethbasi,
which is in the wilderness, and he built
up that which had been pulled down
thereof, and they made it strong.
63] And Bacchides knew it, and he gath-
ered together all his multitude, and sent
word to them that were of Judæa.
64] And he went and encamped against
Bethbasi, and fought against it many
65] days, and made engines of war. And
Jonathan left his brother Simon in the
city, and went forth into the country,
66] and he went with a few men. And he
smote Odomera and his brethren, and
the children of Phasiron in their tent.
67] And they began to smite them, and
to go up with their forces. And Simon
and they that were with him went out
of the city, and set on fire the engines
68] of war, and fought against Bac-
chides, and he was discomfited by them,
and they afflicted him sore; for his coun-
69] sel was in vain, and his inroad. And
they were very wroth with the lawless
men that gave him counsel to come into
the country, and they slew many of them.
And he took counsel to depart into his
own land.

JONATHAN GAINS RECOGNITION, *1 Macc. 9:70-73*

1 Macc. 9. 70] And Jonathan had
knowledge thereof, and sent ambassa-
dors unto him, to the end that they
should make peace with him, and that he
should restore unto them the captives.
71] And he accepted the thing, and did
according to his words, and sware unto
him that he would not seek his hurt all
72] the days of his life. And he re-

stored unto him the captives which he
had taken aforetime out of the land of
Judah, and he returned and departed into
his own land, and came not any more
73] into their borders. And the sword
ceased from Israel. And Jonathan dwelt
at Michmash; and Jonathan began to
judge the people; and he destroyed the
ungodly out of Israel.

THE REBELLION OF ALEXANDER BALAS, *1 Macc. 10:1-2*

1 Macc. 10. And in ⁶⁶ the hundred and
sixtieth year Alexander Epiphanes, the

son of Antiochus, went up and took pos-
session of Ptolemais: and they received

⁶⁵ Circa B.C. 160,

⁶⁶ Circa B.C. 153.

2] him, and he reigned there. And king Demetrius heard thereof, and he gathered together exceeding great forces, and went forth to meet him in battle.

This Alexander was not really a son of Antiochus, but a pretender. He and his beautiful sister, aided by people who disliked the rule of Demetrius, made their way to Rome and gained the consent of the senate to return and endeavor to gain the throne of Syria on the ground that they were children of Antiochus IV. Whether the senate was really deceived, or whether it took another opportunity to harass Demetrius, is uncertain. One suspects that the second of the two alternatives is the true one. At all events Alexander gained a part of the territory, and Demetrius sought Jonathan's support.

JONATHAN GIVEN JERUSALEM AND MADE HIGH PRIEST,

1 Macc. 10: 3-21

1 Macc. 10. 3] And Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with words of 4] peace, so as to magnify him. For he said, Let us be beforehand to make peace with them, ere he make peace with Alexander against us: for he will remember all the evils that we have done against him, and unto his brethren and 6] unto his nation. And he gave him authority to gather together forces, and to provide arms, and that he should be his confederate: and he commanded that they should deliver up to him the hostages that were in the citadel.

7] And Jonathan came to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in 8] the citadel: and they were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together a host. 9] And they of the citadel delivered up the hostages unto Jonathan, and he re- 10] stored them unto their parents. And Jonathan dwelt in Jerusalem, and began 11] to build and renew the city. And he commanded them that did the work to build the walls and the mount Sion round about with ⁶⁷ square stones for de- 12] fence; and they did so. And the strangers, that were in the strongholds which Bacchides had built, fled away; 13] and each man left his place, and de-

14] parted into his own land. Only at Bethsura were there left certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments; for it was a place of refuge unto them.

15] And king Alexander heard all the promises which Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan: and they told him of the battles and the valiant deeds which he and his brethren had done, and of the 16] toils which they had endured; and he said, Shall we find such another man? and now we will make him our ⁶⁸ Friend 17] and confederate. And he wrote letters, and sent them unto him, according to these words, saying,

18] King Alexander to his brother 19] Jonathan, greeting: We have heard of thee, that thou art a mighty man of valour, and meet to be our ⁶⁸ Friend. 20] And now we have appointed thee this day to be high priest of thy nation, and to be called the king's ⁶⁸ Friend (and he sent unto him a purple robe and a crown of gold), and to take our part, and to keep friendship with us.

21] And Jonathan put on the holy garments in the seventh month of ⁶⁹ the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of tabernacles, and he gathered together forces, and provided arms in abundance.

⁶⁷ So the versions and Josephus. Gr. *Four foot stones.*

⁶⁸ See ch. 2: 18. Compare ver. 65.
⁶⁹ Circa B.C. 153.

A JEWISH TEMPLE BUILT IN EGYPT

One result of the inauguration of Jonathan as high priest was that Onias (Annas), son of the high priest who had been deposed, fled to Egypt and persuaded Ptolemy VII, who was still reigning, to permit him to build a Jewish temple at a place called Leontopolis, about twenty miles north of the modern Cairo. In building it he imitated in a general way the contour of the temple-hill at Jerusalem and the form of the temple itself.⁷⁰ The site of this temple was excavated by Petrie in 1905-6.

DEMETRIUS'S COUNTER PROPOSALS REJECTED, 1 Macc. 10:22-50

1 Macc. 10. 22] And Demetrius heard these things, and he was grieved, and 23] said, What is this that we have done, that Alexander hath been beforehand with us in establishing friendship with 24] the Jews, to strengthen himself? I also will write unto them words of encouragement and of honour and of gifts, that they may be with me to aid me. 25] And he sent unto them according to these words:

King Demetrius unto the nation of 26] the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as ye have kept your covenants with us, and continued in our friendship, and have not joined yourselves to our enemies, we 27] have heard hereof, and are glad. And now continue ye still to keep faith with us, and we will recompense unto you good things in return for your dealings 28] with us, and will grant you many 29] immunities, and give you gifts. And now do I free you, and release all the Jews, from the tributes, and from the customs of salt, and from the crowns. 30] And instead of the third part of the seed, and instead of the half of the fruit of the trees, which falleth to me to receive, I release it from this day and henceforth, so that I will not take it from the land of Judah, and from the three governments which are added thereunto from the country of Samaria and Galilee, from this day forth and for 31] all time. And let Jerusalem be holy and free, and her borders; the tenths and 32] the tolls *also*. I yield up also my

authority over the citadel which is at Jerusalem, and give it to the high priest, that he may appoint in it such men as 33] he shall choose to keep it. And every soul of the Jews, that hath been carried captive from the land of Judah into any part of my kingdom, I set at liberty without price; and let all remit the tributes 34] of their cattle also. And all the feasts, and the sabbaths, and new moons, and appointed days, and three days before a feast, and three days after a feast, let them all be days of immunity and release for all the Jews that are in my kingdom. 35] And no man shall have authority to exact from any of them, or to trouble 36] them concerning any matter. And let there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews, and pay shall be given unto them, as belongeth to all the king's forces. 37] And of them some shall be placed in the king's great strongholds, and some of them shall be placed over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust: and let those that are over them, and their rulers, be of themselves, and let them walk after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded in the land of 38] Judah. And the three governments that have been added to Judæa from the country of Samaria, let them be added to Judæa, that they may be reckoned to be under one, that they may not obey other 39] authority than the high priest's. As for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining thereto, I have given it as a gift to the

⁷⁰ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., pp. 39, 40, and Figs. 12, 13.

sanctuary that is at Jerusalem, for the expenses that befit the sanctuary. 40] And I give every year fifteen thousand shekels of silver from the king's revenues from the places that are con- 41] venient. And all the overplus, which they that manage the king's affairs paid not in as in the first years, they shall give from henceforth toward the works 42] of the house. And beside this, the five thousand shekels of silver, which they received from the uses of the sanctuary from one revenue year by year, this also is released, because it appertaineth to the priests that minister. 43] And whosoever shall flee unto the temple that is at Jerusalem, and *be found* within all the borders thereof, whether one owe moneys to the king, or any other matter, let them go free, and all that 44] they have in my kingdom. And for the building and renewing of the works of the sanctuary the expense shall be given also out of the king's revenue.

45] And for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof round about, shall the expense be given also out of the king's revenue, and for the building of the walls in Judæa.

46] Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credence unto them, nor received them, because they remembered the great evil which he had done in Israel, and that he 47] had afflicted them very sore. And they were well pleased with Alexander, because he was the first that spake words of peace unto them, and they were con- 48] federate with him always. And king Alexander gathered together great forces, and encamped over against Deme- 49] trius. And the two kings joined battle, and the army of Alexander fled; and Demetrius followed after him, and pre- 50] vailed against them. And he strengthened the battle exceedingly until the sun went down: and Demetrius fell that day.

ALEXANDER MARRIES PTOLEMY'S DAUGHTER, *1 Macc.* 10: 51-58

1 Macc. 10. 51] And Alexander sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt according to these words, saying, 52] Forasmuch as I am returned to my kingdom, and am set on the throne of my fathers, and have gotten the dominion, and have overthrown Demetrius, and have gotten possession of our country; 53] yea, I joined battle with him, and he and his army were discomfited by us, and we sat upon the throne of his king- 54] dom: now also let us establish amity one with the other, and give me now thy daughter to wife: and I will make affinity with thee, and will give both thee and her gifts worthy of thee. 55] And Ptolemy the king answered,

saying, Happy is the day wherein thou didst return into the land of thy fathers, and didst sit on the throne of their king- 56] dom. And now will I do to thee, as thou hast written: but meet me at Ptolemais, that we may see one another; and I will make affinity with thee, even as 57] thou hast said. And Ptolemy went out of Egypt, himself and Cleopatra his daughter, and came unto Ptolemais in ⁷¹ the hundred and threescore and sec- 58] ond year: and king Alexander met him, and he bestowed on him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great pomp, as the manner of kings is.

JONATHAN MEETS ALEXANDER AND PTOLEMY, *1 Macc.* 10: 59-66

1 Macc. 10. 59] And king Alexander wrote unto Jonathan, that he should come 60] to meet him. And he went with pomp to Ptolemais, and met the two kings,

and gave them and their ⁷² Friends silver and gold, and many gifts, and found 61] favour in their sight. And there were gathered together against him cer-

⁷¹ Circa B.C. 151.

⁷² See ch. 2: 18. Compare ver. 65.

tain pestilent fellows out of Israel, men that were transgressors of the law, to complain against him: and the king gave 62] no heed to them. And the king commanded, and they took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple: 63] and thus they did. And the king made him sit with him, and said unto his princes, Go forth with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation, that no man complain against him of any mat-

ter, and let no man trouble him for any 64] manner of cause. And it came to pass, when they that complained against him saw his glory according as *the herald* made proclamation, and *saw* him clothed 65] in purple, they all fled away. And the king gave him honour, and wrote him among his ⁷³ Chief Friends, and made him a captain, and governor of a prov- 66] ince. And Jonathan returned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

DEMETRIUS II REVOLTS, 1 Macc. 10: 67-73

1 Macc. 10. 67] And in ⁷⁴ the hundred and threescore and fifth year came Demetrius, son of Demetrius, out of Crete into the land of his fathers: 68] and king Alexander heard thereof, and he was grieved exceedingly, and re- 69] turned unto Antioch. And Demetrius appointed Apollonius, who was over Cœlesyria, and he gathered together a great host, and encamped in Jamnia, and sent unto Jonathan the high priest, say- ing,

70] Thou alone liftest up thyself against us, but I am had in derision and in reproach because of thee. And why

dost thou vaunt thy power against us in 71] the mountains? Now therefore, if thou trustest in thy forces, come down to us into the plain, and there let us try the matter together; for with me is the 72] power of the cities. Ask and learn who I am, and the rest that help us; and they say, Your foot cannot stand be- fore our face; for thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land. 73] And now thou shalt not be able to abide the horse and such a host as this in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto.

JONATHAN FIGHTS THE FORCES OF DEMETRIUS,

1 Macc. 10: 74-89

1 Macc. 10. 74] Now when Jonathan heard the words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and he chose out ten thousand men, and went forth from Jerusalem, and Simon his brother met him 75] for to help him. And he encamped against Joppa: and they of the city shut him out, because Apollonius had a gar- 76] rison in Joppa: and they fought against it. And they of the city were afraid, and opened unto him: and Jona- 77] than became master of Joppa. And Apollonius heard, and he gathered an army of three thousand horse, and a great host, and went to Azotus as though he were on a journey, and therewithal drew

onward into the plain, because he had a multitude of horse, and trusted therein. 78] And he pursued after him to Azotus, 79] and the armies joined battle.⁷⁵ And Apollonius had left a thousand horse be- 80] hind them privily. And Jonathan knew that there was an ambushment be- hind him. And they compassed round his army, and cast their darts at the people, 81] from morning until evening: but the people stood still, as Jonathan com- manded them: and their horses were 82] wearied. And Simon drew forth his host, and joined battle with the phalanx (for the horsemen were spent), and they were discomfited by him, and fled.

⁷³ See ch. 11: 27; ² Macc. 8: 9. Compare ch. 2: 18; ver. 16, &c.

⁷⁴ Circa B.C. 148.

⁷⁵ Most of the authorities here repeat *after* him.

83] And the horsemen were scattered in the plain, and they fled to Azotus, and entered into Beth-dagon, their idol's 84] temple, to save themselves. And Jonathan burned Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took their spoils; and the temple of Dagon, and them that 85] fled into it, he burned with fire. And they that had fallen by the sword, with them that were burned, were about eight 86] thousand men. And from thence Jonathan removed, and encamped against

Ascalon, and they of the city came forth 87] to meet him with great pomp. And Jonathan, with them that were on his side, returned unto Jerusalem, having 88] many spoils. And it came to pass, when king Alexander heard these things, 89] he honoured Jonathan yet more; and he sent unto him a buckle of gold, as the use is to give to such as are of the kindred of the kings: and he gave him Ekron and all the coasts thereof for a possession.

DEMETRIUS SUPPLANTS ALEXANDER WITH THE AID OF
PTOLEMY, 1 *Macc.* 11: 1-19

1 *Macc.* 11. And the king of Egypt gathered together great forces, as the sand which is by the sea shore, and many ships, and sought to make himself master to Alexander's kingdom by deceit, 2] and to add it to his own kingdom. And he went forth into Syria with words of peace, and they of the cities opened unto him, and met him; for king Alexander's commandment was that they should meet him, because he was his father in law. 3] Now as he entered into the cities of Ptolemais, he set his forces for a gar- 4] rison in each city. But when he came near to Azotus, they shewed him the temple of Dagon burned with fire, and Azotus and the suburbs thereof pulled down, and the bodies cast abroad, and them that had been burned, whom he burned in the war, for they had made 5] heaps of them in his way. And they told the king what things Jonathan had done, that they might cast blame on him: 6] and the king held his peace. And Jonathan met the king with pomp at Joppa, and they saluted one another, and 7] they slept there. And Jonathan went with the king as far as the river that is called Eleutherus, and returned to Jeru- 8] salem. But king Ptolemy became master of the cities upon the sea coast, unto Seleucia which is by the sea, and he devised evil devices concerning Alexander. 9] And he sent ambassadors unto king

Demetrius, saying, Come, let us make a covenant with one another, and I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign over thy 10] father's kingdom; for I have repented that I gave my daughter unto 11] him, for he sought to slay me. And he cast blame on him, because he coveted 12] his kingdom. And taking his daughter from him, he gave her to Demetrius, and was estranged from Alexander, and their 13] enmity was openly seen. And Ptolemy entered into Antioch, and put on himself the diadem of Asia; and he put two diadems upon his head, the diadem of 14] Egypt and that of Asia. But King Alexander was in Cilicia at that season, because they of those parts were in re- 15] volt. And Alexander heard of it, and he came against him in war: and Ptolemy led forth *his host*, and met him with a strong force, and put him to flight. 16] And Alexander fled into Arabia, that he might be sheltered there; but king 17] Ptolemy was exalted. And Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head, 18] and sent it to Ptolemy. And king Ptolemy died the third day after, and they that were in his strongholds were slain by them that were in the strong- 19] holds. And Demetrius reigned in ⁷⁶ the hundred and threescore and seventh year.

DEMETRIUS II OFFERS JONATHAN FRIENDSHIP,

1 Macc. 11: 20-37

1 Macc. 11. 20] In those days Jonathan gathered together them of Judæa, to take the citadel that was at Jerusalem: and he made many engines of war against **21]** it. And certain that hated their own nation, men that transgressed the law, went unto the king, and reported to him that Jonathan was besieging the citadel. **22]** And he heard, and was angered; but when he heard it, he set forth immediately, and came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not besiege it, and that he should meet him and speak with him at Ptolemais with all **23]** speed. But when Jonathan heard this, he commanded to besiege it *still*: and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and of the priests, and put himself in peril, **24]** and taking silver and gold and raiment and divers presents besides, went to Ptolemais unto the king. And he **25]** found favour in his sight. And certain lawless men of them that were of the nation made complaints against him, **26]** and the king did unto him even as his predecessors had done unto him, and exalted him in the sight of all his ⁷⁷ Friends, **27]** and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and all the other honours that he had before, and gave him preeminence **28]** among his ⁷⁸ Chief Friends. And Jonathan requested of the king, that he would make Judæa free from tribute, and the three ⁷⁹ provinces, and the country of Samaria; and promised him three hundred **29]** talents. And the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan

concerning all these things after this manner:

30] King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan, and unto the nation of the **31]** Jews, greeting: The copy of the letter which we wrote unto Lasthenes our kinsman concerning you, we have written also unto you, that ye may see it. **32]** King Demetrius unto Lasthenes his **33]** father, greeting: We have determined to do good to the nation of the Jews, who are our friends, and observe what is just toward us, because of their **34]** good will toward us. We have confirmed therefore unto them the borders of Judæa, and also the three governments of Aphærema and Lydda and Ramathaim (*these* were added unto Judæa from the country of Samaria), and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the king's dues which the king received of them yearly aforetime from the produce of the earth and the fruits **35]** of trees. And as for the other things that pertain unto us from henceforth, of the tenths and the tolls that pertain unto us, and the saltpits, and the crowns that pertain unto us, all these we will bestow **36]** upon them. And not one of these things shall be annulled from this time **37]** forth and for ever. Now therefore be careful to make a copy of these things, and let it be given unto Jonathan, and let it be set up on the holy mount in a meet and conspicuous place.

TRYPHON REVOLTS, *1 Macc. 11: 38-40*

1 Macc. 11. 38] And king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him, and that no resistance was made to him, and he sent away all his forces, each man to his own place, except the foreign forces, which he had raised from the isles of the Gentiles: and all the forces **39]** of his fathers hated him. Now Try-

phon was of those who aforetime had been of Alexander's part, and he saw that all the forces murmured against Demetrius, and he went to Imalcue the Arabian, who was nourishing up Antiochus the young child of Alexander, **40]** and pressed sore upon him that he should deliver him unto him, that he

⁷⁷ See ch. 2: 18.⁷⁸ See ch. 10: 65.⁷⁹ Gr. *top archies*.

might reign in his father's stead: and he told him all that Demetrius had done, and the hatred wherewith his forces

hated him; and he abode there many days.

JEWISH SOLDIERS SAVE DEMETRIUS IN ANTIOCH,

1 Macc. 11: 41-53

1 Macc. 11. 41] And Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius, that he should cast out of Jerusalem them of the citadel, and them that were in the strongholds; for they fought against Israel continually. **42]** And Demetrius sent unto Jonathan, saying, I will not only do this for thee and thy nation, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if I find fair occasion. Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men who shall fight for me; for all my forces are **44]** volted. And Jonathan sent him three thousand valiant men unto Antioch: and they came to the king, and the king was **45]** glad at their coming. And they of the city gathered themselves together into the midst of the city, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand men, and they were minded to slay the king. **46]** And the king fled into the court of the palace, and they of the city seized the passages of the city, and began to fight. **47]** And the king called the Jews to help him, and they were gathered together unto him all at once, and they dispersed

themselves in the city, and slew that day to the number of a hundred thousand. **48]** And they set the city on fire, and gat many spoils that day, and saved the king. **49]** And they of the city saw that the Jews had made themselves masters of the city as they would, and they waxed faint in their hearts, and they cried out to the king with supplication, saying, **50]** Give us thy right hand, and let the Jews cease from fighting against us and **51]** the city. And they cast away their arms, and made peace; and the Jews were glorified in the sight of the king, and before all that were in his kingdom; and they returned to Jerusalem, **52]** having many spoils. And king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him. **53]** And he lied in all that he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, and recompensed him not according to the benefits with which he had recompensed him, and afflicted him exceedingly.

FURTHER CONQUESTS OF JONATHAN IN PHILISTIA AND

GALILEE, *1 Macc. 11: 54-74*

1 Macc. 11. 54] Now after this Tryphon returned, and with him the young child Antiochus; and he reigned, and **55]** put on a diadem. And there were gathered unto him all the forces which Demetrius had sent away with disgrace, and they fought against him, and he fled **56]** and was put to the rout. And Tryphon took the elephants, and became master of Antioch. And the young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm unto thee the high priesthood, and appoint thee over the four governments, and to be one of the king's **58]** ⁸⁰ Friends. And he sent unto him

golden vessels and furniture for the table, and gave him leave to drink in golden vessels, and to be clothed in purple, and to have a golden buckle. **59]** And his brother Simon he made captain from the Ladder of Tyre unto the **60]** borders of Egypt. And Jonathan went forth, and took his journey beyond the river and through the cities; and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to be his confederates. And he came to Ascalon, and they of the city met him honourably. **61]** And he departed thence to Gaza, and they of Gaza shut him out; and he laid

siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them. 62] And they of Gaza made request unto Jonathan, and he gave them his right hand, and took the sons of their princes for hostages, and sent them away to Jerusalem; and he passed through the country as far as Damascus.

63] And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Kedesh, which is in Galilee, with a great host, purposing to remove him from his office; and he went to meet them, but Simon his brother he left in the country. 64] try. And Simon encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it many 65] days, and shut it up: and they made request to him that he would give them his right hand, and he gave it to them; and he put them out from thence, and took possession of the city, and set a 66] garrison over it. And Jonathan and his army encamped at the water of Gen-

nesareth, and early in the morning they 68] gat them to the plain of Hazor. And, behold, an army of strangers met him in the plain, and they laid an ambush for him in the mountains, but themselves 69] met him face to face. But they that lay in ambush rose out of their places, and joined battle; and all they that were 70] of Jonathan's side fled: not one of them was left, except Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of 71] Chalphi, captains of the forces. And Jonathan rent his clothes, and put earth 72] upon his head, and prayed. And he turned again unto them in battle, and put them to the rout and they fled. 73] And they of his side that fled saw it, and returned unto him, and pursued with him unto Kedesh unto their camp, 74] and they encamped there. And there fell of the strangers on that day about three thousand men: and Jonathan returned to Jerusalem.

JONATHAN SEEKS FRIENDSHIP OF ROME AND SPARTA,

1 Macc. 12: 1-4

1 Macc. 12. And Jonathan saw that the time served him, and he chose men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm and renew the friendship that they had with 2] them. And to the Spartans, and to other places, he sent letters after the 3] same manner. And they went unto Rome, and entered into the senate house,

and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the nation of the Jews, have sent us, to renew for them the friendship and the 4] confederacy, as in former times. And they gave them letters unto the men in every place, that they should bring them on their way to the land of Judah in peace.

JONATHAN AGAIN RESCUES DEMETRIUS, *1 Macc. 12: 24-34*

1 Macc. 12. 24] And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were returned to fight against him with a greater host than 25] afore, and he removed from Jerusalem, and met them in the country of Hamath; for he gave them no respite to 26] set foot in his country. And he sent spies into his camp, and they came again, and reported to him that they were appointed in such and such a way to fall 27] upon them in the night season. But so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be

in arms, that all the night long they might be ready for battle: and he put forth sentinels round about the camp. 28] And the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, and they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and they kindled fires in their 29] camp.⁸¹ But Jonathan and his men knew it not till the morning; for they 30] saw the lights burning. And Jonathan pursued after them, and overtook them not; for they were gone over the 31] river Eleutherus. And Jonathan

⁸¹ Some authorities add *and departed*.

turned aside to the Arabians, who are called Zabadæans, and smote them, and 32] took their spoils. And he set out from thence, and came to Damascus, and took his journey through all the coun- 33] try. And Simon went forth, and took his journey as far as Ascalon, and the

strongholds that were near unto it. And he turned aside to Joppa, and took pos- 34] session of it; for he had heard that they were minded to deliver the strong- hold unto the men of Demetrius; and he set a garrison there to keep it.

JONATHAN STRENGTHENS HIS FORTIFICATIONS,

1 Macc. 12: 35-38

1 Macc. 12. 35] And Jonathan re- turned, and called the elders of the peo- ple together; and he took counsel with them to build strongholds in Judæa, 36] and to make the walls of Jerusalem higher, and to raise a great mound be- tween the citadel and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be all alone, that men might neither buy

37] nor sell. And they were gathered to- gether to build the city, and there fell down part of the wall of the brook that is on the east side, and he repaired that 38] which is called Chaphenatha. And Simon also built Adida in the ⁸² plain country, and made it strong, and set up gates and bars.

JONATHAN CAPTURED BY TRYPHON'S TREACHERY,

1 Macc. 12: 39-53

1 Macc. 12. 39] And Tryphon sought to reign over Asia and to put on himself the diadem, and to stretch forth his hand 40] against Antiochus the king. And he was afraid lest haply Jonathan should not suffer him, and lest he should fight against him; and he sought a way how to take him, that he might destroy him. And he removed, and came to Bethshan. 41] And Jonathan came forth to meet him: with forty thousand men chosen 42] for battle, and came to Bethshan. And Tryphon saw that he came with a great host, and he was afraid to stretch forth 43] his hand against him: and he received him honourably, and commended him unto all his ⁸³ Friends, and gave him gifts, and commanded his forces to be obedient unto him, as unto himself. 44] And he said unto Jonathan, Why hast thou put all this people to trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us? 45] And now send them away to their homes, but choose for thyself a few men who shall be with thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, and I will give it up to thee and the rest of the

strongholds and the rest of the forces, and all the king's officers: and I will re- turn and depart; for this is the cause of 46] my coming. And he put trust in him, and did even as he said, and sent away his forces, and they departed into the 47] land of Judah. But he reserved to himself three thousand men, of whom he left two thousand in Galilee, but one 48] thousand went with him. Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and laid hands on him; and all them that came in with him they slew with the sword. 49] And Tryphon sent forces and horse- men into Galilee, and into the great plain, 50] to destroy all Jonathan's men. And they perceived that he was taken and had perished, and they that were with him; and they encouraged one another, and went on their way close together, pre- 51] pared to fight. And they that fol- lowed upon them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, and turned 52] back again. And they all came in peace into the land of Judah, and they mourned for Jonathan, and them that

82 Gr. *Sephela*.

83 See ch. 2: 18.

were with him, and they were sore afraid; and all Israel mourned with a 53] great mourning. And all the Gentiles that were round about them sought to destroy them utterly: for they said,

They have no ruler, nor any to help them: now therefore let us fight against them, and take away their memorial from among men.

SIMON CHOSEN LEADER AND JONATHAN SLAIN, *1 Macc.* 13: 1-34

1 **Macc.** 13. And Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a mighty host to come into the land of Judah, and 2] destroy it utterly. And he saw that the people trembled and was in great fear; and he went up to Jerusalem, and 3] gathered the people together; and he encouraged them, and said unto them, Ye yourselves know all the things that I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws and the sanctuary, and the battles and the dis- 4] tresses which we have seen: by reason hereof all my brethren have perished for Israel's sake, and I am left 5] alone. And now be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any time of affliction; for I am not better 6] than my brethren. Howbeit I will take vengeance for my nation, and for the sanctuary, and for our wives and children; because all the Gentiles are gathered to destroy us of very hatred. 7] And the spirit of the people revived, as soon as they heard these words. 8] And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou art our leader instead of 9] Judas and Jonathan thy brother. Fight thou our battles, and all that thou shalt 10] say unto us, that will we do. And he gathered together all the men of war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round 11] about. And he sent Jonathan the son of Absalom, and with him a great host, to Joppa: and he cast out them that were therein, and abode there in it.

12] And Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a mighty host to enter into the land of Judah, and Jonathan was 13] with him in ward. But Simon encamped at Adida, over against the plain. 14] And Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join battle with him,

and he sent ambassadors unto him, saying, It is for money which Jonathan thy brother owed unto the king's treasure, by reason of the offices which he had, 16] that we hold him fast. And now send a hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is set at liberty he may not revolt from us, 17] and we will set him at liberty. And Simon knew that they spake unto him deceitfully; and he sendeth the money and the children, lest peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred 18] of the people, and they should say, Because I sent him not the money and 19] the children, he perished. And he sent the children and the hundred talents. And he dealt falsely, and did not set 20] Jonathan at liberty. And after this Tryphon came to invade the land, and destroy it, and he went round about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: and Simon and his army marched over against him to every place, wheresoever 21] he went. Now they of the citadel sent unto Tryphon ambassadors, hastening him to come unto them through the wilderness, and to send them victuals. 22] And Tryphon made ready all his horse to come: and on that night there fell a very great snow, and he came not by reason of the snow. And he removed, and came into the country of Gilead. 23] But when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, and he was buried 24] there. And Tryphon returned, and went away into his own land.

25] And Simon sent, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried him at Modin, the city of his fathers. 26] And all Israel made great lamentation over him, and mourned for him 27] many days. And Simon built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it

aloft to the sight, with polished stone
28] behind and before. And he set up
seven pyramids, one over against an-
other, for his father, and his mother,
29] and his four brethren. And for these
he made cunning devices, setting about
them great pillars, and upon the pillars
he fashioned ⁸⁴ all manner of arms for a
perpetual memory, and beside the ⁸⁴ arms
ships carved, that they should be seen
30] of all that sail on the sea. This is the
sepulchre which he made at Modin, and
31] *it is there* unto this day. Now Try-

phon dealt deceitfully with the young
king Antiochus, and slew him, and
32] reigned in his stead, and put on him-
self the diadem of Asia, and brought a
33] great calamity upon the land. And
Simon built the strongholds of Judæa,
and fenced them about with high towers,
and great walls, and gates, and bars; and
he laid up victuals in the strongholds.
34] And Simon chose men, and sent to
king Demetrius, to the end he should
give the country an immunity, because
all that Tryphon did was to plunder.

JEWISH INDEPENDENCE RECOGNIZED, 1 Macc. 13: 35-42

1 Macc. 13. 35] And King Demetrius
sent unto him according to these words,
and answered him, and wrote a letter
unto him, after this manner:

36] King Demetrius unto Simon the
high priest and ⁸⁵ Friend of kings, and
unto the elders and nation of the
37] Jews, greeting: The golden crown,
and the palm branch, which ye sent,
we have received: and we are ready
to make a ⁸⁶ stedfast peace with you, yea,
and to write unto our officers, to grant
38] immunities unto you. And whatso-
ever things we confirmed unto you, they
are confirmed; and the strongholds,
which ye have builded, let them be your

39] own. As for any oversights and faults
committed unto this day, we forgive
them, and the crown which ye owed us:
and if there were any other toll exacted
in Jerusalem, let it be exacted no longer.
40] And if there be any among you meet
to be enrolled in our court, let them be
enrolled, and let there be peace be-
twixt us.

41] In ⁸⁷ the hundred and seventieth
year was the yoke of the heathen taken
42] away from Israel. And the people
began to write in their instruments and
contracts, In the first year of Simon the
great high priest and captain and leader
of the Jews.

Thus after twenty-five years of struggle (168-143 B.C.) the Jews were
once more an independent people—independent for the first time since
the days of King Ahaz five hundred and ninety years before. No wonder
that the spirit of the nation was deeply stirred.

⁸⁴ Gr. *panoplies*.

⁸⁵ See ch. 2: 18.

⁸⁶ Gr. *great*.

⁸⁷ Circa B.C. 143.

CHAPTER XXIII

SIMON AND THE ASMONEANS

SIMON TAKES GAZARA (GEZER), *1 Macc.* 13: 43-48

1 Macc. 13. 43] In those days he [Simon] encamped against ¹ Gazara, and compassed it round about with armies; and he made an engine of siege, and brought it up to the city, and smote a 44] tower, and took it. And they that were in the engine leaped forth into the city; and there was a great uproar in 45] the city: and they of the city rent their clothes, and went up on the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, making request to Simon to give them ² his right hand.

46] And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickedness, but according to thy mercy. And Simon was reconciled unto them, and did not fight against them: and he put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with singing and giving praise. 48] And he put all uncleanness out of it, and placed in it such men as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling place for himself.

THE SYRIAN GARRISON AT LAST LEAVES THE CITADEL OF JERUSALEM, *1 Macc.* 13: 49-53

1 Macc. 13. 49] But they of the citadel in Jerusalem were hindered from going forth, and from going into the country, and from buying and selling; and they hungered exceedingly, and a great number of them perished through famine. 50] And they cried out to Simon, that he should give them his right hand; and he gave it to them: and he put them out from thence, and he cleansed the citadel 51] from its pollutions. And he entered into it on the three and twentieth day of the second month, in ³ the hundred and

seventy and first year, with praise and palm branches, and with harps, and with cymbals, and with viols, and with hymns, and with songs: because a great enemy 52] was destroyed out of Israel. And he ordained that they should keep that day every year with gladness. And the hill of the temple that was by the citadel he made stronger than before, and there he 53] dwelt, himself and his men. And Simon saw that John his son was a *valiant* man, and he made him leader of all his forces: and he dwelt in Gazara.

THE LAND ENJOYS PEACE, *1 Macc.* 14: 4-15

1 Macc. 14. 4] And the land had rest all the days of Simon: and he sought the good of his nation; and his authority and his glory was well-pleasing to them all 5] his days. And amid all his glory he

took Joppa for a haven, and made it an 6] entrance for the isles of the sea; and he enlarged the borders of his nation, 7] and gat possession of the country; and he gathered together a great number of

¹ See ver. 53 (compare ver. 48); ch. 14: 7, 34; 15: 28; 16: 1; also Josephus. All the authorities read *Gaza* in this verse.

² Gr. *right hands*.

³ Circa B.C. 142.

captives, and gat the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the citadel, and he took away from it its uncleannesses; and 8] there was none that resisted him. And they tilled their land in peace, and the land gave her increase, and the trees of 9] the plains their fruit. The ancient men sat in the streets, they communed all of them together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike 10] apparel. He provided victuals for the cities, and furnished them with ⁴all manner of munition, until the name of his glory was named unto the end of the

11] earth. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: 12] and they sat each man under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none 13] to make them afraid: and there ceased in the land any that fought against them: and the kings were dis- 14] comfited in those days. And he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out, and every lawless and wicked per- 15] son he took away. He glorified the sanctuary, and the vessels of the temple he multiplied.

FRIENDSHIP RENEWED WITH ROME AND SPARTA,

1 Macc. 14: 16-24

1 Macc. 14. 16] And it was heard at Rome that Jonathan was dead, and even unto Sparta, and they were exceeding 17] sorry. But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and 18] the cities therein, they wrote unto him on tables of brass, to renew with him the friendship and the confederacy which they had confirmed with Judas and 19] Jonathan his brethren; and they were read before the congregation at Jeru- 20] salem. And this is the copy of the letters which the Spartans sent:

The rulers of the Spartans, and the city, unto Simon the high priest, and unto the elders, and the priests, and the residue of the people of the Jews, our

21] brethren, greeting: The Ambassadors that were sent unto our people made report to us of your glory and honour: and we were glad for their coming, 22] and we did register the things that were spoken by them in the ⁵public records after this manner: Numenius of Antiochus, and Antipater son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us. 23] And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their words in the ⁶public records, to the end that the people of the Spartans might have a memorial thereof: moreover they wrote a copy of these things unto Simon the high priest.

SIMON AND HIS SONS MADE PRINCES AND HIGH PRIESTS

FOREVER, 1 Macc. 14: 25-49

1 Macc. 14. 25] But when the people heard these things, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his 26] sons? for he and his brethren and the house of his father have made themselves strong, and have chased away in fight the enemies of Israel from them, 27] and confirmed liberty to ⁷Israel. And

they wrote on tables of brass, and set them upon pillars in mount Sion: and this is the copy of the writing:

On the eighteenth day of Elul, in ⁸the hundred and seventy and second year, and this is the third year of Simon the 28] high priest, ⁹in Asaramel, in a great congregation of priests and people and

⁴ Gr. *implements of munition.*⁵ Gr. *counsels of the people.*⁶ Gr. *books that are appointed for the people.*⁷ Gr. *him.*⁸ Circa B.C. 141.⁹ Perhaps a Hebrew title of Simon underlies these words.

princes of the nation, and of the elders of the country, ¹⁰ was it notified unto us: 29] Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country, but Simon the son of Mattathias, the son of the sons of Joarib, and his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and withstood the enemies of their nation, that their sanctuary and the law might be established, and glorified their nation with great glory: 30] and Jonathan assembled their nation together, and became their high priest, 31] and was gathered to his people: and their enemies purposed to invade their country, that they might destroy their country utterly, and stretch forth their 32] hands against their sanctuary: then rose up Simon, and fought for his nation, and spent much of his own substance, and armed the valiant men of his 33] nation, and gave them wages: and he fortified the cities of Judæa, and Bethsura that lieth upon the borders of Judæa, where the arms of the enemies were aforetime, and set there a garrison 34] of Jews: and he fortified Joppa which is upon the sea, and Gazara which is upon the borders of Azotus, wherein the enemies dwelt aforetime, and placed Jews there, and set therein all things convenient for the reparation thereof: 35] and the people saw the ¹¹ faith of Simon, and the glory which he thought to bring unto his nation, and they made him their leader and high priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and the faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all 36] means to exalt his people: and in his days things prospered in his hands, so that the Gentiles were taken away out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David, they that were in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a citadel, out of which they issued, and polluted all things round about the sanctuary, and did great hurt unto its 37] purity; and he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the safety of the

country and the city, and made high the 38] walls of Jerusalem: and king Demetrius confirmed to him the high priesthood according to these things, and made 39] him one of his ¹² Friends, and honoured him with great honour; for he had heard say, that the Jews had been called by the Romans friends and confederates and brethren, and that they had met the ambassadors of Simon 41] honourably; and that the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful 42] prophet; and that he should be captain over them, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the arms, and over the strongholds; and that he should take charge of 43] the sanctuary, and that he should be obeyed by all, and that all instruments in the country should be written in his name, and that he should be clothed in 44] purple, and wear gold; and that it should not be lawful for any of the people or of the priests to set at nought any of these things, or to gainsay the words that he should speak, or to gather an assembly in the country without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a 45] buckle of gold; but whosoever should do otherwise, or set at nought any of these things, he should be liable to punishment. All the people consented to ordain for Simon that he should do 47] according to these words; and Simon accepted hereof, and consented to be high priest, and to be captain and ¹³ governor of the Jews and of the priests, and to be protector of all.

48] And they commanded to put this writing on tables of brass, and to set them up within the precinct of the sanctuary in a conspicuous place; and moreover to put the copies thereof in the treasury, to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.

¹⁰ Gr. *he made known*.

¹¹ Some authorities read *acts*.

¹² See ch. 2: 18.

¹³ Gr. *ethnarch*.

THE COMPLETION OF THE PSALTER

The wave of national and religious feeling which led to the elevation of Simon and his descendants to the highest offices produced also a revival in other directions. One of these was the revision of the Psalter and the addition to it of "books" four and five of the *Psalms*. These were completed, at least up to *Psalms* 136, and probably *Psalms* 137-150 were added before 130 B.C. The earlier collections were also revised and allusions to events of the Maccabean time were introduced into some of them, as *Psalms* 44, 74, and 79. Perhaps this revision and expansion of the Psalter was a part of that "glorification of the sanctuary" by Simon mentioned above (1 *Macc.* 14: 15). On account of long exposure to Hellenic influences, and perhaps also on account of the interruption of the service between 168 and 165 B.C., the musical notations employed in earlier "books" of the Psalter were no longer employed, and their meaning had been forgotten.

DEMETRIUS II GOES TO FIGHT PARTHIA, 1 *Macc.* 14: 1-3

1 *Macc.* 14. And in ¹⁴ the hundred and seventy and second year king Demetrius gathered his forces together, and went into Media, to get him help, that he ² might fight against Tryphon. And Arsaces, the king of Persia and Media,

heard that Demetrius was come into his borders, and he sent one of his princes ³ to take him alive: and he went and smote the army of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to Arsaces; and he put him in ward.

Although not stated in the first book of *Maccabees*, Demetrius was defeated and taken prisoner by the king of Parthia, who held him captive for ten years. When the Syrians thus found themselves kingless, they placed his brother on the throne, Antiochus of Side, who is known as Antiochus VII. He was a much abler man than his brother Demetrius. He took Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, who had first been the wife of Alexander Balas.

ANTIOCHUS MAKES WAR ON SIMON, 1 *Macc.* 15: 1-16: 10

1 *Macc.* 15. And Antiochus son of Demetrius the king sent letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and ¹⁵ governor of the Jews, and to all ² the nation; and the contents thereof were after this manner:

King Antiochus to Simon the chief priest and ¹⁵ governor, and to the nation of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as certain pestilent fellows have made themselves masters of the kingdom

of our fathers, but my purpose is to claim the kingdom, that I may restore it as it was before; and moreover I have raised a multitude of foreign soldiers, ⁴ and have prepared ships of war; moreover I am minded to land in the country, that I may punish them that have destroyed our country, and them that have made many cities in the kingdom desolate: Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the exactions which the kings

¹⁴ Circa B.C. 141,

¹⁵ Gr. *ethnarch*.

that were before me remitted unto thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they re-
6] mitted unto thee: and I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine
7] own stamp, but that Jerusalem and the sanctuary should be free: and all the arms that thou hast prepared, and the strongholds that thou hast built, which thou hast in thy possession, let them re-
8] main unto thee: and everything owing to the king, and the things that shall be owing to the king from henceforth and for evermore, let them be remitted unto
9] thee: moreover, when we shall have established our kingdom, we will glorify thee and thy nation and the temple with great glory, so that your glory shall be made manifest in all the earth.

10] In ¹⁶ the hundred and seventy and fourth year went Antiochus forth into the land of his fathers; and all the forces came together unto him, so that there were few men with Tryphon.
11] And king Antiochus pursued him, and ¹⁷ he came, as he fled, unto Dor,
12] which is by the sea: for he knew that troubles were come upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken
13] him. And Antiochus encamped against Dor, and with him a hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and
14] eight thousand horse. And he compassed the city round about, and the ships joined in the attack from the sea; and he vexed the city by land and sea, and suffered no man to go out or in.

15] And Numenius and his company came from Rome, having letters to the kings and to the countries, wherein were written these things:

16] Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto
17] king Ptolemy, greeting: The Jews' ambassadors came unto us as our friends and confederates, to renew the old friendship and confederacy, being sent from Simon the high priest, and from the
18] people of the Jews: moreover they brought a shield of gold of a thousand
19] pound. It pleased us therefore to write unto the kings and unto the countries, that they should not seek their

hurt, nor fight against them, and their cities, and their country, nor be confederates with such as fight against them.
20] Moreover it seemed good to us to
21] receive the shield of them. If therefore any pestilent fellows have fled from their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high priest, that he may take vengeance on them according to their law.

22] And the same things wrote he to Demetrius the king, and to Attalus, and
23] to Arathes, and to Arsaces, and unto all the countries, and to ¹⁸ Sampsames, and to the Spartans, and unto Delos, and unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto Caria, and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia, and unto Lycia, and unto Halicarnassus, and unto Rhodes, and unto Phaselis, and unto Cos, and unto Side, and unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and
24] Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene. But the copy hereof they wrote to Simon the high priest.

25] But Antiochus the king encamped against Dor the second day, bringing his forces up to it continually, and making engines of war, and he shut up Tryphon
26] from going in or out. And Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to fight on his side; and silver, and gold, and instruments of war in abundance.
27] And he would not receive them, but set at nought all the covenants which he had made with him aforetime, and was
28] estranged from him. And he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his
¹⁹ Friends, to commune with him, saying.

Ye hold possession of Joppa and Gazara, and the citadel that is in Jerusalem, cities of my kingdom. The borders thereof ye have wasted, and done great hurt in the land, and got the dominion of many places in my kingdom.
30] Now therefore deliver up the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places whereof ye have gotten domin-
31] ion without the borders of Judæa: or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that

¹⁶ Circa B.C. 139.

¹⁷ Or, he came unto Dor, fleeing by the way which is by the sea.

¹⁸ Some authorities read *Sampsaces*: the Latin versions have *Lampsacus*.

¹⁹ See ch. 2: 18.

ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents: or else we will come and subdue you.

32] And Athenobius the king's Friend came to Jerusalem; and he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver vessels, and his great attendance, and he was amazed; and he reported to him the king's words. 33] And Simon answered, and said unto him.

We have neither taken other men's land, nor have we possession of that which appertaineth to others, but of the inheritance of our fathers; howbeit, it was had in possession of our enemies 34] wrongfully for a certain time. But we, having opportunity, hold fast the inheritance of our fathers. But as touching Joppa and Gazara, which thou demandest, they did great harm among the people, throughout our country, we will give a hundred talents for them.

And he answered him not a word, 26] but returned in a rage to the king, and reported unto him these words, and the glory of Simon, and all that he had seen: and the king was exceeding wroth. 37] But Tryphon embarked on board a ship, and fled to Orthosia.

38] And the king appointed Cende-bæus chief captain of the sea coast, and gave him forces of foot and horse: 39] and he commanded him to encamp before Judæa, and he commanded him to build up Kidron, and to fortify the gates, and that he should fight against the people: but the king pursued Tryphon. 40] And Cende-bæus came to Jamnia, and began to provoke the people, and to invade Judæa, and to take the people captive, and to slay them. And he built Kidron, and set horsemen there, and forces of foot, to the end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the ways of Judæa, according as the king commanded him.

16. And John went up from Gazara, and told Simon his father what Cende-2] bæus was doing. And Simon called his two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, I and my brethren and my father's house have fought the battles of Israel from our youth, even unto this day; and things have prospered in our hands, that we should deliver Israel 3] oftentimes. But now I am old, and ye moreover, by *his* mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go forth and fight for our nation; but let the help which is from 4] heaven be with you. And he chose out of the country twenty thousand men of war and horsemen, and they went against Cende-bæus, and slept at Modin. 5] And rising up in the morning, they went into the plain, and, behold, a great host came to meet them, of footmen and horsemen: and there was a brook betwixt 6] them. And he encamped over against them, he and his people: and he saw that the people were afraid to pass over the brook, and he passed over first, and the men saw him, and passed over after him. 7] And he divided the people, and *set* the horsemen in the midst of the footmen: but the enemies' horsemen were ex-8] ceeding many. And they sounded with the trumpets; and Cende-bæus and his army were put to the rout, and there fell of them many wounded to death, but they that were left fled to the strong-9] hold: at that time was Judas John's brother wounded: but John pursued after them, till he came unto Kidron, which 10] *Cende-bæus* had built; and they fled unto the towers that are in the fields of Azotus; and he burned it with fire; and there fell of them about two thousand men. And he returned into Judæa in peace.

SIMON ASSASSINATED, 1 *Macc.* 16: 11-24

1 *Macc.* 16. 11] And Ptolemy the son of Abubus had been appointed captain for the plain of Jericho, and he had much

12] silver and gold; for he was the high 13] priest's son in law. And his heart was lifted up, and he was minded to make

himself master of the country, and he took counsel deceitfully against Simon and his sons, to make away with them. 14] Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them; and he went down to Jericho, himself and Mâtthias and Judas his sons in ²⁰ the hundred and seventy and seventh year, in the eleventh month, the same is the month 15] Sebat: and the son of Abubus received them deceitfully into the little stronghold that is called Dok, which he had built, and made them a great ban- 16] quet, and hid men there. And when Simôn and his sons had drunk freely, Ptolemy and his men rose up, and took their arms, and came in upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his two sons, and certain of his serv- 17] ants. And he committed a great iniquity, and recompensed evil for good. 18] And Ptolemy wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him forces to aid him, and should de-

liver him their country and the cities. 19] And he sent others to Gazara to make away with John: and unto the captains of thousands he sent letters to come unto him, that he might give them 20] silver and gold and gifts. And others he sent to take possession of Jerusalem, 21] and the mount of the temple. And one ran before to Gazara, and told John that his father and brethren were perished, and he hath sent to slay thee also. 22] And when he heard, he was sore amazed; and he laid hands on the men that came to destroy him, and slew them; for he perceived that they were seeking to destroy him.

23] And the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars, and of his valiant deeds which he did, and of the building of the walls which he built, and of his do- 24] ings, behold, they are written in the ²¹ chronicles of his high priesthood, from the time that he was made high priest after his father.

Thus ended the life of Simon, the last of the sons of Mattathias. As here recorded his son John, known as John Hyrcanus I succeeded him. John and his successors were called "The Simonites" (in Hebrew, *has-samoniya*). This name, when taken over into Greek, became Hasmonean, or Asmonean. By this designation the dynasty of John and his successors is known.

JOHN HYRCANUS I, 135-105 B.C.

John, who thus succeeded his father in 135 B.C., ruled for twenty years. His first task was to punish Ptolemy, the murderer of his father, who took refuge in a fortress near Jericho. Ptolemy, who was John's brother-in-law, had John's mother and some of his brothers in his possession, and, when John pressed him too hard, would bring them on the wall and torture them. For this reason John did not press his siege as otherwise he would have done, and Ptolemy escaped to the city of Philadelphia,²² the Rabbah Ammon of David's time (the modern Amman), and found asylum there.

During the next year Antiochus VII overran all Judea and laid siege to Jerusalem.²³ After the siege had lasted for some time, John concluded

²⁰ Circa B.C. 136.

²² The city had been rebuilt by Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) of Egypt in the preceding century, and named for himself, Philadelphia.

²¹ Gr. *book of days*.

²³ The source of our information about John Hyrcanus I is the *Antiquities* of Josephus, XIII, 8-10.

a treaty with him. By this treaty John was compelled to pay Antiochus a heavy tribute, and to aid him in his military enterprises. In order to obtain the gold for his tribute, Josephus says that he opened the tomb of David and appropriated its treasure.

In 129 B.C. Antiochus determined to make an expedition into Parthia, not only to avenge the defeat of Demetrius, but to recover lost territory, for by this time Parthia had absorbed the kingdom of Bactria and other territory on the east to the border of India, and had robbed Antiochus' kingdom of Babylonia also. Hyrcanus was forced to furnish Jewish soldiers for this expedition and, according to Josephus, accompanied it himself. The campaign of Antiochus was, during the first season, most successful. In Babylonia, Media, and elsewhere the population arose in his favor and welcomed him as a deliverer. The Parthian king was reduced to straits; then winter came on, and Antiochus made the mistake of wintering in the country. It is one thing to welcome an invader as a deliverer, when he is quite unknown, but another to have him quarter soldiers in your home and compel you to feed them all winter. By the next spring Antiochus was as unpopular as he had been popular. The Parthian king, however, not knowing this, gave Demetrius, who had long been held captive for such an opportunity as this, an army and sent him to Syria to recover his throne. This would weaken Antiochus at his home base. Then the Parthian gave Antiochus battle, and easily defeated and killed him. He then regretted having set Demetrius free, but it was too late. Demetrius returned, secured the kingdom in 128 B.C., took back his wife Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VII, and reigned for three years. Then Cleopatra herself, who had all her life been made a pawn in the political game, took a hand in politics herself. Disliking Demetrius, she placed her minor son on the throne, and, after Demetrius had been eliminated, became regent of the kingdom herself. This son of hers was Antiochus VIII, called "Grypos," or "the hook-nosed." The removal of Antiochus VII left the government of Syria in much weaker hands and gave John his opportunity. At times Grypos and another son of Cleopatra harassed him, but he was always able to maintain himself against them, and resumed his entire independence of Syria.

During this part of his reign John conquered and added to his territory Madeba and other cities east of the Dead Sea, Idumæa, which, it will be remembered, was now southern Judah, and Samaria. He compelled the Idumæans (Edomites) to be circumcised and to accept the Jewish religion on pain of being expelled from the country. He also conquered the territory of Samaria, taking the cities of Samaria and Shechem, though Samaria did not yield to him until after a year's siege. As his father had gained control of Gezer and Joppa and other cities in the Philistine plain, the territory controlled by the Jews was much greater than it had ever been since the Babylonian exile.

By the time of John the strict religionists among the Jews, who in the time of Judas Maccabæus had been called Hasideans, had come to be called Pharisees. How the name originated is in dispute; one theory is that it comes from a root that means "separate," and was adopted because they desired to be different and separate from Gentiles in all their ways. The wealthy and prosperous Jews, who were not averse to being on easy terms with Gentiles, while keeping the essentials of their religion, were called Sadducees. How this name originated is still more in dispute. John Hyrcanus, who was a very religious man, associated himself at first with the Pharisees, but later, when one of the most zealous of them cast suspicions on the honor of the high priest's mother, he was offended and from that time aligned himself with the Sadducees.

ARISTOBULUS I, 105-104 B.C.

John was succeeded by his son Aristobulus, who ruled but a year. He was of a jealous and suspicious disposition. He put his own mother to death, because his father had left her a part in the government, and imprisoned all his brothers, except Antigonus, of whom he was fond, and whom he made commander of the army. Later, however, calumniators so inflamed his jealousy that he had Antigonus put to death. He, first of all the Asmoneans, assumed the title of king. Simon and John Hyrcanus had been content to be called "Prince." In his short reign he won some victories in Ituræa, northeast of the Sea of Galilee, and compelled the people whom he conquered to accept Judaism. After a reign of but a year he sickened and died.

ALEXANDER JANNÆUS, 104-79 B.C.

Salome, the widow of Aristobulus, who also bore the Greek name Alexandra, on the death of her husband released her brothers-in-law from prison, and to Alexander Jannæus, the oldest of them, offered the throne and her hand, both of which he accepted. As soon as he had set in order his government, he set out upon a checkered and stormy career as a warrior. At this period the kingdom of Syria was powerless, being continually distracted by civil wars. There were always two and sometimes three contestants for its throne. Egypt was also torn with strife. While one young Ptolemy was nominally reigning in the valley of the Nile, the government being really in the hands of his mother, still another Cleopatra, another Ptolemy, whom his mother, this same Cleopatra, had driven from Egypt, was ruling in Cyprus and seeking opportunities to regain control of his native land. Across the Jordan the Nabathæan kings, first Aretas and then Orodes, were seeking to gain for themselves every advantage possible.

On Alexander's accession the Jews controlled all the cities along the

Mediterranean coast of Palestine except Ptolemias (Accho), Dor, Strato's Tower (afterward called Cæsarea), and Gaza. Alexander attempted to increase this number by besieging Ptolemias. When Alexander had met with success at Ptolemias, and besieged Gaza, its people appealed to Ptolemy Lathyrus ("the Chick Pea"), who held Cyprus. He came to their aid and not only compelled Alexander to raise the siege, but overran Galilee and even Judea. Alexander was saved from utter humiliation by Cleopatra's jealousy of her son. She made a league with Alexander, and thus strengthened, he returned and captured Gaza. The fear of Ptolemy being thus eliminated, Alexander next led his forces to the country beyond Jordan and east of the Sea of Galilee, and captured Gadara, Raphia, Amathus, and Amedon. This work took time; ten months were consumed in the siege of Gadara.

Meantime Alexander had become very unpopular with the stricter Jews, especially with the Pharisees. Once, when he had returned to Jerusalem and was officiating as high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles, the people pelted him with citrons. It seemed to many of them incongruous that the chief priest of their religion should be a worldly warrior.

The success which Alexander had gained east of the Sea of Galilee was turned a little later into a severe reverse. A brother of Ptolemy Lathyrus, named Demetrius, established himself in Damascus, from which he began to ravage Alexander's territory, won a victory over Alexander at Shechem so disastrous that Alexander fled to hiding. A force of six thousand Jews rallied to their king, but he would have been in an awkward position had Demetrius followed up his victory. Fortunately for him, Demetrius withdrew. This misfortune, in addition to Alexander's unpopularity with the Pharisees, precipitated a rebellion on the part of a portion of his subjects, but the king gradually overcame it, and put the leaders to death.

The troubles of Alexander were, however, not yet over. Demetrius after a little sickened and died, leaving no successor, after which one of the Syrian pretenders, bearing the name Antiochus, gained possession of Damascus and invaded Alexander's territory. Antiochus had beaten Alexander in battle and was haranguing his soldiers, when a chance shot killed him and his army fled. Aretas the Arabian (Nabathæan) king also invaded the Jewish domain and won a victory, but with him Alexander succeeded in making terms and the Arabian retired, after which Alexander proceeded with his subjugation of Dios and other trans-Jordanian towns.

Although the story of Alexander's wars as told by Josephus²⁴ reads like a series of defeats, yet, when he died, Judea held nearly all the important towns of the maritime plain from Gaza to Mount Carmel, the towns of Galilee, and the country east of the Jordan from Raphia to

Heshbon and Madeba. He and his father, John Hyrcanus, had once more brought under the sway of a Hebrew scepter nearly all the territory over which King David had ruled.

For three years before he died Alexander was suffering from his last illness, but in the intervals of ague he still led his soldiers. He left the government in the hands of his wife Alexandra.

ALEXANDRA, 79-69 B.C.

Alexander Jannæus had two sons, but, when he died, he advised his wife Alexandra to take the reins of government herself and to make her peace with the Pharisees and be controlled by their advice. He admitted that his opposition to them had been a mistake on his part. This Alexandra did, making her oldest son, John Hyrcanus II, a quiet sort of man who was indisposed to political activity, high priest. The Pharisees were delighted, helped Alexandra to give the body of her husband honorable burial, and told the people what a great king they had lost. The Pharisees wished to compel those who had been Alexander's instruments in punishing Jews who rebelled against him to pay the penalty with their lives, and Alexandra felt herself unable to resist them. This greatly incensed her younger son Aristobulus, who was a man of active, restless disposition, was exceedingly anxious to take a hand in politics, and chafed under the consideration that his father had left the government to a woman, although he had two sons quite able to conduct public affairs. In order to give Aristobulus an outlet for his energy, his mother sent him with an army against one of the Ptolemies who had set himself up in Damascus, but he returned without accomplishing anything.

During Alexandra's reign Tigranes, king of Armenia, taking advantage of the distraction in Syria produced by the rival aspirants to the throne of the Seleucidæ, invaded the country and held Antioch for four years. He besieged Ptolemais and threatened to attack Judea, but, as Ptolemais fell into his hands, news of troubles in Armenia caused him to return home, and Judea escaped.

As Alexandra, a woman now seventy-three years of age, lay ill with what proved to be her last sickness, Aristobulus secretly left Jerusalem and persuaded about half of the fortified cities in the realm to accept him for their leader, so that, when his mother died, the possession of these fortresses and the lack of political ambition on the part of his brother Hyrcanus gave him a controlling position.

JOHN HYRCANUS II AND ARISTOBULUS II, 69-63 B.C.

Many Jews rallied to the standard of Hyrcanus, as the high priest and rightful king, but the forces of Hyrcanus were defeated by those of

Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus took refuge in the temple fortress, where the wife and children of Aristobulus were confined, having been shut up by Alexandra's order before her death. Probably because Hyrcanus had these in his power, he succeeded in making terms with Aristobulus. It was agreed that Aristobulus should be king, and that Hyrcanus should retain the high-priesthood. The pact was ratified in the temple by giving the right hand and embracing in the presence of a vast throng. Aristobulus thereupon moved to the royal palace, and Hyrcanus occupied Aristobulus' former home.

Probably Hyrcanus would have been content to permit affairs to continue in this condition but for an ambitious friend of his named Antipater, an Idumæan. Antipater greatly disliked Aristobulus, and lost no opportunity of telling Hyrcanus of plots which he pretended Aristobulus was forming against him. At last he so worked on the mind of Hyrcanus that he was permitted to go to the court of Aretas, king of the Nabathæans at Petra, and arrange for Hyrcanus to take refuge there. Once there, Antipater worked both on Aretas and on Hyrcanus until he persuaded Aretas to try to place Hyrcanus on the throne of Judea, and Hyrcanus to promise, if he would do so, to restore to him certain cities which earlier Asmoneans had taken from him.

THE COMING OF THE ROMANS

The events which followed cannot be understood apart from a knowledge of certain events in Roman history. Rome's first participation in Asiatic affairs by the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia in 190 B.C., was recorded in a previous chapter. At that time Rome formed an alliance with the kings of Pergamos, the hereditary opponent of the Seleucidæ in western Asia Minor. As the kingdom of Syria weakened during the half-century after 190 B.C. the kings of Pergamos extended their territory. When in 133 B.C. Attalus III, the last king of Pergamos, died, he left his kingdom by will to the Roman republic. The Roman senate scarcely knew what to do with it, but, after debating the matter for three years, they finally organized the kingdom into the province of Asia, the first Roman province on Asiatic soil. The possession of this gave Rome an interest in maintaining the peace of the whole peninsula. It happened that in the year 66 B.C. Roman interests had been compromised by Mithridates, king of Pontus, and the Roman senate committed the command of the war that was to bring Mithridates to terms to Pompey, a general who, after many other important services, had, in the previous year, cleared the Mediterranean of pirates. Cicero supported the candidacy of Pompey for this command in an oration which many a schoolboy is compelled to read. Pompey brought Mithridates to terms in the year 66 B.C., and in the next year turned his attention to Syria, long distracted by continual civil strife

fomented by rival aspirants for the throne. In the year 65 B.C. he terminated the empire that Seleucus had founded in 312 B.C., and organized its territory (which had dwindled to the country around Antioch) into a Roman province. Compelled the next year to make an expedition against Tigranes of Armenia, he sent Scaurus to take possession of Damascus.

It was just at this juncture that Aretas and Hyrcanus came with fifty thousand Nabathæan soldiers and attacked Aristobulus. They defeated him and besieged him in the temple, where he took refuge. The Nabathæan forces were greatly augmented by Jews who now deserted to the standard of Hyrcanus, but the temple, when its gates were closed, was a strong fortress and the siege was prolonged. At this juncture Scaurus came to Jerusalem to see what was going on, and both parties appealed to him for help, each offering him large sums of money. Aristobulus could offer cash, while Hyrcanus could only offer sums which he hoped to raise, so Scaurus accepted Aristobulus's cash, ordered Aretas to raise the siege, and declared him an enemy of the Romans. Thus relieved, Aristobulus raised an army, gave battle to Aretas, and defeated him.

The next spring Pompey himself came to Damascus and both Aristobulus and Hyrcanus sent ambassadors to him, each seeking to secure Pompey's aid in obtaining the kingdom. Antipater was the ambassador of Hyrcanus. After hearing their arguments, Pompey ordered them both to be quiet until he had made his expedition against the Nabathæans, when he would go to Judea and look into their affairs. As the Roman army started for the Arabian country, however, Aristobulus deserted and went to a fortress called Alexandrium on a hilltop in the Jordan valley about opposite the mouth of the Jabbok. Thereupon Pompey turned his army into Jewish territory, marched to the neighborhood of Alexandrium, and for days heard the arguments and counter-arguments of the representatives of the two brothers. At last, Aristobulus, apparently thinking that the decision would go against him, secretly escaped to Jerusalem and closed its gates. Pompey thereupon marched to Jerusalem and laid siege to it. The siege lasted from July to October, but the inevitable happened. Jerusalem fell into Pompey's hands; Aristobulus was taken to Rome to grace Pompey's triumph; Hyrcanus was confirmed in the high-priesthood; but Jewish independence was lost and has never been regained.

Thus after eighty years the independence won by the Maccabees was lost and Judea passed under the yoke of Rome.

At some time during the Persian or Greek period there grew up among the Jews a third sect of importance called the Essenes. They were even more desirous of keeping themselves holy than the Pharisees. They formed a celibate order and lived in monastic communities. Candidates for their order were compelled to undergo a novitiate. They practised a community of goods, cultivated the land, but would not engage in trade.

They prayed facing the rising sun, which has led to the suspicion that they had been influenced by Zoroastrianism. Some of them prided themselves on their ability to predict future events.

CHRONOLOGY

Simon,	143-135 B.C.	Alexandra,	79-69
John Hyrcanus I,	135-105	John Hyrcanus II }	69-63
Aristobulus I,	105-104	Aristobulus II }	
Alexander Jannæus,	104-79		

CHAPTER XXIV

ANTIPATER AND HEROD THE GREAT

FOR more than thirty years after Palestine became subject to Rome its fortunes reflected closely the changes in Roman politics. As this was the period of the triumvirates through which the republic was transformed into the empire, there were many changes. After Jerusalem was captured by Pompey, Hyrcanus was restored to the high-priesthood and Antipater became the dominant figure in political affairs. Scaurus was deputed to make war on the Nabathæans and, when provisions were scarce, Antipater supplied him. Finally Antipater, acting as envoy for Scaurus, persuaded Aretas to pay Rome a tribute and secure a cessation of the war.

A little later Alexander, a son of Aristobulus, collected an army and seized several fortified cities of the Jews. Gabinius was sent out by the Roman government, accompanied by Mark Antony. After reducing Alexander to great straits, Gabinius accepted his surrender and sent him to Rome. Gabinius arranged that the Jews should be governed by local councils of their own, of which he organized five: one at Jerusalem, another at Gadara east of the Jordan, a third at Amathus "above the Jordan," a fourth at Jericho, and a fifth at Sepphoris in Galilee. This left Jewish affairs practically in their own hands. A little later Aristobulus himself, escaping from Rome, entered the country again. Many Jews rallied to his standard. Gabinius gave him battle and defeated him, whereupon he fled to Machærus, east of the Dead Sea. Gabinius captured the place after a siege of two days, taking captive Aristobulus, who had received a number of wounds, and sending him to Rome again.

Later Alexander returned and tried a second time to seize the reins of government, and raised an army of thirty thousand men. Gabinius sent Antipater to reason with the rebels and to try peaceably to disperse them. When this proved impossible, he gave battle and crushed the rebels a second time. Gabinius, while in the country, rebuilt a number of cities which had previously been destroyed: Marissa (the Moresheth where the prophet Micah had lived), Samaria, Ashdod, Raphia, and Dor. Thus the years from 63 B.C. to 56 B.C. passed.

Before the date we have reached the First Triumvirate had been formed at Rome, consisting of Julius Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. Cæsar and Pompey were generals, and Crassus was a millionaire. After a time Crassus insisted that he be given an opportunity to refill his coffers by having control of a part of the subject territory, and so was given control of a

part of the East, including Palestine. He visited Jerusalem and stripped the temple of much of its gold. Thinking to play the warrior by invading Parthian territory, he was defeated and lost several Roman standards to the Parthians. He was followed by Cassius, who repelled a Parthian invasion of Syria, and made an expedition to Judea, reducing some seditious Jews in a town called Tarichæa, and selling (Josephus says ¹) thirty thousand of them into slavery.

As the years passed Cæsar and Pompey gradually became estranged. The Roman world was too small for two such men. Cæsar, thinking to weaken Pompey, whose influence was still paramount in the East, set Aristobulus free, gave him two legions of soldiers, and sent him back to become king of Judea. Before he reached it, however, Pompey's friends killed him by poison. Finally in the year 48 B.C. Cæsar destroyed Pompey's army at the battle of Pharsalus in Thessaly and Pompey fled to Egypt, hoping to find a refuge and aid from Ptolemy XIII (Auletes), whom he had formerly helped. Before Pompey reached Alexandria, however, his friend had passed away and his children Ptolemy XIV and Cleopatra (the seventh of the name and the most famous) were on Egypt's throne. Instead of receiving Pompey, they had him put to death.

UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR, 48-44 B.C.

After his victory over Pompey Julius Cæsar came around through Syria, taking possession of the country and proceeding on his way to Egypt. When he was halted at Gaza and delayed by the insufficiency of forces on which he could rely, Antipater joined him with a force of three thousand Jews and a large supply of provisions. He accompanied Cæsar on his Egyptian campaign, and he and his Jewish soldiers rendered his cause signal aid in some crucial battles. As a result Cæsar confirmed Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood and made Antipater procurator of Judea, although Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, did his best to prevent it by making severe accusations to Cæsar against Antipater. Antipater's estates were made free of taxes, he was permitted to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had broken down, and which had been in ruins for fifteen years, and to repair the fortifications of other cities. This Antipater proceeded to do with much energy. Cæsar also made a treaty with the Jews according them certain privileges, among which was freedom from paying tribute to Rome every seventh year—the Sabbath year, when they did not sow their land.² Cæsar recognized in Antipater a man of sagacity on whom he could rely and allowed him a free hand in governing Jewish territory.

After Cæsar's departure, Antipater proceeded to organize his gov-

¹ *Wars of the Jews*, I, 8: 9.

² See Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIV, 10.

ernment by making his oldest son Phasælus governor of Jerusalem and the surrounding country and Herod governor of Galilee. Herod, although very young, here obtained his first political experience. The country was infested with robbers. He set himself to subdue and expel them and soon made property safe. He became very popular with his subjects, so many of whom praised him to Hyrcanus that the high priest became jealous of him. Herod became prosperous, and the prosperous are always envied. Jews, jealous of him, accused him to Hyrcanus of exercising royal power without warrant, because he had put criminals to death without the high priest's order. Finally Hyrcanus summoned Herod to Jerusalem for trial before the Sanhedrin. Herod came, but with a military escort—an escort not large enough to justify the suspicion of insubordination, but not so small as to fail to secure for him respectful treatment. Sextus Cæsar, a kinsman of Julius, who had been left in the East with general oversight of affairs, had noted Herod's efficient administration of the government of Galilee, and had become his friend. He sent Hyrcanus a warning that Herod must be acquitted, which was done. Although Herod withdrew, he was angered by the summons, and later came to Jerusalem with a considerable force to take vengeance on Hyrcanus, and was only dissuaded from carrying out his purpose by the persuasions of his father and brother. Before this threatening expedition had been made, Sextus Cæsar had extended Herod's jurisdiction to cover southern Syria and the region east of the Sea of Galilee. In March of the year 44 B.C. Julius Cæsar was assassinated and conditions changed.

UNDER CASSIUS, 44-42 B.C.

Upon the assassination of Cæsar there was for a time great confusion in Rome. Meantime those who had conspired to murder him, Brutus and Cassius, took possession of the East, Syria and Palestine falling to the share of Cassius. He came to Syria and took command of the army stationed there and levied heavy taxes in order to supply the sinews of war with the friends of the slain Cæsar—a war which he knew was sure to come. Antipater, knowing that it was politically necessary at all costs to retain the friendship of the Romans, apportioned the levy placed upon Judea, although it was very large, between different districts and cities, and directed that it be raised. Herod promptly raised the share assigned to Galilee—a hundred talents—and thereby won the favor of Cassius.

After Cassius had gone to Asia Minor and was engaged in the siege of Laodicea, Antipater was poisoned by a man named Malichus. Cassius, upon receiving word of this deed from Herod, directed him to put Malichus to death and sent word to Romans who were at Ptolemais to aid Herod in doing this. The murderer soon paid the penalty of his deed. Disorders soon followed in Jerusalem. Hyrcanus, who had no ability for

political affairs, was always jealous of Antipater and his sons because of their political aptitude. He often listened to their enemies. Felix, a Roman commander who had been left at Jerusalem, attacked Phasælus, who was for a time in straits. Herod would have come to his aid, but at the moment was ill. Hyrcanus was apparently responsible for the attack. Eventually, however, Phasælus expelled Felix from the city.

To the disorder of this disturbed period another element was added by the return of Antigonos, son of Aristobulus. Antigonos had gained the friendship and help of Fabius, whom Cassius had left in command at Tyre. Herod managed to separate from Antigonos the Roman soldiers with whom Fabius had supplied him, dismissed them with presents, and then gave Antigonos battle and defeated him, expelling him from the country. Herod thereupon went to Jerusalem, where Hyrcanus and the people received him with great enthusiasm. A short time before he had arranged to marry Mariamne, a granddaughter of Hyrcanus; it was apparently, this, quite as much as his services to the state, which prompted the act of Hyrcanus.

Meantime there had been formed in Rome within a few months of the murder of Julius Cæsar the second triumvirate, consisting of Octavius Cæsar (afterward called Augustus), Mark Antony, and Lepidus. In the year 42 B.C. Octavius and Antony overcame Brutus and Cassius at the battle of Philippi, and proceeded to divide the Roman world between them. Octavius took Italy and the West, Antony, the East. In the settlement of affairs Antony went first to Bithynia, whither Jewish embassies went to accuse Herod and Phasælus, and ask their removal. Herod went thither also to answer his accusers and spoke so effectively with the substantial argument of money that Antony became his friend. Later, when Antony had moved southward to Ephesus, he was met by an embassy sent by Hyrcanus, presenting rich gifts and petitioning him to permit the return of those Jews whom Cassius had carried captive—a petition which Antony granted.

When Antony reached Sicily he was met by Cleopatra of Egypt. Six years before she had enmeshed Julius Cæsar in her toils, when he was in Egypt. She had accompanied Cæsar to Rome, and was there when he was murdered. Now she met Antony, who also became her slave. While at Tyre on his way to Egypt, Antony committed the government of Judæa to Herod and Phasælus, giving them, according to Josephus, the rank of tetrarchs. Antony remained in Egypt until about 40 B.C., when public affairs compelled him to return to Rome.

Antigonos, the son of Aristobulus, had meantime made his way to Parthia and induced the king of that country to invade Syria and put him on the throne of Judea, promising abundant spoil and five hundred women. Our sources do not reveal the details of the first part of the campaign. When we can begin to discern the course of events, the Parthian

army is in possession of Galilee and Herod is in Jerusalem with Phasælus and Hyrcanus. The Parthians sent a persuasive messenger to Jerusalem inviting Hyrcanus, Phasælus, and Herod to come to Galilee for a conference. Herod refused to go and tried to dissuade his brother from doing so, but oaths were sworn that safe conduct would be provided and their liberty guaranteed, and Hyrcanus and Phasælus went. Once there, they found themselves prisoners. Before moving on Jerusalem with their army, the Parthians especially wished to get possession of Herod also, and to that end sent other messengers, making all sorts of persuasive representations and promises. At the same time another messenger conveyed to Herod a message from Phasælus, telling him of the treachery the Parthians had practised on him and Hyrcanus. Having no army on which he could rely, Herod took his wives, mother and sister, Mariamne, whom he was about to marry, and her mother, together with the few armed men that he had, and set out by night to the south toward Idumæa. He was attacked by bands of Jews, but repulsed the attack with slaughter. When he got into Idumæa, many rallied to his standard, and he made his way to Masada, a fortress on an almost inaccessible mountain-top, which rises above the west shore of the Dead Sea. Here he left his wives and the other women with a garrison of eight hundred men to guard them, and he himself made his way to Melek, the Nabathæan king at Petra.

When they found that Herod had escaped them, the Parthians brought Antigonus and their captives to Jerusalem and made Antigonus king and high priest. Hyrcanus and Phasælus were to be tortured. As Hyrcanus was kneeling before his nephew Antigonus, to beseech him for mercy, Antigonus bit off his ears so that he could never again officiate as high priest, since the law forbade the exercise of that office by any one who had any physical defect. Phasælus is said to have committed suicide by butting his head against a wall, but Hyrcanus was carried a captive to Parthian territory. King Phraates afterward released him and he lived for a time among the "captivity" in Babylonia.

Meantime Herod sought aid of the Nabathæan king, whose father had been aided by Antipater, and to whom Antipater had entrusted a large sum of money that had never been repaid. When the Nabathæan refused to help him, he made his way to Egypt by an adventurous journey. At Alexandria, Cleopatra tried to detain him; but he pressed on, although it was autumn and the season for navigating the Mediterranean had nearly closed. Finding a ship bound for Pamphylia, he took passage. The ship was driven out of its course by a storm and wrecked, and Herod found himself cast by a narrow escape on the island of Rhodes. Here he had the good fortune to fall in with two old friends, and after helping the Rhodians in repairing the damage done to their city in the war with Brutus

and Cassius, he and his friends built a three-decked vessel and in it succeeded in getting to Brundisium, the modern 'Brindisi, and made his way to Rome, where he told Antony what had happened in Palestine and implored his aid, asking that a grandson of Hyrcanus and a brother of Mariamne be made king. Octavius and Antony, thinking it better that the king of Judea should be a man who had proved his capacity for public affairs, persuaded the senate to declare Herod himself king. So after a stay of seven days in Rome Herod started back to Palestine a king, but with an enemy sitting on the throne of his country and with no army with which to dislodge him.

While these events had been in progress Antigonus was earnestly striving to reduce Masada by siege. At one time Herod's followers there were reduced to such straits for lack of water that Herod's brother Joseph, who was in command, contemplated trying to get away to Arabia, but a fortunate rain relieved them and they held out. The Romans also sent Ventidius into Palestine to drive out the Parthians and Antigonus, but the wily son of Aristobulus so corrupted Ventidius with money that he only made a feint of warfare against him. The same conditions continued with Silo whom Ventidius left in command when he departed.

Herod sailed from Italy to Ptolemais, went into Galilee, raised an army, and soon overran Galilee and Samaria. For various reasons many flocked to his standard. After taking Joppa, which was hostile to him, he went to Masada and relieved those who were shut up there. Then with the aid of the faithless Silo he besieged Jerusalem. Winter came on and Silo, who was bribed by Antigonus, thwarted all progress. So time dragged on. Antony went to punish the Parthians for their invasion of Roman territory, and after winning a victory, laid siege to the city of Samosata. Herod, placing his family in Samaria, and leaving his brother Joseph in command of his forces in Palestine, went with a strong force to Samosata to help Antony. While he was on this expedition his brother Joseph was killed. On the completion of the Parthian war, in which Herod greatly distinguished himself, Antony assigned two legions to aid Herod in the complete conquest of his kingdom, and when Sosius, a reliable man, had been put in command of these Herod and Sosius laid siege to Jerusalem, following the plan of campaign by which Pompey had reduced it twenty-six years before. While the siege was in progress Herod went to Samaria and consummated his marriage with Mariamne, to whom he had been engaged so long. Finally, after considerable damage had been done to the walls and the city, Jerusalem was captured in 37 B.C., and Antigonus taken prisoner and sent to Antony, whom Herod tried by large gifts to persuade to put him to death.

Thus disappeared the last scion of the Asmoneans to bear rule, and Herod, after many romantic vicissitudes, was seated on his throne.

THE REIGN OF HEROD THE GREAT, 37-34 B.C.

The reign of Herod falls naturally into three periods. The first of these (37-31 B.C.), the period when he was under Antony, was filled with hampering difficulties, owing to the ambitions of Cleopatra and the intrigues of Alexandra, Mariamne's mother. The second of them (30-14 B.C.) was the period of his energetic activity and of his great building enterprises. The third (14-4 B.C.) was the period of domestic tragedies.

UNDER ANTONY

When Herod established himself in Jerusalem he put to death the principal men who had supported Antigonus and placed in positions of power those who had been his partisans. The high-priesthood had to be filled, and the natural heir to it was a boy of fifteen named Aristobulus, brother of Herod's wife Mariamne and grandson of Hyrcanus. He was too young for the office, and for political reasons Herod hesitated to place a descendant of the Asmoneans in the high-priesthood, which was next in importance to the kingship, and which had for a century been combined with the monarchy. He accordingly brought from Babylonia a man of priestly family, who had become a friend of his, named Ananelus (Hananel) and made him high priest. This act greatly incensed Herod's mother-in-law Alexandra, who could not bear to have an obscure priest advanced to the dignity that by right belonged to her son. She accordingly appealed to Cleopatra to persuade Antony to compel Herod to make Aristobulus high priest.

Meantime John Hyrcanus II, who was living in Babylonia, desired to return to Jerusalem. The Babylonian Jews did their best to dissuade him, but Herod encouraged him to come, wishing to have him where he could watch any political intrigues, so he came. He could not hope to be high priest because of the mutilation of his ears; Herod, however, showed him all outward honor, placing him above himself at feasts, and calling him "father."

A messenger, Dellius, soon came into Judea from Antony and mildly expostulated with Herod for not having given the high-priesthood to Aristobulus. Herod justified his course to the satisfaction of Dellius, but, after he had gone, at the solicitation of Mariamne, promised to make Aristobulus high priest—a promise which he carried out after Hananel had held the office for a year. He was deposed and Aristobulus, a boy of sixteen, elevated to the office. He was a fine-looking youth. His mother and sister, Mariamne, were also very beautiful women. When Aristobulus became high priest, Alexandra apologized to Herod for her past conduct and a reconciliation took place. Herod, however, did not trust her, and while, to all outward appearance, he paid her every honor, he sur-

rounded her with servants who were charged to report to him her every act and who practically made her a prisoner.

The deposition of Hananel from the high-priesthood displeased many Jews. They claimed that, until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, no one who had exercised the office of high priest had been removed from it except by death, and that Herod by this exercise of arbitrary power was following in the footsteps of that wicked king.

Alexandra soon chafed under the conditions of her life. She found herself virtually a prisoner in the palace, so she again complained to Cleopatra, and tried with her son Aristobulus to get away to Egypt. They were to escape from Jerusalem in coffins. Herod caught them in the act, and his trust in them was not increased. The next autumn Aristobulus officiated as high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles, and he was so tall and handsome that the crowd was captivated and loudly acclaimed him. Herod could not forget that he was the heir of the Asmoneans and felt that, as long as he lived, his own throne was insecure. He accordingly arranged that a little later, when Herod and Aristobulus were bathing just at dusk in an artificial pool in the garden of Herod's palace at Jericho, some of the servants should playfully duck Aristobulus under the water and keep up the process until it should appear that he had been drowned by accident; and this was actually done. Herod appeared to be greatly shocked by the occurrence, gave Aristobulus a magnificent funeral, and established a period of mourning; but Alexandra and Mariamne were not deceived. Alexandra wrote an account of it to Cleopatra and besought her aid.

Cleopatra made Alexandra's cause her own and gave Antony no rest. Antony was at the time at Laodicea, and he summoned Herod to appear before him there and give an account of the deed. Herod did not dare to disobey and, although he went laden with valuable gifts for Antony, he fully realized that his own life might be forfeit. He left his uncle Joseph in charge of the government, ordering him, in case Antony should put him (Herod) to death, to put Mariamne also to death. Herod was madly in love with Mariamne, who was very beautiful, but it may be, as Josephus hints, that this order was given in part because Herod knew Antony's weakness and did not wish her to fall into his hands.

Joseph apparently undertook to discharge his duties with discretion. The nature of the charge Herod had laid upon him made it necessary for him frequently to see Mariamne and her mother, and they especially the mother, lost no opportunity to complain bitterly of Herod's treatment. Joseph in his effort to defend Herod and to show them how he loved Mariamne unwisely adduced as proof of Herod's love the order he had left that in case of his own death she was to follow him into the other world. Naturally to the women this seemed a proof of something besides love.

Herod justified his course to Antony, who thought it was hardly just to make a man a king and then punish him for exercising kingly power. He

therefore treated Herod with the greatest kindness and sent him home with new honors. Just before the news of his coming reached Jerusalem, there came a rumor that he had been executed by Antony; but before Joseph could carry out the command left with him, or Mariamne and her mother could escape to the Romans, as they had planned, letters came from Herod, conveying the truth.

Upon Herod's return to Jerusalem his sister Salome informed him of the plan of Mariamne and her mother to flee, and also accused Mariamne of criminal intimacy with his uncle Joseph. Herod at once asked Mariamne about it, and she denied it on her oath. Herod was at last convinced and mollified and began protesting his love for her, when she intimated that, if he loved her really, he would not have left the order with his uncle that she should be executed in case of his own death. This threw Herod into a great rage. He declared that the fact of her knowledge of this was evidence that the accusations that she and Joseph had had improper relations were true. It was only his love for her that kept him from ordering her execution at once. He did order Joseph to be put to death without ever seeing him again. The seed of jealousy of Mariamne was thus planted in his mind and later bore sinister fruit.

In addition to difficulties arising from his Asmonean relatives by marriage Herod was confronted with difficulties fomented by Cleopatra. She was queen of Egypt, for while in name either a younger brother of hers or her son by Julius Cæsar was always king, she took care to exercise the actual power herself. She continually besought Antony to attach Judea and Arabia to her kingdom. Although Antony refused to give her Judea, he did grant her the region about Jericho, which yielded a balsam of which she was very fond, and also assigned to her the revenues from the Nabathæan kingdom of Arabia, compelling Herod to collect these for her. The Arabian king paid these promptly for two years, after which Herod was compelled to collect them by force.

When Antony had summoned Herod to Laodicea, he was preparing an expedition against Parthia. Herod had escorted him to the border of that country before returning to Jerusalem. While Antony was in Armenia Cleopatra made a difficult situation more difficult by visiting Judea. Herod met her and paid her every honor. She is said to have tried to enslave him as she had enslaved Julius Cæsar and Antony, but he was too shrewd to be caught. He was obliged to collect her revenues, however, and for that purpose to make war on the king of Arabia, over whom he gained a signal victory. At this juncture the country was visited by a severe earthquake. So affairs went until Octavius, whose sister Antony had divorced to live with Cleopatra, could abide Antony no longer, and a war between them broke out. The decisive conflict was fought at Actium in Cilicia in the year 31 B.C. When Antony and Cleopatra departed for Actium, they left Herod to push the war with the Nabathæans.

UNDER OCTAVIUS

The victory of Octavius at Actium placed Herod in a dangerous position. He had been a loyal supporter of Antony, though he had not actually fought at Actium. He recognized that Octavius had good cause for deposing him and putting him to death. This probability was also recognized by many of his subjects, among whom was Alexandra the mother of Mariamne. She thought the deposition of Herod might provide her family with another opportunity; and she importuned Hyrcanus, her easy-going father, to secure for them an asylum with the Nabathæan king, and an opportunity to fly to Nabathæan territory, so that, in the event of Herod's execution, they might be in a position to make the best use of the opportunity. The Arabian king was ready to help their plan, but the messenger betrayed the whole correspondence to Herod, who thereupon accused Hyrcanus to the Sanhedrin. He was tried, found guilty, and put to death. Herod then placed his mother and sister Salome and most of his family in the fortress of Masada and placed his brother Pheroras in command of it, but, because of the antipathy of his sister Salome to Alexandra and Mariamne he placed them in the fortress of Alexandrium in the Jordan valley and left a man named Sohemus in command of it. He left with Sohemus directions, in case of his death, to put Mariamne also to death, similar to those that he had given on a former occasion to Joseph. He then made his way to Rhodes to meet Octavius.

When he came into Cæsar's presence wearing no crown, he did not cringe like the other Orientals, but, while respectful, stood upright. He informed Cæsar that he had been a loyal friend to Antony, because Antony had been a friend to him; that he regarded such loyalty to benefactors as an obligation; that he made no excuse for it, but, now that Antony was beaten, if Cæsar would trust him, he would find that he would be in like manner loyal to him. The speech pleased Cæsar, who replaced Herod's crown on his head, and confirmed him in his kingdom with evidences of great friendliness.

Upon his return to Judea he hastened to Alexandrium to inform Mariamne of his good fortune, but she—a high-spirited woman—seemed anything but glad. When he again spoke of his great love for her, she asked if it were an evidence of love that he had left orders with Sohemus to put her to death in case he did not return. (She and her mother had persuaded Sohemus to break Herod's confidence in regard to this.) Herod was then furious and declared that Sohemus would never have confided this secret to her, if she had not been criminally intimate with him. As to Mariamne herself, he was so distracted that he could not make up his mind what to do. At one moment he would resolve on her death; at another, his love for her would reverse his decision. In the end, after much self-torture, he spared her for the time.

When he heard that Cæsar had taken Egypt and that Antony and Cleopatra were dead, he went to Egypt carrying rich gifts to Octavius. Cæsar on his part added to Herod's dominions regions over which he had not previously ruled—Hadara, Hippos, and Samaria, as well as the coast towns of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Strato's Tower.

Upon Herod's return to Jerusalem, the dissensions in his family increased. The high-tempered Mariamne openly expressed her contempt of his mother and sister, reproaching them with their low birth. One day, when Herod was resting and called for Mariamne, though she came to him, she refused to do his will, and an angry scene followed. While it was in progress and Herod was very angry, his sister Salome sent his cup-bearer in to say that Mariamne had persuaded him to give Herod a love potion, but that he did not know what it contained. Herod was so angry that he had Mariamne accused before the Sanhedrin, which, seeing that the king desired it, condemned her to death. She is said to have been a woman of such spirit that she passed through it all without betraying to the onlookers what she suffered. Too late, Herod repented. All his love for her returned and for a time he was nearly beside himself.

Soon after this the land was visited by an epidemic, of which many died. The king himself became desperately ill. Alexandra, Mariamne's mother, thinking the king would not recover, endeavored to persuade some of Herod's commanders to give her certain fortresses whose possession assured control of the kingdom. They betrayed her to Herod, who recovered and ordered Alexandra to be executed. At the same time the sons of a certain Babas, who had been friendly to Antigonus, and who were continually raising calumnies against Herod and fomenting trouble, were also put to death.

In addition to this, ten citizens of Jerusalem conspired to stir up people against Herod on account of the foreign practices which he had introduced and his non-observance of the Jewish law. Gymnasia and wrestling matches had been introduced, and a theater in which there were carved images. The king succeeded in calming most of these discontented folk by reason. In the same year he began rebuilding Samaria and Strato's Tower in a magnificent manner. At Samaria he built an imposing temple, surrounded the top of the hill with a colonnaded street, repaired the walls, adorning them with beautiful gates, and making it as beautiful as a Hellenic city. Similar works were undertaken at Strato's Tower. It took ten years to complete the work. Both towns were renamed in honor of Cæsar, who had now been granted the title "Augustus" by the Roman senate and had become Imperator, or Emperor. Samaria was named Sebaste (the Greek for "Augusta") and Strato's Tower was named Cæsarea. He also undertook the rebuilding of other cities. One of these was Gaba in Galilee, and another, Hesebonitis in Peræa, as the country east of the Jordan was now called.

He also began building for himself a magnificent palace in Jerusalem, on the site of the so-called "Tower of David" which is still by the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem. Indeed the "Tower" is but the battered and oft rebuilt remains of the palace. The palace bore three towers, one of which was named for his brother Phasælus and one for the much-loved but ill-fated Mariamne. South of the palace were magnificent gardens.³

In Herod's thirteenth year Palestine was afflicted with a severe famine, and Herod took a large amount of treasure, stripping his own palace of ornaments to obtain it, and bought grain from Petronius, the proprætor of Egypt. He also remitted to the people a third of their taxes.

Soon after this there came to Jerusalem from Alexandria a priest of considerable note named Simon, who had a very beautiful daughter named Cleopatra. When Herod saw her, he desired to marry her (for years he had been a polygamist); but he considered it beneath him to marry a girl of so low a station in life. He accordingly removed from the high-priesthood a certain Joshua, who held the office at the time, and made Simon high priest. It was not beneath the dignity of the king to marry the daughter of a high priest, so the wedding was celebrated.

When the wedding was over, Herod built a new palace on a hilltop six or seven miles southeast of Bethlehem, near the spot where he had repulsed an attack made on him when a fugitive in the year 40 B.C. This palace he named the Herodium. The foundations of it remain to this day.

Mariamne had borne Herod five children. Two of these were sons who bore the characteristic Asmonean names of Alexander and Aristobulus. They were not Herod's oldest sons, but at this time he appears to have regarded these as the only ones of kingly rank. Probably this was because of their mother's royal rank. He arranged for them to live at Rome in the house of Pollio, but Augustus also made them welcome to stay in the imperial palace whenever they wished to do so. Augustus at this time granted Herod the privilege of naming as his successor whichever of his sons he should choose.

At this juncture Herod was accused to Cæsar by a certain Zenodorus, who had gained control of a principality to the south of Damascus, and, as its revenues did not satisfy him, he encouraged bands of robbers to plunder neighboring territory and shared their loot. When the plundered people complained to Varro, proconsul of Syria, he asked Herod to restore order in the region and put a stop to the robbery, which he did. When Zenodorus complained to Cæsar that Herod had cut off his revenues, Cæsar added to Herod's dominions Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis.

In the eighteenth year of his reign, the year 20 B.C., Herod began rebuilding the temple. He had rebuilt and beautified cities in many parts of his kingdom; he had in many ways beautified Jerusalem itself, adorning

³ For a description of this palace, see Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, V, 4:3-4, and for a picture of its present appearance, G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Fig. 256.

it with his palace and beautiful gardens, but the temple remained as it had been rebuilt in the time of Zerubbabel five hundred years before. As compared with the examples of Hellenic architecture now visible in various parts of the country it was crude, dingy, and unworthy. Herod had difficulty in persuading the Jews to let him rebuild it, but he arranged to have all the materials cut and ready before the old structure was taken down, and trained Levites to ply the trades of masons and carpenters, so that no unconsecrated hand should touch it. On these conditions the people were glad to have it done. When all was in readiness the old building was taken down and the new one erected on the same lines, but with much more magnificence and adornment. The building was ready for occupancy in a year and six months. When it was done there was great rejoicing; the Jews were very proud of it. Work on the colonnades and terraces in the temple area went more slowly. Indeed these were not all completed until eighty years later.⁴

North of the temple on the site of the "Tower of Hananel" which Nehemiah had built, Herod erected a larger fortress which he named Antonia in memory of his friend Mark Antony. A secret passage for the king's use led from this "castle" to the temple.

About this time there was an epidemic of robbery in Jerusalem and Herod decreed that those convicted of house-breaking should be exiled from the country. This greatly incensed the stricter Jews. The Pentateuch, which they regarded as the revealed law of God, had laid down laws for dealing with theft (see *Lev. 6: 1 ff.*), but nowhere does it expel a man from his country for such a deed. Herod was criticized for daring to set his authority against the law of God.

Soon Herod's sons Alexander and Aristobulus returned from Rome, and were received with honors. Salome and Pheroras, Herod's sister and brother, industriously circulated calumnies against them, saying among other things that they disliked their father's company on account of their mother's death. These slanders did something to poison Herod's mind against his sons, but at the time he provided suitable marriages for them, and outwardly things went on as usual.

The next year Marcus Agrippa, a son-in-law of Augustus and the general who had commanded Augustus's fleet at the battle of Actium, came to the East and Herod gave him an urgent invitation to visit Judea. Agrippa accepted, and Herod, after showing him the cities he was constructing, brought him to Jerusalem, where he entertained him lavishly. Agrippa enjoyed himself so much that he stayed until the approaching close of navigation for the winter compelled him to depart. Herod then accompanied him to the Bosphorus, whither he was bound in the service of

⁴ For a description of the temple as rebuilt by Herod, see Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, V, 5.

the emperor. In Ionia the Jews resident appealed to Herod to intercede with Agrippa.

The slanders which his relations had directed against the sons of Mariamne had had their effect, and Herod determined to show them that he had other sons who might succeed him. His oldest son, a boy born of a lowly mother before Herod became king, was named Antipater. Herod now brought him to court and let all know that he favored him; then he sent him to Rome to reside awhile as the sons of Mariamne had done. Antipater understood from these facts that there was a possibility that he might succeed his father, and, to make the matter sure, he industriously collected in Rome all the stories against his brothers that he could and sent them to Herod. He also intimated that they were plotting Herod's death, in order that they might seize the kingdom. Herod's suspicions were at last so aroused that he took Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome and accused them to Augustus of plotting his death. There was no real evidence, and the sons denied it. Augustus, who knew them, did not believe it, and he persuaded Herod to be reconciled to them.

In his twenty-eighth year the rebuilding of Cæsarea and Sebaste were completed, and they were dedicated by great festivals, games, single combats, and horse-races. He sent lavish presents to Augustus and Agrippa, and it is said that they declared Herod's dominions too small for his soul, and that he ought to have added to them both Syria and Egypt.

His lavish expenditures had exhausted Herod's funds, and he remembered that Hyrcanus had opened the sepulcher of David and taken from it quantities of silver, and it was rumored that there was much more there. With a few of his friends he had the tomb opened again by night and went into it himself, but found no silver. If there had been any, Hyrcanus had taken it. Herod is said to have found some golden furniture which he removed. As two of the party approached the bodies of David and Solomon they were killed by an explosion of gases. This greatly frightened them all, including Herod himself. The cause of the flames was not understood, and they were regarded as a divine punishment. Herod closed the tomb and set up a white stone at its mouth.

FAMILY TROUBLES

A little after this Antipater returned from Rome and omitted no opportunity to arouse his father's suspicions against the sons of Mariamne. Herod's brother Pheroras and his sister Salome were equally zealous. Bernice, the wife of Aristobulus, was her daughter, and Salome wormed from her every bit of private conversation that she could and turned it into slanders against Alexander and Aristobulus. This part of Josephus's *Antiquities* is filled with unedifying gossip which it would be a waste of

time to repeat. Herod was driven almost distracted by it. Some of it incriminated Herod himself, and he was so disgusted by it that he banished both Pheroras and Salome from his court. At last the calumnies so worked upon the distracted man that he had Alexander and Aristobulus seized and bound. Alexander's wife was the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, who hastened to Jerusalem fearing for her safety. Seeing Herod's state of mind, Archelaus sympathized with him instead of reproving him, and at last skilfully reconciled him to his sons.

At this juncture there developed a serious political situation. Trachonitis had been given to Herod, as noted above, so that he might suppress the robbers by which it was infested. Obedas, king of Arabia, was a weak man who had permitted his royal power to be exercised by a certain Sylleus, who a little before had desired to marry Herod's sister Salome. She had scandalized the Jews some years before by divorcing her husband. A man might divorce his wife, but the law did not grant a woman a similar privilege. Herod told Sylleus that he had no objection to the marriage, if Sylleus would adopt the Jewish religion; but this the latter refused to do. Now that he exercised among the Nabathæans the power of the king, Sylleus encouraged robbers to infest Trachonitis and gave them shelter in Nabathæan territory. When Herod demanded that they be given up, he refused. Herod then took an army, marched to the fortress where they were protected, demolished it, and killed the robbers. When attacked by a band of Arabs, he defended himself, but was careful to do no harm in Nabathæan territory. Sylleus sent a distorted account of this to Augustus, accusing Herod of making an unprovoked attack upon Arabian territory. Augustus was angry and simply asked Herod's friends whether such an attack had been made. They could only admit that it had been. Whereupon Augustus wrote to Herod that, "whereas of old he had treated him as a friend, he would now treat him as a servant." When Herod sent letters of explanation, they were sent back unopened. Herod was in great perplexity and sent Nicolaus of Damascus to Rome to try to effect a reconciliation with the emperor.

Just at this juncture Herod's suspicions against the sons of Mariamne were aroused afresh. A former member of the king's body-guard who had fallen into some disfavor and had been removed from immediate attendance on the king's person was sometimes seen in Alexander's company. It was also reported to Herod that his sons were trying to get possession of the fortress of Alexandrium. This guardsman and the commander of Alexandrium were accordingly seized and tortured. At first they professed to know nothing, but when the torture became intense a writing was produced, which was guessed to be in Alexander's hand, and which read: "When we have finished, by God's help, all that we have proposed to do, we will come to you; but do you endeavor, as you have promised, to receive us into your fortress." Alexander denied its author-

ship; he said a scribe had imitated his writing and that Antipater was the author of the paper. Herod laid the evidence before the people of Jericho, who clamored for the opportunity to stone Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod, however, restrained them. Then Melas, an ambassador of Archelaus of Cappadocia, arrived and Alexander was questioned before him. He confessed that they had hoped to get away to Archelaus in Cappadocia and by him to be sent to Rome. Herod upon this dispatched other messengers to Rome with letters of accusation against his sons, directing that the letters should be given to Nicolaus of Damascus to be presented to the emperor, if he succeeded in regaining the emperor's favor for Herod in the matter of the invasion of Arabian territory. Fortunately ambassadors were there from Aretas (the fourth of that name), heir to the Arabian throne, accusing Sylleus of usurping the authority of Obedas and of depriving him (Aretas) of his kingdom, Nicolaus shrewdly supported Aretas' cause, bringing in Herod's invasion incidentally as something authorized by the emperor's own officers for the punishment of a wicked man, and Augustus was entirely convinced. Then Nicolaus presented the letters accusing Herod's sons, and the emperor said that if they had conspired against their father they should be punished, and directed Herod to assemble a board of judges at Berytus (the modern Beirut) to try them. He suggested that the judges should be men of rank and that Archelaus of Cappadocia should be one of them.

Herod, when thus granted permission by Cæsar, had the court constituted, but was careful not to invite Archelaus to be a member of the board of judges. Now that he had the emperor's permission, all his former forbearance vanished. He himself appeared before the board and accused his sons so vehemently that the young men were given no hearing and no witnesses in their behalf were called. Alexander and Aristobulus were condemned to die. The whole proceeding shocked public opinion, and one man, Tero by name, expostulated with the king, only to lose his own life. Mariamne's sons were taken to Sebaste and strangled. This occurred in the year 8 B.C., four years before Herod's own death.

After the execution of his sons, Herod endeavored to provide for their children and by his solicitation for them seemed to betray some remorse for having accomplished the ruin of their fathers. He endeavored to arrange marriages for them, when they should come of age, but his plans did not suit Antipater, who induced him to change them.

Herod's last important political act was the founding of a Jewish city in Trachonitis. Hearing that Zamaris, a Babylonian Jew, had come into Syria with a hundred of his kinsfolk and five hundred horsemen, he offered him land in Trachonitis free of taxes, if he would build a city there to be inhabited by Jews and would keep the robbers in order. Zamaris accepted and the city was called Bathyra.

Antipater and Herod's brother Pheroras continued their plotting. They were trying to evolve schemes for accomplishing Herod's death. Salome and others reported the plots to Herod, but he had heard so many calumnies from them that he was skeptical. Antipater, however, took alarm and wrote to his friends in Rome to persuade Cæsar to send for him to come to Rome. This they did, and Herod permitted him to go, sending rich presents to Cæsar and also a copy of his will, in which he left the kingdom to Antipater, and in case of his death before Herod's, to Philip, son of Cleopatra, the daughter of the high priest, Simon.

After Antipater had gone, the wife of Herod's brother Pheroras was accused of attempting to poison her husband. Under torture the fact was disclosed that the poison had been prepared by Antipater for his father. Antipater, not knowing of this, wrote his father that he had completed the business which had called him to Rome and asked permission to come home. This was, of course, granted. When he arrived he was accused by Nicholas of Damascus of attempting to poison his father, and was condemned to death, not only by Herod, but by Quintilius Varus, who had come out to succeed Saturninus in the proconsulship of Syria and was in Jerusalem. Herod did not, however, dare to carry out the sentence until he had the permission of the emperor. He accordingly sent the whole evidence to Cæsar and asked him to confirm the sentence.

Herod was now attacked by an intestinal disease of which he slowly died. He made a new will, leaving the kingdom to Antipas, one of the sons of his Samaritan wife (Herod had nine wives besides Mariamne). This he did because Antipas had poisoned his mind against Philip and Archelaus. During his prolonged sickness, when it was known that he could not recover, some of the ardent Pharisees, of whom there were about six thousand at the time, stirred up the people, denouncing Herod for introducing customs contrary to the law. Forty young men were so stirred that they cut down a golden eagle with which the temple had been adorned. When brought before Herod and asked by what authority they had done it, they said by the authority of their law. Herod ordered them to be burned alive.

His suffering from his disease was terrible; at one time he tried to take his own life. At last letters came from Cæsar condemning Antipater, and leaving his fate, whether death or banishment, in Herod's hands. At Herod's command he was put to death.

Again Herod altered his will. He left the kingdom to Archelaus, made Antipas tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip tetrarch of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Panias. He left a present for each of his officers and soldiers, and, calling to him Salome and her husband (she had now married a certain Alexas) he told them that he knew that he was not liked, but there should be mourning in the kingdom when he died. He then directed them to shut up in the Hippodrome the principal men of every village in

the country and order them to be put to death, when he died. He passed away five days after the execution of Antipater. After his death Salome and Alexas released the principal men, saying the king had changed his mind. His death occurred in March of the year 4 B.C.

Thus passed away one of the most enigmatical characters of history—a man of great ability and daring, often noble and generous, but at other times barbarous, cruel, and ruthless in the extreme.

Before he died, probably in the same year that his sons Alexander and Aristobulus suffered their unjust fate,⁵ a child was born in Herod's dominions, who is now more widely known, loved, honored, and revered than any other person who has ever lived. But for him, we should not take a tenth of the interest in Herod that we do. The child's name was Jesus; he is the Christ.

During the reign of Herod the Great an important educational step was taken: two schools for the study and interpretation of the law were established in Jerusalem. At the head of one of them was Hillel, a man who had come from Babylonia, where the law was assiduously studied; at the head of the other Shammai. The Pharisees were exceedingly anxious to keep the law, but it was not always easy to know when one was doing it. The law concerning the Sabbath said, "in it thou shalt do no work," but people had to eat and it was impossible to eat without some work. What work, then, could one do on the Sabbath without violating the law? In the schools of Hillel and Shammai these questions were discussed and the opinions of important Jews cited. These opinions were not written down; that would have seemed to put them on an equality with the law; the teacher would repeat them over and over, the pupils saying them after him, until they were memorized. The Hebrew word for "repeat" is *shanah*; the word for "repetition," *mishnah*. Two hundred and fifty years later the body of traditions begun by Hillel and Shammai was written down and constitute the Jewish *Mishna*. In the New Testament these opinions are called "traditions."

⁵ On the evidence for the date, see G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Part II, ch. XXIX.

CHAPTER XXV

TETRARCHS AND PROCURATORS

ARCHELAUS, who had been designated in Herod's will as his successor, took charge of affairs, and gave Herod a magnificent funeral, burying his father's body at Herodium as Herod had directed. Then there followed a period of mourning for seven days. When this was over Archelaus made an address to the people from a throne placed on an elevated dais, in which he promised, if Cæsar confirmed his appointment as king, to give them a just administration and some relief from their burdens.

The friends of those who had been executed for cutting down the golden eagle excited their friends to demand that those who had executed these men should be put to death, and that the special friends of Herod should be similarly punished. This Archelaus naturally refused to do, and the result was a clamoring mob of discontented people. Archelaus dispersed the mob by the use of soldiers, but tried to avoid bloodshed. This did not prove possible, and three thousand fell. He then prepared to go to Rome to ask Augustus to confirm Herod's will and give him the kingdom. He left his family as well as public affairs in charge of his half-brother, Philip. Herod's sister Salome, together with many others, accompanied him to Rome. At the same time his brother Antipas, to whom the kingdom had been given in Herod's second will (the will which left it to Archelaus was the third), also went to Rome to try to persuade Cæsar to give the kingdom to him. At Cæsarea, Archelaus met Sabinus, Cæsar's steward for Syrian affairs, who had come out to look after Rome's financial interests, and Varus, proconsul of Syria. Sabinus was inclined to demand at once a strict accounting, but Varus persuaded him to deal leniently with Archelaus, who went on to Rome. Antipas and Archelaus each employed skilled advocates to press their claims. Archelaus had in his favor the fact that he had been bequeathed the kingdom in Herod's last testament, but among his opponents was his aunt Salome, and such strong reasons against him were presented that Augustus hesitated and deferred his decision.

Meantime Sabinus found himself in difficulties in Jerusalem. At the feast of Pentecost an excited mob made up of all sorts of people, incensed at his conduct, attacked his soldiery, drove them into Herod's palace and besieged it. He appealed to Varus at Antioch for help, but it took two weeks for the help to come and all this time he was shut up in

the palace. At the same time disorders broke out in different parts of the country. In Galilee a man named Judas, son of a leader of a band of robbers, attacked the palace at Sepphoris, seized all the treasure and arms he could find, armed his followers, and spread terror through that part of the country. A former slave of Herod named Simon looted and burned down the royal palace at Jericho and set fire to other royal palaces wherever he could. Judæa was also infested with bands of armed robbers. Varus came with an army as soon as he could and quieted the disorders, crucifying two thousand of the most seditious persons. His own army, however, caught the spirit of plunder and he had to send it away.

In consequence of these disorders the Jews sent an embassy to Rome to protest against allowing Archelaus to succeed his father. Augustus finally confirmed the will of Herod, assigning to Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip the territories left them by Herod's will, but he refused to give Archelaus the title of king, bestowing on him, as on Antipas and Philip, the rank of tetrarch, with the understanding that his appointment was in the nature of an experiment and might be terminated, if his government was not satisfactory.

Archelaus, upon returning to Judæa, accused the high priest Joazar of participating in the seditions, deposed him, and appointed his brother Eleazar in his place. He rebuilt the palace at Jericho in splendid fashion, and diverted from the village of Nerea half its water to irrigate a palm orchard he had planted. He married Glaphyra, the widow of the ill-fated Alexander—an act which alienated from him the sympathy of many Jews, since it was contrary to the law of *Leviticus* 18:16, a brother's widow counting as a real sister. Archelaus held the government for ten years. As time passed he forgot the conditions which Cæsar had imposed upon him and treated not only his subjects but his own kinsfolk with insolent tyranny. Finally they joined in lodging with Augustus a complaint against him, and Augustus sent Archelaus' own steward, who was at Rome, to Judæa to summon his master to the imperial presence. After hearing the charges and the defense, he banished Archelaus to Vienna in southern Gaul, the modern Vienne, south of Lyons in France. Judea was placed under Roman procurators.

QUIRINIUS AND THE CENSUS OF A.D. 6

Quirinius, a Roman of rank who had been consul, was sent out to Judæa to settle the affairs of Archelaus, restore order in the country, and superintend the census. At the same time Coponius was sent as procurator. Early in his reign (how early is in dispute) Augustus had instituted the taking of a census throughout his empire every fourteen years. It was a statesmanlike measure, the census serving as a basis both for taxation and for drafting recruits into the army. In Judæa the Jews were inclined to resist the taking of the census, but were dissuaded from doing so by

Joazer, who had been high priest. In Gaulonitis, east of the Sea of Galilee, a certain Judas, spurred on by a Pharisee, offered resistance which led to bloodshed. It has been inferred by some scholars from this fact that this was the first census of the Roman government that had ever been taken. The Gospel of *St. Luke*, however (ch. 2: 2), refers to the census in connection with the birth of Jesus as the "first enrolment made when Quirinius was governor of Syria," and the discovery in recent years of inscriptions bearing on the matter tends to confirm St. Luke's statement.¹ The first census fell in the year 9-8 B.C., while Herod was at the height of his power, and under his vigorous government it probably passed off peaceably. Probably it was for this reason that Josephus does not mention it. In the year 6 A.D. conditions were different, and the fact that there was resistance then is no proof that no census had been taken before.

The other principal event of the administration of Coponius known to us was the entrance of some Samaritans into the courts of the temple at Jerusalem who scattered the bones of dead men about, thus defiling the place. The result was that thereafter Samaritans were prohibited from entering the place—a ban that had not been previously placed on them.

In 9 A.D. Coponius was replaced by Ambivius, who held office until 11 A.D. While he was procurator Salome, Herod's sister, died and left her estates to Julia, the adopted daughter of Augustus. From 12 to 15 A.D. the procurator was Annias Rufus. In the year 14 A.D. Augustus died after a reign of forty-one years as emperor and after having been a dominating power in Roman affairs for fifty-seven years and six months.

Augustus had allowed his procurators but short terms of office. This Tiberius, the next emperor, changed. The next procurator, Valerius Gratus, held office from 15 to 25 A.D. When he came to Jerusalem Annas was high priest, having been promoted to that office by Quirinius. He is the Annas mentioned in *John* 18: 13. Annas was inclined to make all the money he could from his office and was not altogether scrupulous as to how he did it. Gratus deposed him from the priesthood and appointed in his place a certain Ishmael, son of Phabi. A little later he deposed the latter, replacing him by Eleazar son of Annas. In the year 26 A.D. Valerius Gratus was replaced by Pontius Pilate.

ANTIPAS AND PHILIP

The procurators ruled only Judea and Samaria: Antipas and Philip had promptly taken possession of the territories left them by Herod's will, Antipas ruling Galilee and Peræa and Philip Ituræa, Trachonitis, and Panias. Following the example of their father, they engaged in city-building. Antipas rebuilt and fortified Sepphoris, which he made his capital, and a place which Josephus calls Betharamphtha. Antipas changed its

¹ See G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, 5th ed., Part II, ch. XXIX.

name to Julius in honor of the emperor's daughter, Julia. Later in his reign he built a city on the Sea of Galilee, naming it Tiberias. Philip rebuilt and beautified Panias, changing its name to Cæsarea in honor of the emperor. In order to distinguish it from the city so named by Herod on the shore of the Mediterranean (which had formerly been called Strato's Tower), Philip's city was called Cæsarea Philippi (see *Mark* 8: 27). He also rebuilt and enlarged Bethsaida, on the Jordan just above the Sea of Galilee—a town mentioned in the Gospels (see, *e.g.*, *Mark* 8: 22), and renamed it Julius also, not wishing to be outdone by his brother. Philip had married Herodias, a daughter of their half-brother Aristobulus, one of the sons of Mariamne whom Herod had put to death. Antipas had married a daughter of Aretas, the king of Arabia. This was the fourth Aretas to sit on the throne of the Nabathæans, and the same Aretas who as a very young man had been at Rome in 8 B.C., suing for the kingdom of Arabia when Nicolaus of Damascus had been Herod's ambassador there. Aretas reigned more than fifty years. He had possession of Damascus at the time of St. Paul's conversion (see *2 Cor.* 11: 32). Antipas lived with this Arabian wife many years, but once, when at Rome, he and Philip and Herodias lodged at the same place, and Antipas and Herodias became infatuated with each other. Philip agreed to divorce Herodias that she might marry Antipas, but she made it one of the conditions that he should first divorce the daughter of Aretas. Antipas thought the matter secret, but his Arabian wife was somehow informed of his plans and escaped to her father. The marriage with Herodias was contrary to the Levitical law, since she had been his brother's wife. The marriage apparently did not occur until the year 28 A.D., since John the Baptist reproved Herod for it and John began to preach in that year.² This reproof won the enmity of Herodias, which in the end cost John his life (see *Mark* 6: 14–29). Aretas was very angry at the treatment which his daughter had received and mustered his army to make war on Antipas for it. Antipas in turn raised a force with which to meet the attack. The rulers did not go to the battle in person, but left the conduct of the war to their commanders. Aretas was victorious and the army of Antipas was utterly routed. Antipas then accused Aretas to Cæsar for having attacked him, and the emperor sent Vitellius to punish Aretas and to take him either dead or alive, but, with the whole Arabian desert at his back, Aretas was not taken. People thought the loss of Antipas' army a judgment on him for the death of John the Baptist.³

PONTIUS PILATE

Four events of importance are known to us which occurred during the ten years of the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, 26–36 A.D. The first of

² See G. A. Barton, *Jesus of Nazareth, a Biography*, New York, 1922, pp. 54–63.

³ So Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVIII, 5: 2.

these occurred during his first winter in Palestine. It was occasioned by the fact that he brought from Cæsarea to Jerusalem a company of Roman soldiers bearing their standards surmounted by the Roman eagle and endeavored to bring them into the city, when they entered to encamp for the winter. The images on these standards were regarded by the strict Jews as a violation of the second commandment, not to make the likeness of anything in heaven above or in the earth beneath. Herod had placed a golden eagle over the temple gate itself, but the zeal with which it was torn down as soon as he was thought to be dying, has already been related. In the years that had elapsed the feeling had grown more intense, and when it was known that the procurator sought to bring the soldiers into the city, his palace was surrounded by a mob which protested against it. Pilate ordered them to disperse, threatening, if they did not, to set the soldiery to butcher them, but they bared their necks and said they would much rather die than have their law violated. Finding that he could do nothing, he sent the soldiers and their standards back to Cæsarea. A little later another disturbance arose in consequence of Pilate's attempt to use some of the funds of the temple to repair an aqueduct which brought water into Jerusalem. About a mile and a half southwest of Bethlehem are some reservoirs called to-day "The Pools of Solomon." These were built by one of the Asmonean kings, probably John Hyrcanus I, who connected them with Jerusalem by an aqueduct which can still be traced, known as the "high level" aqueduct. Later another aqueduct, known now as the "low level" aqueduct was constructed by Herod the Great, who by means of it supplied both Jerusalem and his city Herodium with water. It was one of these, probably Herod's, which Pilate wished to repair. Again the outcry of the Jews against taking temple funds for the purpose was so great that he was compelled to abandon the project.

That Pilate did not always yield, is indicated by the statement in *Luke* 13: 1 that Jesus was told "of the Galilæans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices"—a statement which indicates that for some reason they were put to death at a time when they were performing an act of worship.

The third important event of Pilate's procuratorship was the trial of Jesus in the year 30 A.D., and his indorsement of the popular clamor for Jesus' crucifixion. Crucifixion did not seem to a Roman officer more than an instrument to be employed when necessary—an ugly instrument, to be sure, but still, only an instrument. In consequence of the disorders which occurred after the death of Herod, Varus had crucified two thousand,⁴ but the fact is now known to but a few. Only scholars ever heard of Varus. In yielding to popular clamor to crucify Jesus, Pilate did only

⁴ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XVII, 10: 10.

what any Roman politician, who had a difficult people to govern, would have done; but, unfortunately for him, his victim was the one ideal Man of history.

The fourth incident known to us in which Pilate participated had to do with the Samaritans. A certain Samaritan had collected a mob, promising to show them where, by digging, they could find the sacred vessels that had been placed by Moses under the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. The crowd collected in a certain village and tried to march on the temple together, but by Pilate's order the Roman soldiery prevented them. Pilate then ordered the ringleaders in the disturbance to be put to death. The Samaritans, however, accused Pilate to Vitellius, the pro-consul of Syria, as the murderer of the men he had executed. They claimed that the mob had not assembled in the village in order to revolt from Rome, but to escape the violence of Pilate. Vitellius accordingly ordered Pilate to go to Rome to answer for the matter to Tiberius. This he did, but before he arrived there Tiberius had died. Vitellius, when Pilate had departed, came to Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, and made himself popular by remitting taxes on fruits, and by restoring to the priests the keeping of the vestments of the high priest, which, since the time of Herod, had been kept in the castle of Antonia.

THE DEATH OF HEROD PHILIP

While these events were in progress Philip, tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis died. His end came in the year 33-34 A.D. As he left no children Tiberius abolished the tetrarchy and attached his territories to the province of Syria.

THE RISE OF HEROD AGRIPPA I

The story of the early life of Agrippa I, son of Aristobulus, one of the ill-fated sons of Mariamne and Herod, is as full of romantic vicissitudes as that of any prince in history. His mother, Bernice, brought him up at Rome, where he formed an intimate friendship with Drusus, the son of the emperor Tiberius. As long as his mother lived he was well supplied with money, but after her death, without an income but with the habits of a prince, he fell deeply into debt. Drusus, the emperor's son, died, and as the emperor could not bear after that to see any of his son's old friends, Agrippa left Rome and wandered. Finally he took up his abode in a castle in Idumæa, where he became so depressed that he contemplated suicide. His wife, Cypros, a granddaughter on her father's side of Herod's brother Phasælus, and on her mother's side, of Herod and Mariamne,

was most devoted to him, and, at this juncture, wrote to his sister Herodias, the wife of Antipas, for aid. She interceded with Antipas, who brought him to Galilee, gave him an income, and made him governor of Tiberias. This arrangement did not, however, continue long, as Antipas could not refrain from taunting Agrippa with his poverty and Agrippa was too high-spirited to endure it. He accordingly left and, after various vicissitudes, made his way to Alexandria, where he succeeded in borrowing a large sum of money, and went back to Italy. At Capri he met Tiberius, who at first received him kindly, but, learning of some of Agrippa's financial transactions, was greatly displeased. Fortunately for Agrippa, he now formed a fast friendship with Caius, nicknamed by his soldiers Caligula, who had been designated by Tiberius as his successor. Caius promised Agrippa that, when he became emperor, Agrippa should be king of Judea. Both Caius and Agrippa were impatient that the emperor lived so long and talked imprudently about the matter in the hearing of a coachman who reported the matter so that it reached the emperor. Tiberius was very angry, but Caius managed in some way to free himself from blame, while Agrippa was thrown into prison, where he remained until after Tiberius had passed away.

As soon as he could after Tiberius was buried, Caius released Agrippa and gave him the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip (*i.e.*, Ituræa, Trachonitis, and Panias), to which he added Abilene in the mountains northwest of Damascus, and gave him the rank of king. Agrippa assumed the control of these territories in the year 37 A.D. Caius appointed Marullus procurator of Judæa.

ANTIPAS DEPOSED

The elevation of Agrippa to the kingship produced one natural but unexpected result. His sister Herodias could not bear to have her brother, who had once been a pensioner on her husband's bounty, hold a higher rank than he. She also wished to be called "queen." She so worked upon her rather apathetic husband that he finally got together all the treasure and magnificent equipment that he could and, together with Herodias, went to Rome to persuade the emperor to make him a king also. Agrippa, upon being informed of Antipas' mission, sent a messenger to the emperor to dissuade Caius from granting the request. The messenger bore letters making certain charges against Antipas. Instead of making Antipas king, Caius deposed him and banished him to Gaul. Herodias was given liberty to go where she pleased because she was Agrippa's sister, but she said to Caius: "It is not right that I, who have been a partaker of his prosperity, should forsake him in his misfortunes." So they went together into exile, and the emperor added Galilee and Peræa to Agrippa's kingdom.

CAIUS TRIES TO SET UP HIS STATUE IN THE TEMPLE

The one other event of the reign of Caius which is of interest to our narrative is his effort to have his statue placed in the temple at Jerusalem. The emperor Augustus had been a real statesman. He found himself at the head of an empire composed of many nationalities, who spoke different languages, and who worshiped many different gods. He recognized the importance of the religious sentiment in life, and in order to evoke this sentiment in the interest of the government and direct it to a common object so that it should be a unifying force he directed that temples should be established in every province for the worship of the genius of the emperor. It was a peculiar idea of the Romans that every person had a sort of spiritual double. The double of a man was called his "genius," that of a woman, her "juno." To the Roman mind there was a difference between worshiping the emperor's genius and worshiping the emperor himself. It did not seem to them that Augustus was demanding worship for himself, but among the Orientals, who were accustomed to the claim by living kings of divine prerogatives, the distinction was not appreciated; to them it seemed like worshiping the emperor himself. Augustus and Tiberias had never pressed this emperor worship upon the Jews. They had appreciated the peculiar tenacity with which the Jews clung to all the details of their religion and recognized that it would be impolitic to do so. Caius, however, determined that the Jews must now be treated like all other peoples, and directed that a statue of himself should be erected in the temple at Jerusalem and the usual honors paid to it. This order was given in the year 39 A.D. and caused great consternation among the Jews.

At the same time the large Jewish population of Alexandria was in trouble in consequence of some violent clashes between itself and the Greek population. It accordingly sent an embassy to Rome to plead in its behalf, the leader of which was Philo, the first Jew who could really be called a philosopher, and who was then an old man. He was familiar with all the works of the Greek philosophers, and endeavored as a good Jew to combine their thought with the teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures. He influenced some of the writers of the New Testament, but, perhaps because of this, his thought was rejected by later Judaism, which clung rather to the teachings of the rabbis of Babylonia.

The Jews in Palestine were at the same time thrown into such a ferment by the order to place a statue of the emperor in the temple that they stopped work and talked of little else. It was found impossible to proceed, and Caius was very angry. He sent Petronius to the East as proconsul of Syria with a large army with directions to quiet the sedition and erect the statue. Petronius informed Cæsar that he would carry out his commands and came to Ptolemais with his army and went into winter quarters. Delegations of Jews waited upon him there as well

as at Tiberias, whither he afterward moved. He first tried to show the Jews the uselessness of resistance and threatened them with dire punishment, if they persisted. Then King Agrippa's brother Aristobulus and other leading Jews pleaded with him and explained to him something of the attachment of the Jewish people to their religion and their constancy. Finally Petronius tried to persuade the Jews to go back to their work, saying that he would himself go to Rome and plead their cause with the emperor. Instead, however, of going to Rome, he wrote Caius a letter, informing him that the Jews were so stirred about the statue that they were ready to revolt, and urging the emperor not to press the matter.

Meantime Agrippa, who was in Rome, made Caius a great supper, at which the emperor was so pleased that he promised to grant any request that Agrippa might make. Agrippa proffered a skilfully worded request that he would not press the matter of the statue. Caligula granted the request and wrote Petronius that, if he had erected the statue, he should let it remain, but, if he had not yet erected it, he should do nothing further about it. After this letter had been dispatched, the letter of Petronius was received. This threw Caius into such a passion that he sent Petronius another letter, charging him with insolence, declaring that he was under the emperor's displeasure, and hinting that he should commit suicide. Soon after this Caius was murdered, and fortunately for Petronius the ship carrying the news of the emperor's death outsailed the other and arrived first. Thus a Jewish insurrection was for the time averted and the life of Petronius was spared.

This attempt of Caius made a deep impression on the minds both of Jews and of Christians. It seemed to them an act parallel to that of Antiochus Epiphanes in setting up the statue of Zeus in Jerusalem, and the term "abomination that maketh desolation," applied in *Daniel* 9: 27 to the act of Antiochus, was applied to the act of Caius. In the opinion of many scholars this attempt of Caius, which so deeply disturbed Palestine for two years, is referred to three times in the New Testament: in *Mark* 13: 14; in *2 Thessalonians* 2: 3-7; and in *Revelation* 13: 3-7.

AGRIPPA KING OF JUDÆA

Claudius succeeded Caius on the imperial throne of Rome in the year 41 A.D. He added Judæa and Samaria to the territories already ruled by Agrippa, so that Agrippa now ruled all the territories over which his grandfather Herod the Great had ruled, and issued an edict granting the Jews religious liberty in all the empire. Agrippa was a man of affable and generous disposition, of whose tact, kindness, and generosity the Jewish historian Josephus records some striking examples. Agrippa, on coming to Jerusalem, scrupulously performed appropriate sacrifices in conformity to the law, made rich presents to the temple, and remitted

the house-tax to its citizens. He also made a change in the high-priesthood, deposing one of the sons of Annas and appointing a certain Simon. He then went to Tiberias, where he was visited by a number of neighboring rulers.

During his reign of three years he undertook to strengthen the fortifications of Jerusalem on the north by adding a third wall. Then, as now, there had grown up outside the walls on the north a considerable suburb; this Agrippa undertook to enclose. His work had proceeded a considerable distance, when it was reported to the emperor by some of his enemies that he was fortifying Jerusalem in preparation for a revolution. Claudius accordingly commanded him to stop building this wall, and Agrippa had to obey.

By this time the Christians, who were as yet only a Jewish sect, were much hated by some of the orthodox Jews, and Agrippa, in his effort to please his Jewish subjects, put to death James the son of Zebedee and imprisoned Peter, intending later to execute him also (see *Acts* 12:1).

Both Josephus and the book of the *Acts* of the Apostles (ch. 12:20-23) relate that Agrippa died after a brief illness at Cæsarea at a time when he was entertaining some Phenician envoys and had been acclaimed a god, when he had appeared in the theater brilliantly clad. To one familiar with Palestinian modes of thought and expression it is also clear from the two accounts that he died of appendicitis. His death occurred in 44 A.D. His son Agrippa II, who was then young, went to Rome and resided with Claudius, and the dominions of Agrippa were again placed under procurators.

CUSPIUS FADUS 44-48 (?) A.D.

Claudius in the year Agrippa I died made Cassius Longinus proconsul of Syria and Cuspius Fadus procurator of Judea and of all the territory over which Agrippa had ruled. While Fadus was governor, trouble broke out in Peræa. Jews were living in various villages there, some of whom preyed upon their neighbors of other nationalities. Those of a village called Mia made an attack on some citizens of Philadelphia, and bloodshed ensued. The Philadelphians appealed to Fadus, who not only punished the Jews, but stamped out robbery in all the territory under his control. Fadus also came near to producing a rebellion in Jerusalem by trying to force the high priest to keep his vestments in the castle of Antonia as had been done in the time of Herod. The matter was finally referred to Claudius, who, upon the advice of the young Agrippa who was at his court, allowed the high priest to keep them where he chose. One of the sons of Herod the Great, whose name was also Herod (he was son of Cleopatra and full brother of Philip), had been given by Augustus the little kingdom of Calchis in the Lebanon region. He re-

quested at this time that the appointment of the high priest should be vested in him—a request which Claudius granted.

According to Josephus a certain Theudas, in the procuratorship of Fadus, gave himself out to be a prophet and persuaded a multitude of people to follow him to the river Jordan, which he promised miraculously to divide. Fadus, Josephus says, sent a company of horsemen to disperse them, and the horsemen killed some of them and took many prisoners. In the *Acts* of the Apostles (ch. 5: 36) what seems to be the same incident is alluded to, but it is placed earlier than the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate. In *Acts* the number of the followers of Theudas is said to have been about four hundred.

TIBERIUS ALEXANDER 48 (?) to 50 (?) A.D.

Fadus was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander, son of a man who had been ruler of Alexandria. During his procuratorship a severe famine occurred. Indeed it seems to have begun before Fadus was recalled. There was living at Jerusalem at this time a notable woman, Helena queen of Adiabene, a petty kingdom in the territory which once had been Assyria. Some years before, she had become a convert to Judaism and had come to Jerusalem to live. To relieve the famine she bought large quantities of grain in Egypt and distributed it among the people. During the administration of Alexander, James and Simon, sons of the Judas who had stirred up trouble on account of the census of 6 A.D., made themselves obnoxious to the government and were, by Alexander's order, crucified. Herod also, who had been king of Calchis since 4 B. C., died in the year 49 A.D.; although he left several children, Claudius appointed Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, as his successor.

THE STORMY ADMINISTRATION OF CUMANUS, 50 (?) TO 52 (?) A.D.

The administration of Cumanus was a series of disasters. The first occurred at the first Passover of Cumanus' term of office. Like his predecessors, he stationed a band of soldiers in the outer courts of the temple to prevent any seditious uprising. On the fourth day of this Passover one of the soldiers exposed himself indecently in the sight of a multitude of people. At once a great clamor arose. The Jews regarded it as an insult not only to them but to God. In their excitement some of them went to Cumanus and accused him of having directed the soldier to offer the insult. Cumanus, fearing an uprising, brought his whole army into the castle of Antonia so as to be able to cope with any emergency. When this was reported to the throng in the temple, they feared that the army was to be let loose upon them at once and in their fright endeavored to escape. As the passages leading from the temple area were narrow, the

crowd in its flight trod many of its own members to death. Josephus places the number who perished at twenty thousand, but that seems an exaggeration. Their feasting was turned to mourning.

On their way northward some of those returning from this tragic feast fell in with a servant of the emperor named Stephanus and robbed him. When this was reported to Cumanus, he sent soldiery to sieze all the chief men of the villages near where the robbery had occurred and throw them into prison. While this order was being carried out, one of the soldiers found a roll of the Law, which he tore to shreds with many insulting remarks in the presence of a throng of Jews. Upon this, a body of Jews waited upon Cumanus at Cæsarea and implored him to avenge the insult offered to the law of their God. Cumanus, fearing a rebellion if he did nothing, ordered the soldier beheaded.

The next disturbance broke out between some men of Galilee and the Samaritans. These Galileans endeavored to make the journey to Jerusalem to one of their feasts by the direct route through Samaria. At Ginea (the Biblical En-gannim, *Josh.* 19: 21; 21: 29), they were attacked and many of them killed. The Galileans appealed to Cumanus to avenge them, but the Samaritans bribed him to do nothing. Incensed at this, the more disorderly spirits among the Galileans formed themselves into bands and, gaining the leadership of a noted robber named Eleazar, plundered a number of Samaritan villages. Cumanus then armed the Samaritans and with these and the soldiers that were stationed at Sebaste fell upon the robbers, killing many of them and taking many prisoners. Following this violence, bands of robbers appeared in all parts of the country. The Samaritans then appealed to Quadratus, the proconsul of Syria, who came and investigated the matter, taking evidence at Samaria and afterward giving hearings at Lydda near Joppa (see *Acts* 10: 32, 38). Quadratus condemned to death the leaders of the Jewish robber bands, and sent the high priest Ananius and the commander of the temple police, Annus, together with the Samaritan leaders and Cumanus himself to Rome to be judged by the emperor. Fortunately for the Jews, Agrippa II happened to be at Rome at the time, and through his good offices Claudius was persuaded that the Samaritans had begun the trouble. Cumanus was banished and Felix, the brother of Pallias, a Roman millionaire, was sent to be procurator of Judea.

FELIX, 52 (?) TO 60 A.D.

Felix was a freedman. Tacitus says of him that he exercised the power of a king with the disposition of a slave. He caused great scandal by persuading Drusilla, the sister of Agrippa II, to leave her husband, the king of Emesa, and marry him, although Felix did not become a Jew. In the year 53 A.D. Claudius transferred Agrippa II from Calchis to the

tetrarchy of Philip, adding some other territories. Later Nero gave him also a part of Galilee.

During the whole of the administration of Felix Judæa was infested by bands of robbers. Some of these Felix succeeded in breaking up, sometimes by treachery. At one time riots occurred between the Jews and non-Jews in the city of Cæsarea and Felix was compelled to restore order by force. The most flagrant of his acts was the instigation of the murder of the high priest Jonathan. Jonathan had been largely responsible in inducing the emperor to appoint Felix to his office, and after Felix came to Palestine, Jonathan frequently admonished him to lead a better life. Felix, becoming weary of this, hired the leader of a band of robbers to set upon Jonathan and kill him. As the crime was never punished robberies in the temple, and even murders, were afterward not infrequent.

During the administration of Felix an Egyptian Jew came to Jerusalem and pretended to be a prophet. He led a large company out to the Mount of Olives and promised to make the walls of Jerusalem fall down by a mere command so that they could walk through them into the city. Felix sent soldiers to disperse the crowd, and about four hundred of them were killed and two hundred taken prisoners. Probably this is the Egyptian referred to in *Acts* 21: 38.

In the year 58 A.D., St. Paul, having been arrested in Jerusalem to save him from the mob, was sent to Cæsarea to save his life, and was given a hearing by Felix. At that hearing St. Paul, in explaining his conduct, said that he had gone to Jerusalem to bring alms to his nation. The quick ear of Felix caught that word, and he kept St. Paul in prison two years, frequently sending for him in the interval to see if a bribe would not be given to set him at liberty. Finally, when Nero, who had succeeded Claudius in 54 A.D., recalled Felix, he left St. Paul a prisoner in the hope that the accusations which the Jews might send after him to Rome would on that account be a little less grave.

PORCIUS FESTUS, 60-62 A.D.

One of the first acts of Festus was the hearing which he gave St. Paul, when St. Paul appealed to the emperor, to escape being sent back to Jerusalem to certain death (see *Acts* 25: 12). In consequence of this appeal Festus dispatched St. Paul to Rome.

During the whole of Festus' term of office the country was infested with bands of robbers called Sicarii, from the Latin name of the short swords which they carried. These swords were shaped something like a sickle. The leader of this band was the Egyptian referred to above, who had escaped when so many of his followers fell on the Mount of

Olives. Festus, who was an energetic man, succeeded at last in capturing him.

As the years passed the tension increased. Jewish feeling became more intense, and Jewish sensitiveness more acute. An incident which occurred at this time illustrates it. The Asmonean kings had built their palace on the eastern edge of the western of the two hills on which Jerusalem was built. They were also high priests, and in their days a bridge had led from the palace across the deep Tyropean valley to the temple. This bridge Pompey had broken down in 63 B.C. The western hill is higher than the eastern, and from the palace one could look down into the temple courts. Agrippa II now possessed this palace and had it for his residence when in Jerusalem. He now added to it a large dining-room on the east side of the building, from which he and his guests could look directly into the temple court where the sacrifices were offered in the open air. This greatly displeased the Jews, although Agrippa was a Jew in religion and had succeeded, when he became king of Calchis, to the right of appointing the high priests, formerly vested in his uncle Herod. The Jews therefore built a high wall on the west side of the temple—a wall so high as to cut off the view not only of Agrippa, but of the Roman soldiers stationed in that part of the sacred area. This greatly displeased not only Agrippa, but Festus, who was minded to tear down the wall. At this the Jews were in an uproar, saying that they could not bear to live, if their temple was to be torn down. Finally he was persuaded to refer the matter to the emperor, and the Jews brought sufficient influence to bear upon Nero to obtain his decree that the wall should stand. Festus died in office in the year 62 A.D.

ALBINUS, 62-66 A.D.

Agrippa II was so displeased with the high priest who had shut off his view of the temple by his wall that he deposed him and appointed Annas, son of the Annas who had been high priest many years before. Although Nero had appointed Albinus procurator, communication and travel were slow in those days, and it was three months before the new procurator arrived. In this interval Annas accused a number of Jews to the Sanhedrin, had them condemned, and put to death by stoning. Among them was ~~Jay~~ ^{the} soldiers father of Jesus Christ. ~~the castle of Jerusalem~~ mentioned in *Acts* 15: 13 and *Galatians* 2: 12.

Some friends of the men who had thus suffered met Albinus as he was coming and reported the matter to him, telling him that Annas and the Sanhedrin had invaded his prerogatives by putting men to death. Albinus was very angry and threatened to bring Annas to punishment. They also complained to King Agrippa, who had been given control of the

temple and the appointment of the high priests by Claudius. Agrippa then deposed Annas after he had held office but three months and appointed Jesus (Joshua) son of Damneus.

During the whole of Albinus' term of office the country became more and more unsettled. The Sicarii became more and more numerous and continually bolder in their depredations. Albinus caught and punished many of them, but they only seemed to increase the more. Once after he had imprisoned some of them their friends robbed Ananias, one of the deposed high priests who still had great influence, and captured some of his servants. When he remonstrated with them, they said they would not release his men unless he would persuade Albinus to set their companions free. Ananias succeeded in inducing the procurator to do this, which of course tended to make the robbers bolder. To add to the confusion the deposed high priests, of whom there were now several, began to appropriate the tithes from the threshing-floors before they were divided. Many old priests and Levites were thus deprived of the grain on which they lived and some starved to death. About this time the division of the Levites who constituted the temple choir petitioned King Agrippa to permit them to wear white linen vestments such as the priests wore, and Agrippa granted their request. This was contrary to the Levitical law, and such was the veneration in which the law was held that Josephus attributes some of the later national disasters to this innovation.

To add to the confusion Jesus son of Damneus was deposed from the high priesthood, and Jesus the son of Gamaliel appointed in his place. Each one of these collected a large body of partisans, who not only wrangled with one another orally, but frequently threw stones at one another.

In the year 66 A.D. the last of the colonnades of the temple, the rebuilding of which Herod had begun eighty-six years before, was finished, and this threw all the workmen out of employment. Josephus says there were about eighteen thousand of them. The work had gone on so long that two or three generations of men had gained their living from it and had no other means of subsistence. They petitioned Agrippa to let them tear down one of the colonnades and rebuild it again, but he refused to do it. Finally it was agreed to employ these men in paving the streets of Jerusalem with *asphalte*.

Meantime ~~the death of~~ (see rebuilt Cæsarea B' sequence of ~~the~~ it) Neronias in honor of the emperor Nero.

GESSIUS FLORUS AND THE GREAT WAR, 66-70 A.D.

Florus was an unprincipled man of imperious temper, who at once further inflamed Jewish feeling by his rapacity. He was so greedy of

money that he permitted robbery, if only the plunderers shared their loot with him. At the time of the Passover Cestius Gallus, then proconsul of Syria, visited Jerusalem, and multitudes of Jews complained of Florus as the bane of their nation. Cestius laughed at their complaints, but before he returned to Antioch cautioned Florus to be more circumspect. Florus received his advice with apparent intent to heed it, but continued in his former course.

In Cæsarea the Jews worshiped in a synagogue owned by a Greek. They had often tried to buy the building, but the owner refused to sell it. As noted above there had long been friction between Jews and Gentiles in Cæsarea, and at this time the Gentiles were encouraged by the fact that Nero had committed the government of the city to them. To annoy the Jews the owner of the synagogue began to build shops on the property, leaving the Jews only a narrow passage to their place of worship. When protests were of no avail, the Jews appealed to Florus, who took from them eight talents as the price for doing what they wished and then went to Sebaste and did nothing. After a time, one Sabbath a Gentile turned an earthen pot upside down over the threshold of their synagogue and sacrificed some birds over it. This was thought by the Jews to defile the place, and there was great excitement. The more sober of them went to Florus at Sebaste and reproached him for taking their money and doing nothing, but he only laughed at them.

The Jews at Jerusalem were greatly displeased at the affair in Cæsarea, but did nothing, except execrate the name of Florus, some clamoring that Nero should recall him. Florus thereupon started for Jerusalem, sending before him Capito, a centurion, with a band of soldiers. The wiser ones of the city, thinking to mollify Florus, went out in a body to welcome him, but he bade the soldiers disperse them roughly and upbraided them with their hypocrisy. The next day Florus sat upon his tribunal and demanded that those who had reproached him should be delivered up, but he was told by the Jews that in so large a multitude it was impossible to tell who they were. He thereupon directed the soldiers to plunder the market-place, which they did. More, they plundered many of the adjoining houses, killing large numbers, not only of men, but also of women and children. Many were seized and crucified, and some who had the rights of Roman citizenship were seized and whipped. Florus tried to have his soldiers force their way into the castle of Antonia and the neighboring cloisters of the temple, but the Jews resisted so strenuously that they could not get in, and in the struggle cut down some of the cloisters.

Bernice, the sister of Agrippa II, came to Jerusalem about this time and besought Florus to be merciful, but accomplished nothing. Cestius, the proconsul of Syria, sent Neapolitanus the tribune to look into the

condition of Jewish affairs. Just at this juncture King Agrippa II, who had been in Egypt, stopped at Jerusalem on his way back, and exhorted the priests and leaders to be careful and not move forward into a war with Rome. They assented to the wisdom of his advice, and proceeded to rebuild the cloisters that had been demolished.

Nevertheless passions had been aroused that could not easily be calmed. A month or two later a band of Jews captured the fortress of Masada on an inaccessible hill on the west shore of the Dead Sea and destroyed the Roman garrison there. This success inflamed still further the national feeling of the Jews, and even the leaders in Jerusalem were carried away by it. They decreed that hereafter no sacrifice should be offered in the temple at Jerusalem for any foreigner—a decree which made it impossible to sacrifice or pray for the emperor Nero. This was equivalent to a declaration of war.

To follow this war through all its details would prolong this book far beyond its proper limits. Any reader who wishes to become familiar with its many tragic events can satisfy himself by reading the detailed account of Josephus in his *Wars of the Jews*. Josephus participated in the whole of it, first as an officer of the Jewish army, and then as an interpreter for the Romans. Nero sent Vespasian, a Roman general of distinction who had seen long service in Egypt, to put down the Jewish rebellion. Under Vespasian, Titus, his son, commanded a part of the army. They entered Palestine by way of Ptolemais and proceeded to conquer Galilee and Gadara, a fortified city east of the Jordan. At the conclusion of the siege of Jotapata in the summer of the year 67 A.D., Josephus, who had commanded a Jewish regiment there, was captured by the Romans. Somehow, after being a prisoner for more than a year he seems to have persuaded them that he could be of use to them, for they spared his life. Throughout the rest of the war he devoted his knowledge of the Aramaic language and of Jewish affairs to their service.

By the year 68 A.D. Vespasian had taken possession of the rest of the country and was ready to move upon Jerusalem; but, hearing that Nero was dead and that Galba had seized the imperial throne, he deferred his march against Jerusalem and retired to Egypt, where the army proclaimed him emperor. While this was going on, there were fierce factional strifes in Jerusalem itself; but they do not affect the thread of our story, and we will not weary the reader with them. By the year 70 A.D. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had all been put aside and Vespasian was seated on the imperial throne of Rome. He then sent his son Titus to complete the conquest of Judea. Before his army arrived the Christian church at Jerusalem withdrew in a body from the city and moved to Pella, a city in the Jordan valley. The people of Jerusalem, knowing that they would have to stand a siege, had hastily completed the massive wall

on the north of the city, which Agrippa I had begun nearly thirty years before, and did everything they could to strengthen the defenses of the city.

In the spring of the year 70 Titus marched from Egypt across the desert and the maritime plain; reaching the central highlands of Palestine through Samaritan territory, he approached Jerusalem from the north, and encamped at the northeast of the city. During the weeks that followed, the three walls on the north of Jerusalem were taken one after another and the rest of the city was surrounded and began to be starved out. There were the usual awful tragedies of such sieges. As it went on the factions within the city often strove with one another. They were united only in opposing the Romans, and in this they fought so fiercely as often to inflict serious damage. Titus had to win every step by main force. At last he took the castle of Antonia, and from it laid siege to the temple. In order to gain access he set fire to the temple gates, having given strict orders that the temple itself should be spared, but the Jews resisted so desperately that one of the soldiers in his anger seized a firebrand and threw it into the sacred structure, which was soon in flames. Titus, who was in the castle of Antonia at the time, rushed out and tried to stop the fires, but it was too late. In August of the year 70 A.D. the Jewish temple burned; and it has never been rebuilt. (Hadrian sixty years later built a temple to Jupiter on the spot, which was later turned into a Christian church. Still later the Mohammedans rebuilt it as a mosque, which it remains to the present day.) Later Titus captured the fortresses on the western hill, including the palace of Herod with its three towers. These he admired so much that he let them stand. The walls and all the other fortifications of the city he battered down. Thus ended the war. Titus took many prisoners as well as the sacred vessels and treasure of the temple to Rome, where they figured in his triumph. The seven-branched candlestick may still be seen cut in stone on the Arch of Titus at Rome.

The fall of Jerusalem did not end the history of the Jewish people. The adoption of the law of *Deuteronomy* in 621 B.C. and the adoption of the whole law of the Pentateuch later in the time of Ezra had given the Jews a unique religion. Their devotion to this religion made them a church as well as a nation. The worship in the synagogue had given them a cultus independent of the temple. Already for six hundred years thousands of Jews in Babylonia had nurtured their spiritual lives by this synagogal religion, and for hundreds of years the same had been true of Egypt and other countries. They were already widely scattered, and the loss of their country to the Romans but scattered them more widely. As the centuries have passed they have been scattered over the whole world, but their religion has enabled them to keep their identity and avoid being absorbed by other peoples.

We have, however, accomplished our task and traced their history to the year 70 A.D. Those wishing to read the history of this people in later centuries are referred to the *History of the Jewish People* by Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marks (Philadelphia, 1927).

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